

DISCLAIMER

DEVELOPMENT CO-OPERATION REPORT: GENDER

Report on gender within ODA for the Royal Netherlands Embassy by Debbie Budlender and Nomtuse Mbere.

RESPONSIBILITY

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Adapt	Agisanang Domestic Abuse Prevention and Training
AUSAID	Australian Agency for International Development
CBPWP	Community-based Public Works Programme
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CGE	Commission on Gender Equality
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
ComSec	Commonwealth Secretariat
CSVR	Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DBSA	Development Bank of Southern Africa
DCR	Development co-operation report
DFID	Department for International Development (United Kingdom)
DHS	Demographic and health survey
DWAF	Department of Water Affairs and Forestry
ECD	Early childhood development
EU	European Union
EUPSP	European Union Parliamentary Support Programme
GEAR	Growth, employment and redistribution strategy
GETT	Gender Equity Task Team
IDC	International Development Co-operation
IDP	Integrated development plans
IDRC	International Development Research Centre
JICA	Japanese International Co-operation Agency
LDO	Land development objective
LGDSP	Local Government Development Support Programme
LRG	Law Race & Gender Research Unit
MEC	Member of the executive council
MRC	Medical Research Council
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NORAD	Norwegian Agency for Development Co-operation
ODA	Official development assistance
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OSW	Office on the Status of Women
PA	Poverty assessment
PIR	Poverty and inequality report
PPA	Planned Parenthood Association
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SALGA	South African Local Government Association'
SAMDI	South African Management and Development Institute
SIDA	Swedish International Development Co-operation Agency
SIP	Sector investment programme
UN	United Nations
UNCCP	UN Drug Control and Crime Prevention Programme
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees

UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNOVS	United Nations Overseas Volunteer Services
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WEU	Women's Empowerment Unit
WHP	Women's Health Project
WID	Women in development

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1.1 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

The terms of reference note that all donors express a commitment to gender-integrated programs. However, it is generally acknowledged that often both donors and recipients do not consider the gender implications of projects. In addition, very few projects are designed to target gender relations directly.

The most focused study to date of ODA and gender in South Africa took place in the context of the extra-governmental Women's Budget Initiative. Data was gathered from the majority of the 30 or so identified bilateral and multilateral donors. The research for this report complements that study by, within a case study approach, drawing on information and opinions of a much wider range of stakeholders.

Donor assistance in respect of government can be seen to fall in two broad categories:

- (a) Assistance to gender- or women-targeted initiatives.
- (b) Gender sensitivity in respect of mainstream or general initiatives.

Overall government and donors have fallen prey to an over-concentration on the first category in terms of their gender initiatives. Meanwhile, it is mainstreaming or gender integration which arguably has the potential for greatest impact.

Gender initiatives are sometimes advocated on the basis of promoting equity, and at other times seen as promoting efficiency. Both reasons are important. The validity of the latter is increasingly being accepted but must contest against a dominant economic paradigm which is gender-blind and oblivious, in particular, of unpaid labour and the care economy. South Africa's gender budget initiatives are one method of promoting a more gender-sensitive approach to economics, planning and budgets.

1.2 GENDER POLICY, PROFILES AND MACHINERY

The South African government does not have a gender policy, despite three donor-funded attempts to draw one up. The Constitution and laws passed since 1994 nevertheless provides a solid framework for gender equity. In addition, gender and/or women's issues are raised in virtually all of the plethora of sectoral policy papers that were issued during the first five years of the new democracy.

Several sectoral gender policies have been produced with donor technical and financial assistance. Overall, the policies have probably been more successful in effecting internal change than change in respect of delivery to ordinary citizens. This is sometimes due to resistance within departments, but also to difficulties in coming up with the details of implementation.

Gender profiles provide donor agencies and others with an overview of the gender situation in the country. Several have been produced. The danger is that their completion is seen as absolving those responsible of considering gender issues in relation to the more general policy and situation analyses, as well as in relation to specific interventions.

The Office on the Status of Women (OSW) and Commission on Gender Equality came into operation in 1997. Before that the RDP Office included a DANIDA-funded gender unit staffed by a secondee from a local NGO, and assisted by a Commonwealth consultant. When the RDP Office closed, the function was transferred to the Deputy President's Office, where it operated without donor funds.

Beyond the RDP Office, the national Ministry and Department of Welfare played a significant role in respect of co-ordination of gender issues before the establishment of the OSW. Significant amounts of donor funding were received, in particular in relation to the Beijing Conference. The Commonwealth Secretariat also played a major role in providing financial, technical and logistical support to the nascent gender machinery.

At the time of the research all provinces except KwaZulu-Natal had their own OSWs, while KwaZulu-Natal was taking gender forward under other structures. There are often gender focal points, gender units, or gender desks in provincial line ministries, although these posts are, too often, allocated to administrative clerks and the responsibilities are often added on to existing full-time responsibilities. The consequence could be lack of competency and capacity in relation to gender issues, which, in turn, would be disadvantageous for donor-supported programmes.

There is also some confusion about structures, in particular in relation to channels of accountability. Little, if any, donor money has flowed directly to the provincial OSWs. They have, however, benefited from non-financial assistance and from money flowing through other channels.

The main gender machinery within the local government sphere is situated within the South African Local Government Association (SALGA), which has recently employed a full time gender officer and a policy researcher. A few of the larger municipalities also have gender units of some sort. There has been some donor funding in this sphere, in particular for capacity building of women councillors. Some of this has come through NGO channels.

Within national departments each agency has a transformation unit which is tasked with dealing with issues of representivity of staff. Most agencies also have a gender unit. Ideally the gender units should focus on gender issues which arise in the delivery for which their agency is responsible. In practice, many of the units spend at least some of their time on internal issues. A few of the units have received donor support. Education's gender unit is exceptional in terms of the amount of funds it receives. Virtually all the gender units see themselves as under-resourced in terms of the tasks they are expected to perform. The lack of resources appears to relate to number of staff and skills rather than simply funds.

Within the legislature, SIDA has provided gender-targeted assistance to the national and provincial bodies through funding for the Women's Empowerment Unit (WEU).

The CGE has probably been the most successful fundraiser within the gender machinery. The body had little choice but to turn to donors when their first budget did not even cover the salaries of commissioners laid down by government itself. There are, however, jealousies and tensions around the amounts allocated to the CGE when other bodies also feel under-resourced.

One of the problems over the last few years has been the lack of clarity over the roles of the different parts of the gender machinery. This has led to some duplication, either by the structures themselves, or in terms of donor focus. In other cases there have been gaps.

There has been a significant amount of general gender-sensitivity training for government officials and representatives. Most, if not all, of this training has been supported by funding from overseas donors. Again, there are both gaps and duplications. The high profile bodies probably receive more than their fair share, and representatives receive more than the functionaries responsible for planning and delivery do. Another weakness is the paucity of gender specialists who are knowledgeable about sectoral and technical issues and who can move gender initiatives beyond sensitisation.

1.3 FORMS OF ODA

Most of the examples of technical assistance in the gender field have used the donor country's own nationals. In some cases, however, technical assistance money is used to employ local people – or even foreigners from other than the donor country. With gender, in particular, experts from other African countries can teach government about their many innovative initiatives and also share important lessons in terms of cultural, socio-economic and other factors.

Overall, there are few complaints about the technical assistance in respect of gender. In some cases agencies want technical assistance not only for expertise, but also because it provides an extra pair of hands and head in a situation of limited human resources. In some cases it seems that writing skills more than knowledge are an issue.

A number of informants spoke about the importance of South Africa controlling the recruitment of consultants. Some donors welcomed the fact that this relieved them of the search burden. Currently there is very little screening by either donors or government of consultants whose brief is not specifically gender-related in terms of their gender-sensitivity. This is a serious obstacle to effective mainstreaming.

Gender-related study tours and twinning appear to have provided real-life exposure to new ways of tackling problems which might not have been as well understood if only learnt through reading and listening. Tours are particularly useful if they include exposure to weaknesses and critiques as well as the successes of other countries' initiatives.

1.4 INSIDE THE AGENCIES

In late 1998, at least 15 donor agencies had local officers whom they broadly saw as responsible for gender issues. At least seven did not have a local gender person. Most staff were said to have some gender training. Three officers were said to spend just under half their time on gender. Others spent less. Four said that gender officers spent 'minimal time on top of other duties'.

Most agencies on paper recognise the need for mainstreaming of gender in all activities. Most also see the need for some gender- or women-focussed activity to address gender gaps. In many cases there is evidence of increasing attention to and sophistication in discussing gender issues in recent years. There is, however, a difference between having a good policy and implementing it.

Some of the biggest factors determining whether gender is included in other projects are the energy and time of the gender officer. Whether gender is incorporated or not also depends on the gender sensitivity of the officer responsible for the different programmes and their relationship with the gender officer. There is usually little organised interaction between the officers which would allow them to see the linkages. Further, gender officers are more likely to be skilled and comfortable in the social sectors and thus less able to influence the technical, or more economic, sectors. Another important factor is the management's personal attitude towards gender issues.

Regular turnover of staff results in serious losses in respect of the networking and contacts which lie at the heart of much of the successful gender work.

1.5 IMPLEMENTATION

When donors are asked about their gender-specific initiatives, they tend to mention NGO projects and programmes despite being asked about ODA to government. Several donors stress that they will only give funds to NGOs that are working with government. On the other hand, organisations like the Black Sash argue that while service organisations should be funded by the state, it would be invidious for organisations which want to play a watchdog role to be dependent on those whom they watch over. For service organisations, in the gender field there are several examples of the tensions that arise in funding terms when, on the one hand, donors prioritise relationship with government and self-sufficiency and, on the other hand, government does not feel able to pay for the services of NGOs. There are also examples where donors are funding NGOs in respect of gender-sensitive programmes, but had not established synergy between their NGO and government assistance.

There have been and still are difficulties involved in channeling money through government, and in particular through the RDP Fund. Even with the changes to the Act, there is concern as to whether the allocated money, once it is in the agency's budget, will remain dedicated to the specified project or be swallowed up by some of the many other needs in the resource-hungry agencies.

Initiatives have utilised a variety of other methods of avoiding channeling money through government. Some have decided to administer the money themselves

even though it is against their normal practice and imposes a heavy administrative burden. Alternative channels have their problems, but these are generally not on the scale encountered in using government channels.

There is a range of outsourcing arrangements – from outsourcing the management of consultants in the sending country to outsourcing at the implementation stages. Outsourcing often presents problems from a gender perspective as the outsourcing agents generally have no knowledge of (or interest in) gender issues.

1.6 OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL

There were some reports of government-arranged bi-annual donor meetings on gender issues. Donors appeared unaware of these events. With the current setup it would be difficult for any one structure to co-ordinate funding to the full machinery. It would be even more difficult, if not impossible, for one structure to co-ordinate all gender-related funding if mainstreaming were taken seriously.

During the time the Commonwealth Secretariat had an office in South Africa, their representative played an important role in co-ordinating and augmenting gender-specific donor funding. Since the closing of the local office, those responsible for gender in donor agencies in South Africa have established their own grouping. The group has gone through a dormant period but was brought together at a workshop to discuss the preliminary findings of this research. Group members report that it is an important forum for sharing ideas and information and obtaining support.

Many donors were clear that government was or should be in the driver's seat in relation to gender-related ODA, in particular, given the priority accorded gender equity in the country.

1.7 MONITORING

There are a plethora of systems for monitoring gender but none stands out as foolproof. Some are mechanistic. Most ignore process, which is a crucial element in mainstreaming gender at the implementation stage.

Gender and/or women constitute a 'theme' for the UNDP DCR reports but are rarely, if ever, discussed in the reports. For OECD-DAC, gender is also considered as one of several crosscutting issues. DAC has developed a gender marker system so as to satisfy calls for some sort of statistical measure. DAC itself cautions that the markers evaluate the objectives of projects and programmes, but not the impact of aid. While great care has clearly been taken in compiling the markers, the question remains as to their influence – whether they change practice, or simply reflect the best practice of the gender enthusiasts within the leading agencies.

Beyond the markers, the Aid Policies Review Division of DAC has since 1989 attempted to deal 'systematically' with WID issues in their review process. However, the September 1996 draft guidelines for aid reviews mention gender/women only twice in the annex of over 80 key points. Further, what is

seen and commented on ultimately depends on the gender sensitivity or otherwise of the reviewers.

The monitoring of gender within the South African-based donor agencies seems to be limited. Beyond the project level, all agencies produce reports on their own activities, which often include some discussion of gender or women. One serious problem is that internally generated reports are open to exaggeration, if not misrepresentation.

South Africa presents some unusual characteristics for donor agencies and their officials in respect of gender. Importantly, South Africa is more strongly in favour of gender equity, at least at the central level and on paper, than many other countries. This provides a more fertile field for gender-sensitive interventions than one where gender is seen as being imposed. In South Africa the question of gender commitment arises largely at the level of implementation. To the extent that the country moves towards decentralisation, the question will become more and more pertinent. Further, gender issues compete with a wide range of other issues.

The above discussion focuses on monitoring by donors of donor funds. South Africa itself needs to evaluate the combined allocations of government and donors. Unfortunately, there is no quick fix or single solution in respect of gender indicators. What these indicators should be will differ between sectors, between programmes and between projects. They will also need adaptation as initiatives move through the planning into implementation phases.

1.8 MAINSTREAMING

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

The research paid special attention to initiatives in respect of gender violence. The first reason for this relates to the widespread prevalence of such violence and government's interest in addressing the crime problem more generally. The second reason is the centrality of gender violence to gender inequality – violence both causes, and is perpetuated by, gender inequity.

South Africa has a wide-range of donor-funded initiatives in respect of gender-based violence. Nevertheless, the overall picture is that the support is all somewhat ad hoc. The National Network on Violence Against Women represents a serious attempt at co-ordination. However, despite its achievements, there has been very limited support from departments outside of Welfare and Justice. It is difficult to say how donors should follow government priorities in this field until government itself comes up with a co-ordinated approach across the many government agencies which need to address the issue.

1.9 CONCLUSION

This report suggests that donors and government in South Africa are performing relatively satisfactorily in respect of gender-targeted activity, but that this is not the case with mainstreaming. One suggested solution to the problems in mainstreaming is to focus more heavily on gender-targeted initiatives and accept that mainstreaming will not succeed. The problem with this approach is that it will never get to the core of the problem and achieve gender equity.

Donors' interest in poverty alleviation does not come out strongly in their gender-related assistance. Some would argue that this criticism applies to government achievements as well – that post-apartheid South Africa has been good to middle class women, but not to the poor. Effective assistance in respect of gender and poverty requires disaggregation not only in terms of women and men, but also in terms of different groups of women and men, girls and boys, looking at their needs and how government and donors are or are not addressing them.

The full report ends with a list of recommendations which aim to address some of the weaknesses uncovered.

1.10 RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Co-ordination: The Chief Directorate International Development Co-operation (IDC) – possibly with donor support – should convene a meeting which includes representatives of all bodies which make up the gender national machinery at national, provincial and local level. This meeting should discuss how donor co-ordination in respect of addressing gender issues could be ensured. Donors could join the second half of this meeting, but should not be present for the first part so as to allow free and open discussion.
2. Monitoring: We should abandon the hope of finding a 'quick-fix' single checklist to ensure gender is integrated in all initiatives. Donors and others can continue to use existing checklists. They and the IDC must try to ensure that the checklists are completed with care and honesty. Checking for gender integration should occur regularly throughout the life of projects and programmes, rather than only at the beginning, so as to pick up on problems during implementation. The South African government must take its full share of responsibility for monitoring and follow-up, and not leave this task to donors. This will help ensure that donors fall in with local priorities and plans.
3. Training: Training initiatives should increasingly move beyond sensitisation to engagement with the core work of trainees. This will avoid current frustrations where trainees are eager to do something about perceived inequalities, but lack the know-how as to how to proceed. Training should emphasise both the equity and efficiency arguments for addressing gender issues. This will help in shifting perceptions from seeing gender issues as yet another burden to appreciating how, by addressing gender issues, effectiveness in achieving other goals will be enhanced. Training initiatives should include management level within donor and government agencies

4. Technical assistance which brings together gender and sectoral expertise should be encouraged. Government should encourage donors not to draw on technical assistance only from their home country. In particular, technical assistance from within the country, elsewhere in Africa or other developed countries should be encouraged.
5. Study tours must allow for exposure to both positive and negative examples of what a particular country has to offer. Likewise, it must allow for exposure to both supporters and those more critical of the initiatives being show-cased.
6. Outsourcing should be viewed with caution. The project's core values should be built into contracts and performance monitoring. The use of NGOs should be encouraged and NGOs should be paid adequately and timeously.
7. Mainstreaming: All donor-government agreements should specify that gender will be mainstreamed. Agreement must be reached on relevant gender impact indicators. Gender impact evaluation should be undertaken at the end of each phase or before release of the next tranche of funds to ensure that mainstreaming and the indicators are taken seriously. Gender-targeted activities should continue alongside gender mainstreaming, particularly in areas such as gender violence.
8. Agencies need to ensure that they take OECD-DAC, their own, and other gender marker initiatives seriously and use them to full effect and honestly. Agencies need to find ways of promoting dialogue and cross-fertilisation between their staff. In particular, they need to promote dialogue between the technical and more 'social sector' staff, and between the gender experts and others.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

This report is part of a larger project undertaken by the Department of Finance (DoF), with the support of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and other donors, to evaluate donor assistance in South Africa in the period 1994-99. A key objective of the Development Co-operation Report (DCR) is to offer guidelines for the alignment of future official development assistance (ODA) to the development priorities of the South African government.

Phase I of the DCR was conducted by a team of local consultants with the assistance of an international expert and a range of donors. This second phase includes an assessment of ODA in certain sectors, thematic areas and regions. This report covers the thematic area of gender.

The terms of reference for the study are attached as an appendix. (The terms of reference were later slightly amended through an inception note.) The terms of reference note the following in relation to gender:

All donors express a commitment to gender-integrated programs. However, it is generally acknowledged that often both donors and recipients do not consider the gender implications of projects. In addition, very few projects are designed to target gender relations directly. One of the objectives of the DCR is to explore how ODA programs and projects could be gender-integrated.

This report is intended to provide the primary input as regards ODA and gender. However, because both donors and the South African government see gender as a crosscutting issue, gender is also something which needs to be considered in the sectoral and other thematic reports. The terms of reference of each of the other teams thus specified that they should consider gender issues. The difficulties encountered in achieving such integration, both in the DCR process and within ODA and government activities, constitute a core theme of this report.

The rest of this section describes the methodology followed in this study.

- ◆ Section 2 introduces some basic concepts that inform our approach.
- ◆ Section 3 discusses initiatives related to establishing a gender-sensitive environment. It covers both the national gender machinery and different forms of ODA designed to promote gender-sensitivity.
- ◆ Section 4 focuses on the effectiveness in terms of gender of the internal structures and mode of operation of the donor agencies.
- ◆ Section 5 looks at different methods of implementing initiatives.
- ◆ Section 6 looks at issues of ownership and control.
- ◆ Section 7, against the background of the preceding sections, considers the extent to which donor initiatives are contributing in the key areas of gender mainstreaming and gender violence.

- ◆ Section 8 provides a conclusion and some recommendations as to how government and donors might ensure that gender is better integrated in development assistance.

1.2 METHODOLOGY

1.2.1 Existing sources of information

The first South African Development Co-operation Report barely mentions gender and thus is of limited use for this study. The silence is not confined to the authors of that report. It reflects silences in the discussion and analysis of ODA more broadly. Thus the evaluators of the European Country Strategy for South Africa between 1996 and 1999 note that there is 'limited evidence of the use of analysis on poverty, gender or environment...' (Montes, Migliorisi & Wolfe, 1999:2).

As with other areas of ODA, there is a paucity of data relating to gender. The most focused study to date of ODA and gender in South Africa took place in the context of the extra-governmental Women's Budget Initiative. The *Fourth Women's Budget* (Budlender & Dube, 1999) included a study of donor funding to government, recorded in the chapter 'Gender and official developmental assistance in South Africa'. The chapter was based on data gathered in late 1998 and early 1999 and therefore covers the focus period of DCR II. Data was gathered from the overwhelming majority of the 30 or so identified bilateral and multilateral donors, and thus provides a solid basis from which to move forward. A weakness of the Women's Budget research is that it is based almost entirely on data obtained from donors. It refers only in passing to information from the recipient agencies or from other observers.

There are a number of other evaluations available of the gender-sensitivity or otherwise of the South African government's own approach. The Women's Budget Initiative's books between them cover all national departments of government, and a small number of local governments. As is evident from the title, a key concern of these analyses is budgetary allocations to different programmes and projects. There is thus a direct link between this work and the DCR research, as the latter must also have allocations as a key concern. However, the Women's Budget books emphasise that discussion of allocations needs to be accompanied by an analysis of the (gendered) situation in a particular sector, and the policy that government has designed to address that situation. It is only then that one can assess the adequacy and appropriateness of budgetary allocations and, finally, see whether the allocations result in effective implementation and the desired changes in the situation.

The government's first report to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) provides an assessment of the gender-sensitivity of policy from the government viewpoint. At present there are further evaluations and reports being prepared as part of Beijing+5 activities, but at the time of writing only the non-governmental organisation (NGO) shadow report was available. In general, these assessments devote very limited attention to ODA.

In the 1998/99 budget cycle, the Budget Office, in requesting MTEF submissions from agencies, specified that they should disaggregate the information. Unfortunately the Budget Office did not give any examples as to what they meant by disaggregation. The submissions provided very few disaggregations at all, and even fewer along gender lines. This could improve in future as agencies become more skilled at the new process. At this stage, however, there is little data from this source for this study.

1.2.2 The approach in this research

A study of all gender-related ODA interventions was clearly impossible, especially given that gender is meant to be integrated in each and every government and donor activity. A case study approach was instead adopted. Case studies were chosen as to cover a wide range of situations. Choices were made so as to:

- ◆ include both 'successes' and less successful interventions;
- ◆ include interventions funded by the larger donors, and those with most explicit gender policies;
- ◆ include examples within the national, provincial and local sphere;
- ◆ include examples beyond the executive, for example in the legislature, judiciary, and independent but government-funded bodies;
- ◆ include examples that are specifically targeted at poverty alleviation and job creation;
- ◆ include both gender-specific and gender-mainstreaming interventions;
- ◆ cover donor interventions that target different stages i.e. policy formulation, implementation, government systems, and human resources.

The methodology was designed so as to complement the Women's Budget study rather than subject the same informants to very similar questions after so short a time lapse. The study attempted to hear the views of a wide range of stakeholders, rather than the previous fairly full audit of donors alone. In addition to donors and government, consultants, evaluators and NGOs involved in ODA were consulted. In the interests of triangulation, the study elicited the views of different stakeholders concerning single interventions. The questions that formed the basis for the interviews are included as an appendix.

In addition to interviews, the study draws on the literature about ODA in South Africa more generally, and gender and development internationally. It also drew on the experience of the two researchers who, between them, have filled the roles of funder, consultant, government employee, NGO worker, and evaluator in a range of gender-related donor interventions in this country and elsewhere.

The study adopted a primarily qualitative approach. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, a separate team in DCR II had been asked to collect and analyse quantitative information relating to the full spectrum of ODA in the country. Secondly, providing meaningful figures on gender in ODA is difficult, if not impossible, particularly if one is interested in gender integration rather than gender-specific projects.

2 BASIC CONCEPTS

2.1 GENDER AND WOMEN

There are many different conceptions as to what gender issues are about, and how these differ from women's issues or issues related to poverty and disadvantage. The situation in South Africa is complicated by the fact that much of the gender machinery (see below) uses the word 'women' rather than the 'gender' which is more common in structures in other countries, and particularly those established in the late 1990s.

Differences in perception are found among and between donors and government agencies. Each of the other teams was asked, in their interviews, to enquire whether any funding in the sector was earmarked for gender, women or basic needs initiatives benefiting women. In framing the question in this way, we hoped to cover the full ambit of what stakeholders considered women- and gender-related initiatives.

Sex, gender and women

Often the words 'gender' and 'women', or 'gender' and 'sex' are used interchangeably when they, in fact, refer to concepts which are different in important ways. The term 'sex' refers to the biological differences between males and females. The term 'gender', on the other hand, is used to describe the socially determined characteristics of being male or female and the relationship between those defined as male and female. The use of 'women' rather than 'gender' in naming different parts of the national machinery in South Africa can be read as reflecting an interest in women's empowerment. This is itself a reflection of an understanding which sees power as being at the core of the gender relationship.

It is people within a society who define certain characteristics as masculine or feminine and certain activities as appropriate or inappropriate for men/boys or women/girls. Gender relations and identities are not universal, but vary from culture to culture and sometimes from community to community. They are dynamic and change over time. Because men/boys and women/girls have different socially defined roles and responsibilities, development interventions have different impacts on them. It is primarily those impacts that we are investigating in a gender analysis of donor or other funding.

In our understanding:

Gender initiatives seek to address and change gender relations, which we define as the (usually unequal) (power) relations between women and men. Such initiatives would include:

- ◆ Women's rights projects
- ◆ Legal literacy training

- ◆ Initiatives related to sexual and reproductive rights
- ◆ Policy development e.g. sexual harassment policy or gender policy
- ◆ Gender awareness/sensitisation training
- ◆ Rehabilitation of rape/sexual offenders.

Women initiatives involve schemes that are directly targeted at, and involve, women, but do not address gender relations. The schemes generally do not directly seek to change the gender relations between women and men. They are often referred to in the literature as 'women in development' (WID) initiatives. They would include:

- ◆ Support to women small, medium and micro-enterprises (SMMEs)
- ◆ Small-scale agriculture projects, e.g. vegetable gardens by women
- ◆ School feeding scheme projects implemented by women only
- ◆ Breast-feeding promotion projects.

Basic services initiatives, such as the provision of water, are usually perceived as fulfilling 'practical' gender needs. These are defined as needs associated with women's gender roles. 'Strategic' gender needs, on the other hand, are the needs related to challenging and changing those roles and the relationships involved. The basic services often do not attempt to change roles and relationships. Instead they try to lighten the burden of the roles. Basic services initiatives of interest would include:

- ◆ Provision of water, if the project is seen as benefiting women
- ◆ Provision of housing, if the project is meant to involve women, but is not designed to empower them to own or share ownership with their partner
- ◆ Education projects, adult basic education and training (ABET) projects that target women only
- ◆ Educare projects, if these depend on women as implementers and thus perpetuate the stereotype that it is only women who can be carers.

In this report we cover examples of each of these types of initiative. Donors and government see all of them as advancing the status of women and report on them when asked to discuss gender-related initiatives.

In this report we do not want to imply that one or the other type of initiative is preferable to another. We think all are valuable, but that it is important that government and donors are aware of the relative emphasis given to each of the three.

We also must acknowledge that the different categories are not watertight. For example, in empowering women entrepreneurs, a project may change the power relationships between these women and the men with whom they interact.

2.2 GENDER AND POVERTY

The discussion above does not explain clearly why one should focus on gender or women. The motivation is the existence of widespread inequality between women and men, girls and boys. Such inequality exists in most, if not all,

countries of the world, although it takes different forms in different places. For the most part, women come out on the disadvantaged side of the gender relationship. It is this latter fact which has caused much of the confusion around women and gender. The common use of the word 'women' in South Africa is seen as reactionary by some analysts, but can also be understood as underlining the importance of women's empowerment if gender relations are to be equalised.

Both donors and government openly acknowledge the existence of gender (and other) inequalities in South Africa. The Constitution goes as far as providing for affirmative action to address the inequalities. The following quote from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development sets out a similar perspective from the point of view of donors. It provides, like the Constitution, for substantive rather than formal equality, in acknowledging the possible need for different treatment in order to achieve equality or equity:

Gender equality requires equal enjoyment by women and men of socially valued goods, opportunities, resources and rewards. Gender equality does not mean that men and women become the same, but that their opportunities and life chances are equal. The emphasis on gender equality and women's empowerment does not presume a particular model of gender equality for all societies and cultures, but reflects a concern that women and men have equal opportunities to make choices about what gender equality means and work in partnership to achieve it.... Because of current disparities, equal treatment of women and men is insufficient as a strategy for gender equality. Equal treatment in the context of inequalities can mean the perpetuation of disparities... (OECD, 1998:11).

The South African Constitution outlaws gender discrimination at the same time as outlawing discrimination on the basis of a range of other characteristics. Within the country the need for such an emphasis is often justified in terms of 'disadvantage' – that women, black people, rural people, disabled people are disadvantaged.

One of the most common, and most important, forms of disadvantage is the economic. Stated crudely, women, black people, rural people and disabled people are *more likely* to be poor than others are. This does not, however, mean that all women, all black people, all rural people or all disabled people are poor.

One of the primary concerns of the DCR – and a stated primary aim of both government policy and ODA – is poverty alleviation. In this research we have therefore taken as a key concern the extent to which ODA, and gender-related ODA, addresses the issues of poor women.

2.3 GENDER ANALYSIS OF BUDGETS

The Women's Budget Initiative (WBI) has, for the past four years, been analysing government budgets from a gender perspective. Simply stated, the aim is to find out the impact of government revenue collection and expenditure

on women and men, girls and boys, and different groups of women and men, girls and boys.

The WBI has developed a three-way categorisation of the budget and related interventions which is also useful in ensuring that our evaluation of gender-related interventions is not lopsided. The three categories are as follows:

1. *Gender- or women-targeted expenditures*: these are amounts specifically allocated for women's or gender projects. It would include allocations for the Commission on Gender Equality, for gender sensitivity training, and for Welfare's Flagship Programme for Unemployed Women with Young Children.
2. *Affirmative action/equal opportunities expenditures for government employees*: these are amounts which are allocated to promote equality within the public service.
3. *Mainstream or general expenditures*: These include all other expenditures, which make up the bulk of the budget of any agency.

As with the three categories discussed in the previous sub-section, this three-way categorisation is not watertight. It is nevertheless useful in identifying and avoiding an over-concentration on the first two categories, which are the easiest to identify. As will be seen below, our overall impression is that government and donors have often fallen prey to such an over-concentration.

The first category can be important because of the existence of special needs. An appendix to this report contains an extract from the Women's Budget Research listing the gender-targeted initiatives of each donor in late 1998.

The second category is an area to which donors, understandably, have directed limited attention. It is important to address past inequalities in government employment, but these initiatives do not directly reach the vast majority of the population who are not employed (by government or at all!).

However, unless the third category is addressed, we cannot talk of mainstreaming gender issues. It is mainstreaming or gender integration (discussed briefly here and in more detail below) which the terms of reference state as the primary focus of this study and which arguably has the potential for greatest impact.

Mainstreaming of a gender perspective, while widely accepted as the 'correct' approach or the ultimate goal, is often misunderstood. In 1997 the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations defined mainstreaming as:

... the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in any area and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality (United Nations General Assembly, 1997:cl5)

The corollary of this approach is that '[w]omen's advancement should not be a marginal exercise of micro-level projects...' (United Nations General Assembly, 1997:cl6) i.e. government and donor initiatives in respect of gender should not be restricted to the WBI's category (a).

2.4 EQUITY OR EFFICIENCY

One of the other DCR teams observed a difference in slant in the gender approach adopted by South African and donor players. They said that South African players are more likely to focus on questions of equality, while some donors raise the gender question more as it relates to achieving effective and sustainable development (see OECD quote above for an example). Thus while the South African side focuses on rights, these donors talk about the value added by including women on an equal basis.

Equality arguments are understandably – and justifiably – important in South Africa given our history. Gender equality should, we would argue, be pursued even if it has a cost. The 'value added' view is, however, important in opening the discussion as to how concepts such as efficiency and cost are understood. This broadening of the debate might begin to convince some sceptics who see gender as a 'special interest' question that has little to do with the overall well being of society.

The blindness to these alternative viewpoints is particularly strong in economics, and thus in budget-related decisions. Elson and McGee point to three sources of gender-based distortion in resource allocation to which, they claim, most economists are blind. The sources are:

- ◆ the unequal access of women and men to resources and services;
- ◆ the unpaid work that mainly women perform in reproducing their families and society;
- ◆ the unequal exchange between women and men within households, in terms of patterns of work and income distribution (1995:1991).

They argue that public policy can and should address these inefficiency-producing distortions by, for example, providing infrastructural services which reduce the time spent on unpaid domestic work. Locally, the importance of looking at unpaid labour has emerged repeatedly in the Women's Budget Initiative research across a broad range of sectors.

The approach finds further support in UN documents. Thus a General Assembly document acknowledges that ignoring unpaid work can 'skew the meaning of such terms as 'efficiency'. What may be regarded as an increase in efficiency may instead be a shift of costs from the paid to the unpaid sector' (UN General Assembly, 1997:cl18).

Elson and McGee base their critique on the structural adjustment programmes common in many developing countries. South Africa has not been subjected to a structural adjustment programme in the same way as many other countries, although some critics have labelled the Growth, Employment and Redistribution

(GEAR) strategy as a self-imposed programme. GEAR adopted a traditional economic approach that did not look beyond standard definitions of efficiency.

GEAR had input from donors. Indeed one of the authors was at the time working for the Bank. One cannot, however, blame the gender-blindness of the approach on donor influence. One also cannot attribute it to the presence of only one (white) woman among the eleven authors.

Nevertheless, whatever the source of the blindness, it raises questions as to the extent to which the basic framework encourages attention to some of the more important gender issues in the sectoral and other policies which have GEAR as their base. (See Orr et al, 1998, for a full discussion of GEAR from a gender perspective.)

On the other hand, for this research, one must consider the observation in a recent Canadian review of ODA: 'while most donors have taken GEAR on board, their main sectors of intervention appear to still be based on the priorities defined within the RDP (Reconstruction and Development Programme)' (Anon, 1999:4).

3 ESTABLISHING A GENDER-SENSITIVE ENVIRONMENT

3.1 THE GENERAL FRAMEWORK

The terms of reference for the DCR require that researchers pay attention to the macro-economic policies and tools of the government and in particular the GEAR strategy and medium-term expenditure framework.

In 1996 the OECD noted that, internationally, gender issues had primarily been addressed in ODA at the micro project level rather than a broader programme level. As a result, projects were only stage amended 'to incorporate gender concerns, or to mitigate negative effects, after the critical decisions have been made about priorities, resource allocation and types of interventions' (OECD, 1996:6).

The organisation recommended that aid agencies consider the impact on women at the level of structural adjustment and sectoral strategies and programmes, and not only at the micro-level but two years later observed little improvement in this respect (OECD, 1998:26). Internationally gender analysts have only recently increasingly focused on economics, and on macro-economics in particular. The gender budget initiative of the Commonwealth, for which South Africa acted as a pilot, is one small practical aspect of this.

Engendering government budgets

The funding for the first year of the NGO-parliamentary Women's Budget Initiative came from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Ford Foundation. In subsequent years the extra-governmental initiative received support from the Netherlands Embassy, Commonwealth Secretariat, Ford Foundation, United Nations Development Fund for Women (Unifem), the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, Oxfam-Canada/Novib and GTZ.

For the inside-government initiative, the Commonwealth Secretariat provided funding to enable MP Pregs Govender and the co-ordinator of the extra-governmental initiative to accompany then Deputy Minister Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi to the Fifth Meeting of Commonwealth Ministers Responsible for Women's Affairs in Trinidad in 1996. The South African input at that meeting promoted support for a Commonwealth-wide gender budget initiative and South Africa became the first pilot.

In mid-1997 central Commonwealth funds covered an exploratory visit by London-based staff of the Commonwealth and their consultant, Diane Elson. The local Commonwealth office arranged through AUSAID to bring Rhonda Sharp, who had been involved in the Australian Women's Budget, as a member of the team.

In 1995 Elson and McGee found that many donors had been able to incorporate WID and gender perspectives into projects as the target populations were usually clearly identifiable. However, there was 'widespread uncertainty' as to how to incorporate gender in respect of programme assistance, which accounted for 12% of all DAC donor's aid commitments. South Africa does not, in fact, receive programme support of this form. Some of the points raised by Elson and McGee nevertheless echo findings from other sources.

They note that the country strategy reports, which many donor agencies produce, deal unevenly with gender issues. In particular, the economic sections of the report are weak – or even silent – on gender (1995:1991). Similarly, the World Bank poverty assessments mention women and/or gender only to a limited extent, usually only as they relate to human resource issues. The final policy sections are 'particularly notable for the absence or highly limited discussion of gender issues.' (Whitehead et al, 1999: iii).

Again we must be careful before extending the argument to the South African case. South Africa's poverty assessment was conducted in the very early years of the new democracy, and government did not play a role.

The more relevant report in our case is the Poverty and Inequality Report (PIR) published in 1998. The PIR was funded by the British Department for International Development (DFID), the UNDP, the World Bank, the Netherlands and the Deputy President's Office. The original idea was that the research and report would be a joint effort of the multilateral agencies and local experts. After ongoing tensions between the local experts and the World Bank, in particular,

the committee of South African directors-general ensured that the report would be a local one, which the Bank and others could use as they saw fit.

In South Africa, the local team at the outset established an important victory when they convinced the World Bank that in this country one a poverty report must focus on poverty and inequality together. The South African insistence on discussing inequality – i.e. the relationship between rich and poor – echoes the insistence in the gender field around focusing on the relationship between women and men, rather than women in isolation. The section of the report that caused most controversy was the part dealing with macro-economics and the GEAR policy. The section was, however, more or less silent on gender issues.

The PIR involved around 50 researchers. The local team's preference was to avoid a separate report on gender and rather require every researcher to consider gender. At the insistence of the UNDP, a separate gender chapter was, in fact, commissioned for the PIR. Some other researchers also took up the issue. However, Bennett, in assessing this and other documents for their attention to the serious problem of gender-based violence, notes that it is only the human development section – in its discussion of education, health, HIV/AIDS and crime – that the PIR raises the issue (1999:9).

The PIR can be dismissed as a research-based initiative with little practical importance. On the other hand, the government appeared to treat the report with some seriousness. Their attitude underlined the role played by knowledge in policy-making. As Sogge notes:

‘Policy-making manipulates prevailing assumptions and ‘regimes of truth’ (using a range of technologies which includes research) to legitimise and blanket the terrains in which policy decisions – and non-decisions – are made... The World Bank has not for nothing resolved to convert itself from being chiefly a bank to being chiefly a centre of knowledge production.’ (Sogge, 1999:73)

We are not arguing here for more research on gender-related issues. We argue instead for the inclusion of gender issues in all research initiatives.

Beyond research, Bond provides examples of policies in which he sees the World Bank as having exerted a heavy influence. Each of the named policies has significant gender implications.

Bond argues that the Bank was key in advocating a ‘dramatically lower child maintenance grant (paid to primary caregivers of young children, largely women), promotion of food-for-work projects in Public Works projects (instead of being paid for work) (thus encouraging employment of women - authors¹), and in the bank's suggestions of the commodification of basic health services’ (Hooper-Box: v).

¹ A World Bank document prepared for the 1995 Beijing Conference notes: “Rural public works programs or food for work programs in many parts of the world are designed to attract more rural women than men, since men often prefer cash wages over wages in kind” (World Bank, 1995:10).

Another informant said that the idea, put forward by a Finance official, that caregivers should receive food stamps rather than the child support grant cash transfer, was also probably a Bank-inspired idea.

However, Bond's examples, rather than demonstrating Bank influence, again provide some evidence of South African resistance to donor ideas. The South African government chose not to implement food-for-work and food stamps, and went against international trends of the time when it introduced free health care for all young children and breast-feeding and pregnant women, and free primary health care for all.

3.2 GENDER POLICIES

3.2.1 National gender policy

Unlike many other African countries – and developing countries elsewhere – South Africa does not have a gender policy. The Constitution nevertheless provides a solid framework, and there is no question about the government's official (and often more than this) commitment to gender equality. Indeed, Klos compares the South African situation favourably with that found elsewhere. She suggests that some countries which have gender policies pay too little attention to strategic needs in the form of empowerment and access to resources and decision-making and that, as a result, the policies remain 'vague and without consequences when broken down to guidelines' (1999:8). She compares this with the situation in South Africa, where she sees gender equality as being firmly entrenched (1999:8).

Others share this view. A representative of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), responding to the Women's Budget research of 1999, noted that the 'end result' of their policy support in developing the new South African constitution was a document which, 'while closely modeled on our own, goes even further in enshrining the rights of women and minorities within society'. Subsequent to the Constitution, laws such as the Employment Equity Act Prevention of Discrimination Act and more gender-sensitive labour laws have further entrenched the right to gender equality.

In addition to the constitutional provisions, gender and/or women's issues are raised in virtually all the sectoral policy papers issued during the first five years of the new democracy. Nevertheless, the absence of a national gender policy in South Africa is not for want of trying. There have been no less than three attempts so far – all funded by donors – to produce a national gender policy.

The first initiative was undertaken by the RDP Office in the first years of the new democracy, with assistance from the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) and Commonwealth Secretariat. The initiative did not result in a gender policy (see further below).

However, during Motsei's term at the RDP, a lengthy draft women's empowerment strategy was drawn up in collaboration with women parliamentarians and NGOs. This draft never became official. It was, however, taken by South African representatives to the Beijing Conference and is referred

to elsewhere (e.g. Longwe, 1999:5) as if it was an official publication of the RDP Office.

The second gender policy initiative occurred after the closure of the RDP Office, once the responsibility for gender had shifted to the Deputy President's Office. DANIDA again provided assistance. Lindelwa Ntutela, who had recently returned from exile, was employed on a short-term contract. A draft was produced in collaboration with the Commonwealth Secretariat and NGO gender experts. Again, the final document never saw the light of day.

The third initiative occurred after the establishment of the Office on the Status of Women (OSW). UNDP provided technical assistance from within the continent. A draft policy document was produced, and a meeting held to discuss it. Many months later the final document has still not appeared.

In all these initiatives one of the important sticking points appears to be how to get the policy officially accepted once the document has been drawn up. The problem appears to be partly a lack of urgency in respect of gender, rather than disagreement by senior officials with the approach adopted. Further, at this stage the gender policy is so long delayed that the initiative has lost momentum and interest.

3.2.2 Sectoral gender policies

The production of sectoral gender policies has been somewhat more successful. For example, the Departments of Justice, Water Affairs and Forestry and Land Affairs have gender policies, the Department of Education has the Gender and Education Task Team report and the Department of Trade and Industry has a Gender Action Plan. All but two of these (Trade and Industry and Land Affairs) were produced with some donor assistance. The Department of Justice had technical assistance through AUSAID. The Department of Water Affairs & Forestry (DWAF) had technical assistance, funded by the Commonwealth Secretariat, in the form of Zambia-based Sara Longwe and her partner, Clark.

The Gender and Education Task Team

The Gender and Education Task Team received assistance from multiple donors. This mirrors donor interest in gender and education worldwide. A local academic supported by a team composed entirely of South Africans led the investigation.

The Task Team was appointed in late 1996 and reported in 1997. Team members were chosen as representatives of particular interest groups rather than on account of their knowledge of the education field. The main funding for the initiative was provided by the Swedish International Development Co-operation Agency (SIDA).

In the course of the investigation and report-writing, the team received technical assistance from Australian and other experts funded by the respective countries, often through the Commonwealth Secretariat.

The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) provided funding for a conference. The funds for the team were channeled through the Centre for Education and Policy Development, and then through the University of Western Cape where the team leader was based.

It is difficult to ascertain what the impact of these sectoral policies has been. The experience in Trade and Industry is not very heartening. The Department has an energetic and enthusiastic person responsible for gender. Towards the end of 1999 the agency produced a report documenting what they had done in the field of gender.

The report focuses primarily on internal transformation in the form of representation. In respect of delivery, it notes that the 'sluggishness of implementing most of the gender activities in various directorates can be interpreted as failure and reluctance on their part to integrate gender into their daily work' (Department of Trade & Industry, 1999: 23).

Towards the end of 1999 a local consultant was employed to review the extent to which managers (director level upward) knew about the Gender Action Plan, understood it, and were doing anything about it. The process was planned to include a presentation of the draft report to the full strategic management team, so as to allow incorporation of comments and ensure buy-in.

The report was written but this presentation never occurred. One of the problems was the 'turmoil' in the department at the time. In particular, the previous deputy minister had been promoted to another ministry and the director-general was about to leave. Both of these key players had been very strong supporters of the gender initiatives.

In terms of content, the review found that some directors did not understand the Action Plan at all. One informant, for example, claimed that the wording was 'vague', but did not seem to have made any attempt to find out what it meant. Another director said that his job was to focus on his core responsibility and that incorporating gender would dilute this. A third director was keen to do

something, having been 'gender-sensitised' while a student. However he said that, as an economist, he did not have the necessary skills. The same confusion as to what implementing gender-sensitivity would mean was found among other managers who seemed committed to doing what they could if given direction.

Longwe, writing about DWAF, records that the process there incorporated capacity building for staff in policy formulation both generally and in respect of gender. The process started with a two-day gender training workshop for top DWAF officials. A steering committee oversaw the process and much of the drafting work was done in the different sub-directorates.

Longwe explains that the purpose of the gender policy process was to integrate gender into existing policies given that many officials saw the agency's services as 'technical scientific and engineering, without an important social dimension' (Longwe, 1999:2). She notes that 'perhaps a small part of the benefit was in the form of the actual outcome – a new gender policy' (1999:2).

Yet, despite this attention to process, training and integration, the water and sanitation team of the DCR found that the strategic plan for the implementation of the gender policy was only expected to be ready by August 2000, nearly three years after the policy itself was completed. During the Beijing+5 review, the transformation director attributed the lack of commitment to the fact that they had not been consulted.

In another department with a developed gender policy, a senior official noted that the policy was 'fairly decent' and that there were high levels of commitment at senior level. Nevertheless, 'there really isn't an implementable system to drive gender into the heart of delivery – and that is the real challenge.' In yet another department without an explicit policy, a senior official noted that the gender focal point had raised awareness in the department, and that this was important in itself. However, she went on: 'The general propositions about gender are there, but not the details. And that is what delivery is about.'

The possible disjuncture between policy and practice is not, of course, confined to gender. The widely accepted differentiation of the Mandela and Mbeki eras distinguishes between the first five years when policy-making predominated and the current period in which the country is trying to implement this policy.

Crehan and Shapiro argue that research (and we could include evaluations here) which focus on process, rather than simply 'on proposals, plans and recommendations – on what is supposed to happen – and on ... results – on what has or has not happened' might help in understanding problems of unsuccessful implementation (1999:33). We would go further and argue that the evaluations should be freely available and widely distributed so that everyone can learn from them.

The sectoral gender policy initiatives reflect the process-oriented style of gender activists and development workers. This makes the process time- and resource-consuming. It is intended, however, to result in a better product, and greater buy-in from role-players both inside and outside government. In at least one case the emphasis on process led to tension between the consultant and funders.

3.3 GENDER PROFILES

There are at least two donor-commissioned gender profiles of South Africa. The first was commissioned by SIDA and produced by a consultant from the British Institute of Development Studies, with assistance from two local academics. Its target audience was South Africans and foreign academics. SIDA also decided to commission a shorter and more popular version of the somewhat academic report, so as to reach a broader local and foreign audience.

At about the time this report was nearing completion the Japanese International Co-operation Agency (JICA) entered the country. JICA staff was instructed to commission a local agency to commission a gender profile. Local people told the person responsible that this seemed unnecessary given the recent production of the SIDA report, as well as the recent completion of the country's first report to CEDAW. The JICA representative attended the workshop at which Baden and her co-authors presented her report. The agency nevertheless insisted that they follow their normal practice and commissioned a local NGO. This second report was intended for the donor country rather than a South African audience.

In their article Elson and McGee provide guidelines as to how gender profiles could avoid the common pitfall of underplaying the economy. They suggest that their approach would provide an 'analysis of a national economy as a gendered structure' rather than simply treating the economy 'as the context for an analysis of the position of women, or the comparative positions of women and men' (1995:1992). Their proposal includes discussion of macro-economics and the unpaid and informal economies. While Baden's piece might not fully address all the issues they raise, it probably does so to a greater extent than many other countries's gender profiles.

Gender profiles provide donor agencies and others with an overview of the gender situation in the country. The danger with such profiles is that their completion is seen as absolving those responsible of considering gender issues in relation to the more general policy and situation analyses, as well as in relation to specific interventions. The OECD has recognised the importance of conducting gender analysis as an integrated part of all stages respect of specific programmes and projects. 'A gender analysis is most effective when it is an integrated part of policy, planning, monitoring and evaluation processes, rather than a separate, isolated activity' (OECD, 1998:20).

3.4 GENDER MACHINERY

Specialised structures in government (and sometimes outside as well) have been promoted internationally as a way of ensuring that adequate attention is paid to gender issues. There is much debate as to the most effective form for these structures, which are variously referred to as 'national machinery' or 'gender management structures'.

3.4.1 Creating the framework

In the run-up to the 1994 elections, the Women's National Coalition spearheaded discussion and information-gathering about different possibilities in terms of national machinery. After input from around the world, the country decided against a special ministry for women or gender, fearing that this would marginalise gender issues. Instead it opted for a 'package' of structures. The original conception included the national Commission on Gender Equality (CGE) which was provided for in the Constitution, plus structures within national and provincial government. It saw these structures working closely with women in parliament and civil society.

A later addition to the package was the Committee on the Improvement of the Quality of Life and Status of Women in the national parliament. There are also structures developing within the local government sphere.

The Office on the Status of Women (OSW) and Commission on Gender Equality only came into operation in 1997. While the RDP Office existed it included the DANIDA-funded gender unit staffed by a secondee from a local NGO, and assisted by a Commonwealth consultant. The Office was also able to call on the services of other local gender activists, including MPs and people in NGOs.

These activists assisted the Office in producing the country's Beijing report, as well as in 'gender-editing' a range of policy documents. This work was often performed unpaid, and did not as far as we know, draw on donor funds.

When the RDP Office closed, the function was transferred to the Deputy President's Office, where it operated without donor funds. It was this same office which eventually hosted the Office on the Status of Women in 1997.

Gender in the RDP Office

The RDP gender staff saw their task as 'engendering the RDP'. The Commonwealth consultant understood that South Africans had already developed a clear framework on gender after a period of intense debate and discussion. What was needed was to 'flesh it out'. In retrospect the initiative faced the same central problem as the rest of the RDP office in that it was a parallel bureaucracy which experienced difficulty in finding ways to have impact on the line departments. The gender unit was further marginalised to the extent that its offices were at the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA) in Midrand, rather than with the rest of the RDP in the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

The RDP gender staff took advantage of the location, the then vibrant debate at the DBSA around gender and the support of top management. Both DBSA and the gender unit saw themselves as trying to move attention away from a sole focus on race and gender within the bureaucracy to issues of delivery. In the absence of a developed national and provincial machinery, the DBSA and gender unit staff also provided the core for an 'intergovernmental forum' of self-identified women government employees across a number of departments who felt strongly

about gender issues. They also interacted with a small group of key players in parliament and civil society.

The gender unit submitted a draft gender policy to RDP management in the hope that a workshop could be held to finalise the document. The workshop did not take place. On the one hand, RDP management was seen as not being particularly interested in this issue given all their other tasks. On the other hand, the gender activists had a lot of their energy 'consumed' by Beijing. This reflected a larger problem – the difficulty of focusing. The unit was 'asked to get involved in everything... So there was an open door, but we drew the line on what we felt we could influence. We would listen and comment on everything, but you must narrow what you get your teeth into. It is so difficult, especially with gender, because it is in everything.' This tension is still an ongoing one for many of the gender focal points within departments.

Beyond the RDP Office, the national Department of Welfare, under then Deputy Minister and later Minister Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi, played a significant role in respect of co-ordination of gender issues before the establishment of the OSW.

The period was an important one internationally because of the 1995 Beijing Conference and the activities that needed to precede and follow it. The country's first CEDAW report was also produced before the OSW was firmly established.

Donors supported all these processes. UNICEF alone transferred an amount of R70 000 (from SIDA) to the Department of Welfare in 1994/5. At the time of this research it was not clear how this money was spent. The Department said that they gave R50 000 of this amount to the Women's National Coalition but UNICEF has no detailed accounts for this disbursement. SIDA also gave a further SEK 800 000 to the Department and SEK 1,4m to the Women's National Coalition in support of Beijing preparations.

In 1996 UNDP allocated an amount of R1,5m (US\$300 000) for further support to the Beijing process. At the time of this research the equivalent of under R700 000² had been accessed – R200 000 in April 1996, R434 000 in May 1996, R39 410 in November 1996, and R20 000 in February 1997. UNDP feels unable to disburse further money while previous disbursements are unaccounted for. At the same time it is frustrated that money is 'trapped' in their hands because of the Department's lack of accountability while many government officers are still ignorant about the Beijing Platform of Action.

The Commonwealth Secretariat, which had a South African office between 1994 and March 1998, played a major role in providing financial, technical and logistical support to the nascent gender machinery. The support amounted to R1m a year in indirect costs. It provided for:

² At the R5 to US dollar exchange rate of 1996.

- ◆ Overseas visits to Australia by Geraldine Fraser Moleketi and MP Nozizwe Madlala Routledge;
- ◆ Departmental assistance on gender issues to Water Affairs, Defence, South African Police Services, DTI, and the Public Service;
- ◆ Special support to the Department of Welfare in respect of its interim lead role, including for production of a newsletter, Imbhokodo;
- ◆ Support to the Department of Finance for gender analysis of the budget;
- ◆ Support to the South African Local Government Association's Gender Unit;
- ◆ Support in establishing the Parliamentary Women's Group and Women's Empowerment Unit;
- ◆ Workshops in all provinces around the establishment of gender machinery.

The Commonwealth also provided support to the CGE and OSW when they were first established.

3.4.2 Provincial structures

The delay in establishing the CGE and OSW did not stop some provinces and line ministries from establishing their own structures, but did cause some confusion and unhappiness about roles. Some of the provinces established their own 'Commissions'. These were generally considered political appointments, rather than civil servant posts. It was only after prolonged debates that these have been converted into provincial OSWs.

At the time of the research all provinces except KwaZulu-Natal had their own OSWs. The absence of a structure in KwaZulu-Natal has not prevented progress in taking gender forward there. In many cases there are gender focal points, gender units, or gender desks in provincial line ministries, although these posts are, too often, allocated to administrative clerks.

There is also still some confusion about structures, in particular in relation to channels of accountability. Many provincial OSWs were said to be torn, given their limited resources, between responding to requests from the national OSW in relation to initiatives such as the recent gender audit, and responding to demands from their own Premiers to whom they were formally accountable.

In the course of this research we looked in some detail at the gender machinery in two provinces – Northern Province and Mpumalanga. We are not able to say to what extent these provinces are typical. Both have received some donor assistance. As the descriptions below show, however, it is difficult to get a clear picture of the extent of this assistance in respect of gender issues because little, if any, money flows directly to the OSWs. Further, there is the problem of double counting, where some funds come direct to the province, but the bulk probably come through the related national line ministry.

The OSW in **Northern Province** is relatively large, with nine full-time staff. It was established in May 1997 and is headed by a Deputy Director. The budget decreased from an amount of R4 783 000 in 1996/7 to R2m in 1999/2000. All the funds are internal rather than from donors.

There has, however, been some access to funds beyond the Unit's own allocation. For example, in 1998, the South African Management and Development Institute (SAMDI) funded and facilitated capacity building in policy development for OSW staff. At the same time, the Institute for Democracy in South Africa provided gender training with funds from the Konrad Adenauer Foundation. The National Network on Violence against Women funded workshops on gender violence, and the national Departments of Justice and Welfare funded events and activities around gender violence and HIV/AIDS.

The Northern Province Education department meanwhile accessed funds for gender in education from UNICEF. It also accessed SIDA funds (close on R200 000 over two years) secured by the National department and held in trust by the Centre for Education Policy Development and Management.

In **Mpumalanga** the OSW was established in 1997. Before that date R1,5m was allocated annually from provincial coffers for the then provincial commission, housed in the Department of Health and Welfare. The 1997/8 budget provided R1,4m for two full-time OSW officials and an administrator. The amount varied over the next years with staff leaving and joining.

The Mpumalanga OSW has also not received any direct donors funds. It has, however, benefited from technical support, in particular from Germany. This occurred in the framework of the GTZ-Provincial Administration Capacity Building Programme, which started towards the end of 1995.

In 1997 a six-person exchange visit was organised by GTZ and the North Rhine-Westphalian State Chancellery. The visit particularly addressed gender and women promotion issues and participants included two OSW representatives, two RDP representatives and two members of the provincial legislature.

The Austrian twinning partner Carinthia provided gender training for local councillors. In 1998 GTZ provided technical support for the development of a business plan for the OSW and for a (draft) gender policy. In 1998 the OSW was again included in a six-person study tour organised by CIDA. Informants reported that both study tours were fruitful in terms of gender issues even though did not focus exclusively on gender.

Gender training for the province's gender focal points and transformation unit staff as well as the Gender Task Team members has been accessed through South African NGOs such as the African Gender Institute and the Gender Education and Training Network (GETNET) as well as regionally. This is part of the GTZ-Provincial Administration Capacity Building's efforts to promote the integration of gender and disability issues into the overall transformation process in the province. Funding in respect of training, campaigns and awareness-raising on gender violence has been accessed from GTZ and SIDA. The Mpumalanga OSW preferred the donors to disburse funds themselves for such initiatives, rather than requiring that the Office handle the finance and administration.

Donor-funded gender initiatives undertaken by other Mpumalanga government agencies include:

- ◆ The Department of Central Services' German-funded Rural and Urban Development process. The Department said these were based on RDP principles and thus automatically incorporate gender, but did not give details;
- ◆ Life skills training for disabled women, under the Office of the Status of Disabled People, funded by DFID;
- ◆ R573 000 for local councillor training through the Special Projects Unit from DFID.

In addition to these two case studies, we looked at the Local Government Development Support Programme (LGDSP) in Northern Cape. This is a mainstream, province-wide project, which focuses on local government but has a significant gender component. This case study does not fit neatly into either the national machinery category, or the provincial one. This fact, itself, raises questions as to how gender integration works in this type of project, and how the work can learn from and contribute to other gender-related initiatives.

Gender in Northern Cape municipalities

The SIDA-funded LGDSP is a multi-faceted programme which, in its first phase, attempted to develop best practice through working with a number of Northern Cape municipalities. The project is managed by Swedish local government organisations that sent out both long-term and short-term consultants to work with the councillors and officials. The project as a whole consists of a number of teams, each of which is based in two municipalities – one stronger and one weaker. In addition, there are two cross-cutting provincial teams, one of which focuses on gender, poverty and disability.

Gender was also to have two municipality-based teams. There were, however, great difficulties in convincing any of the smaller municipalities to take on this particular focus.

Gender is thus, unlike the other foci, restricted to the relatively more 'liberal' Kimberley municipality. Even here, the municipality only agreed after the LGDSP called on the assistance of the MEC.

Further, it is clear that gender is regarded with much caution. The gender team has been won over to the concept, but stresses that gender means 'men and women' and is not about 'women's empowerment'. As they explain, 'in a conservative world, you must first put the male higher, to soften the blow... We bring it in instead as equality and equity. We make it clear we are not talking about women. Then we say empowerment comes from equity.' An outside trainer was not employed a second time when he was found to be 'too strong on women's issues and too weak on gender.'

One observer suggested that this tortuous formulation probably means the project focuses more on addressing practical needs than on addressing strategic needs which might challenge current gender roles.

Be that as it may, the Kimberley team is committed, energetic and enthused enough to have proposed the establishment of a permanent gender committee, with representation from councillors, officials and

unions. (Unions are currently not part of the team). It has recognised the importance of getting senior people and stipulates that all representatives be at least D band in terms of the Paterson scale.

During a visit to Sweden, Kimberley participants were also proud to observe that they were more advanced than the municipalities they visited. In particular, they observed that their Swedish counterparts seemed to focus on internal gender issues within the municipality, rather than gender issues related to delivery.

The influence of the activity around gender has spread beyond the team itself. There has been training for all the other teams, and each is said to have found at least one gender issue in relation to their focus area. Within Kimberley, the LGDSP has heard examples of women councillors who have taken the work further in their own wards – for example by establishing gender desks, or introducing emergency poles on the 911 principle that connect with the fire station.

3.4.3 Local government

The main gender machinery within the local government sphere is situated within the South African Local Government Association (SALGA). This body brings together councillor representatives from around the country. A few of the larger municipalities also have gender units of some sort. These typically include both councillors and officials.

SALGA has recently employed a full time gender officer and a policy researcher. SALGA's gender working group consists of one person from each province and a chairperson. The group meets on a bi-monthly basis. In 1998 the gender working group received R200 000 from the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation and R100 000 from SIDA. The money, channelled through a unit at the University of South Africa, was intended for use in incorporating gender issues in integrated development plans (IDPs) and in budgets. In 1999/2000 SALGA received R10m from the government fiscus. In addition it had a 3-year agreement with NORAD for R270 000, to be channelled through a Norwegian local government body. Included in this agreement was R48 000 for capacity building of women councillors.

At the time of the interview the gender group was hoping to access further funds from SIDA to employ a person to work on policies in respect of gender, sexual harassment, representation and procurement, as well as for training of councillors in respect of gender equality.

Other sources suggest that a fair amount of resources from both official and NGO sources have been directed at training of women councillors. The UNDP, for example, allocated US\$350 000 to the Women's Development Foundation for the training of councillors, most of which has been utilised.

3.4.4 Line ministries

Within national departments there are two different structures which are explicitly tasked to deal with gender issues. Firstly, each agency has a transformation unit which, in terms of the White Paper on the Transformation of the Public Service, is tasked with dealing with issues of representivity of staff. The second structure is the gender unit. South Africa's first CEDAW reported that by early May 1997, 11 of the 28 national departments had some form of gender unit. The OSW's gender audit should establish how many currently exist.

Ideally the gender units should focus on gender issues which arise in the delivery for which their agency is responsible. In practice, this is not always the case and many of the units spend at least some of their time on internal issues, thus duplicating work that should be the responsibility of the transformation unit.

The units take on the internal issues both out of their own interest and because of the misunderstanding of senior officials in the agencies. Thus one informant noted that the brief for the Gender Education Task Team 'was really about women in higher jobs in the department and head teachers'. Further, Longwe notes that in DWAF, when drafting the gender policy, there was 'far more interest in internal gender policy, and some initial difficulty in getting participants to even turn their minds to the problems of the 40 million customers anticipating receiving public service from DWAF' (Longwe, 1999:2).

Even in a Department such as Trade and Industry, where gender issues have received attention and resources from the top, the unit is accountable directly to the director-general but until very recently fell under the Corporate Services Chief Directorate, as part of the Human Resources & Administration sub directorate (DTI, 1999:12).

With the advent of the new director-general, the gender unit has been transferred to his office and upgraded to a directorate. On the down side, the person has now been given responsibility for both internal and external transformation and is also responsible for all the 'equity' issues – gender, youth, HIV/AIDS, black empowerment, disability. This is an enormous challenge for a tiny unit. The hope is that, with the restructuring, gender responsiveness can be built into the different strategy papers from the outset rather than added on later.

In the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry, the gender unit is also part of the Transformation Directorate and has tended to focus on internal issues.

In Land Affairs there was a deliberate decision to place the unit outside of corporate services so as to avoid a focus on internal issues. In this case the unit falls under the Land Reform Implementation branch, in the directorate which provides backup and support to provincial offices. A recent review of the land reform programme has a long list of activities undertaken which suggest that this location might have helped in focusing attention on external issues (McIntosh et al, 1999:36).

In Statistics South Africa the gender unit is part of the research and analysis division, but also works closely with household surveys. In Education, the

gender structure was a sub-directorate in the Human Resources Department from 1997 until 1998, but became a separate directorate in April 1999.

Fully-fledged gender units have full-time staff whose primary responsibility is gender issues. So, for example, Education's Gender Equity Unit has three people, Trade and Industry's unit has one, Land Affairs has four (a deputy director, two chief planners, and an administrative clerk), and Statistics SA has one and a half people. Generally these units appear to be funded from the agency's budget. One exception is Statistics SA where the unit's staff is currently funded through a three-year grant from the Norwegian Agency for Development Co-operation (NORAD). The agreement in this case stipulates that Stats SA will take the staff onto the normal payroll at the end of the project. In Education, donors fund one staff member.

Unit activities are sometimes financed through outside sources. In Land Affairs, the DFID/European Union (EU) Technical Assistance and Training fund of the Land Reform Support Programme has been used to finance three gender sensitisation workshops. In Trade and Industry a 1999 conference on 'SADC Free Trade Area Opportunities and Challenges for Women in Southern Africa' was funded by Kelloggs (R40 000) and the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (R100 000). This latter example is interesting in illustrating the flow of non-ODA funds for government activities.

The gender directorate in the Department of Welfare oversees two programmes which obtain some funding from donors:

- ◆ The Victim Empowerment Programme is financed from the National Crime Prevention Strategy, which itself received donor funds. The programme includes an allocation of between R4m and R6m for the establishment, in partnership with the National Network on Violence Against Women, of one-stop service centres. Funds can be accessed by provincial Welfare departments as well as other national line ministries. Planned and existing initiatives include a 24-hour service for counselling, referrals, trauma response, training of volunteers, capacity building, awareness campaigns, building of shelters, a directory of available services and training of social workers on the Domestic Violence Act;
- ◆ The Flagship programme for unemployed women with young children was established in 1996. The allocation of R8,1m was intended to be used over three years to provide diminishing support to pilot income-generating projects in each of the nine provinces. The programme is funded from the RDP Funds to which donors contributed.

Education's gender unit is probably exceptional in terms of the amount of funds it receives. The Unit has four staff members, one of whose salary is funded by SIDA. In South Africa the main gender issue is not, as in many other developing countries, one of numbers. In this country female students outnumber male even within higher education. Donor funding, which commenced in 1998, includes the following further amounts:

- ◆ The French have provided an amount for capacity building of gender focal points. This paid for a workshop on GETT in late 1998. The remaining

R100 000 will be used to workshop the draft gender policy and to complement previous training programmes.

- ◆ SIDA's support consists of R98 000 for each of six provinces – Northern, North West, Northern Cape, Western Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Eastern Cape. The funds are intended for co-ordination and monitoring by the national Department, for capacity building of national and provincial gender focal points in terms of research, and for gender training for school government bodies. Provinces access the funds through business plans. Further funds are available for SIDA exchange programmes and local and regional technical support.
- ◆ An agreement has been signed with USAID for a R2m girl child programme within the education sector. The programme will commence in 2000.
- ◆ CIDA funds a Canada/SA management programme which provides for gender training at management level, development of a gender mainstreaming handbook, and modules on gender for schools, including a module on violence against women. Some of this support comes in the form of Canadian and South African technical assistance. Officials from Free State, Gauteng and Mpumalanga have also been funded to visit Canada.

UNICEF has numerous allocations in education which promote a gender perspective. Many of the allocations are in respect of consultancies. The money has not necessarily been channelled through the gender unit as some of the activities are mainstream, but the following allocations were all said to incorporate gender either as the main focus or as one of several elements:

- ◆ In 1997, US\$39 331 transferred to the National Education Department for post-Beijing activities. A further US\$35 195 was allocated in 1999 for development of a gender policy, still in draft;
- ◆ US\$29 117 for the development of micro-planning techniques in the Northern Province Department of Education – indicators included gender;
- ◆ US\$100 000 to the National Department for education management and development, culture of learning and curriculum with a gender perspective, production of a document on child-friendly schools which looked at girl/boy power relations and parental empowerment for mothers and fathers.
- ◆ US\$17 000 for the national department in respect of gender in curriculum and learning situation;
- ◆ US\$10 000 on gender and curriculum learner assessment;
- ◆ US\$10 000 for the national department for development of gender sensitive prototype teacher learner materials;
- ◆ US\$46 170 for the national department for development of a gender sensitive early childhood development (ECD) policy;
- ◆ US\$28 687 for the national department for parenting education in ECD, including the role of fathers;
- ◆ US\$9 000 for a report on gender sensitive techniques for learner evaluation for the national department and Gauteng;
- ◆ US\$52 000 for gender in curriculum teacher/learner materials;
- ◆ US\$12 550 for the national department for development of gender-sensitive HIV-AIDS Life Skills prototype teacher/learner materials.

Virtually all the gender units see themselves as under-resourced in terms of the tasks they are expected to perform. The lack of resources appears to relate to number of staff rather than simply funds. Already in 1995 Daniels warned of this danger in relation to the proposed Gender Equity Unit, which she felt had been given 'an impossibly mammoth job'. She proposed a 'phased approach' in which such a unit would initially play a monitoring role and later reassess its functions (Daniels, 1995:53).

The current gender unit in Education was reported to be under pressure because of a part-time secondment to assist the OSW with its gender audit. While the secondment was assisting in building the leader's capacity, it limited the time available for education-specific activities. In other departments, too, there were indications that staff felt torn between their responsibilities in terms of interdepartmental activities and publicity-type events, and more functionally-related duties.

Many observers – and often those in the units as well – observe that the incumbents lack skills and knowledge in respect of gender. Many work hard, have 'goodwill and enthusiasm', but their work is 'often uninformed. Or they reinvent the wheel.' The national and provincial OSWs are meant to play a part in addressing these gaps, through training and co-ordination. They, too, are under-resourced. And they have received far less funding than a body such as the CGE.

The gender units experience particular difficulty in performing their proposed role in respect of programmes and projects that do not fall directly under them i.e. in ensuring mainstreaming of gender. In several of the interviews gender unit staff said they did not have information about other programmes and projects which were clearly important in terms of gender. In Welfare, for example, our informant was able to say how much had been allocated over the last three years (close on R500m) for the poverty alleviation programme falling under the Social Development chief directorate, but could not provide any breakdown of projects.

The problem is particularly acute in respect of programmes not part of ordinary line functions. We came across one example of an SMME programme, funded both multilaterally and bilaterally, where the documentation refers extensively to gender-responsiveness, and where the programme has been operating for close on a year, but where the relevant gender unit was totally unaware of its existence. This particular programme is operating at the local level, working with and trying to promote co-operation between local, provincial and national players. It is, however, co-ordinated by a foreign consultant who is outside of government structures.

While this is a single instance, there could be similar examples elsewhere. Examples are likely to proliferate with increasing interest of donors in the local government sphere. This will happen both because of local government's dispersed and diverse nature, and because of the lack of clarity as to where local, provincial and national functions begin and end.

3.4.5 The national bodies

Probably the most successful fundraiser within the gender machinery is the CGE. One funder explained that they funded the CGE because it was part of the national machinery and because it had 'reach' and 'committed, experienced, knowledgeable people. So it was a foot in the door for other things.'

A further important reason for the success in fundraising is the key role of the first chief executive officer who had previously been the Commonwealth representative in South Africa.

In the first months of the CGE, between August 1997 and March 1998, when there was not yet government funding for the body, ComSec seconded their representative to lead the Commission. In her ComSec role she had played an important role in co-ordinating funds from a range of countries in respect of gender initiatives. Her knowledge of the funding scene, sheer hard work, and the fact that donors knew and trusted her must have helped in accessing funds.

On the other hand, the CGE had little choice but to turn to donors when their first budget did not even cover the salaries of commissioners laid down by government itself.

The CGE provides full details of all its donor funds in its annual reports. Details are nevertheless worth listing to give some idea of the extent of the support.

- ◆ In addition to the original secondment, ComSec supported the secondment of a further two experts;
- ◆ In 1997/98 the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) provided R108 000 for provincial workshops in which the CGE collected information on gender issues;
- ◆ In 1998/99 USAID provide R500 000 for an audit of legislation, publications, public awareness, development of a gender framework and a witchcraft conference;
- ◆ In 1998/99 UNICEF provided funding for a gender and media conference, for which AUSAID provided technical assistance in the form of a resource person;
- ◆ Austria has provided funding for provincial and regional workshops, and for research into a range of economic issues;
- ◆ In 1997 DFID allocated R6m of which two-thirds was to be used for projects, and the rest for training of Commissioners and staff. The latter funding, like many other allocations to the CGE, was passed on to NGOs. In this case the CGE commissioned the Women's Health Project (WHP) to organise the training;
- ◆ In 1998/99 SIDA allocated R5m for partnerships which the CGE developed around the development of a handbook, Women'sNet and violence against women;
- ◆ The Charles Stewart Mott Foundation provided funding for provincial workshops, education videos and posters, Women's Week and research.

The budget summary for 1998/99 highlights the discrepancy between these amounts and the funds received by the CGE from government. In 1998/99 the

amount allocated by government was R1,5m while the CGE was expecting a further R2,9m from donors.

Several informants commented on the broad way in which the CGE had interpreted its tasks. Donors, who have provided funds for a wide range of activities, support the broad interpretation. Several local informants suggested that the CGE should not itself be embarking on programmes and projects, but should rather concentrate on 'leverage and interfacing between government and NGOs'. The informant felt that donors, in providing funds to the CGE, were misidentifying the niches of different institutions. While this is not surprising given the newness of institutions, at some stage roles need to be more clearly clarified.

There are currently clearly jealousies and tensions around the amounts allocated to the CGE when other bodies feel under-resourced. There is a perception that donors have underfunded the OSW when compared with the CGE. The Office has, however, not been totally neglected by funders. For example, above we note DANIDA assistance in respect of a gender policy. The Netherlands Embassy more recently provided support in respect of the gender audit, and has extended this support until at least September 2000. The UN agencies have been particularly supportive of the Office. The UNDP allocated US\$100 000 for a first phase of ten months and US\$200 000 for a second phase of 6-8 months.

Several informants felt that the success of the CGE in raising funds was largely explained by its determined and organised approach to fundraising. They noted that the organisation has drawn up a Programme of Action and then allowed donors to select what they wanted to fund. This approach is appropriate for a body like the CGE, which does not have fixed core functions, and which can afford to drop certain projects if funding is not available. It is less applicable to agencies that have less choice as to what they will do.

As noted above, the national machinery 'package' in South Africa is not seen as confined to the executive and the constitutionally-established Commission. Within the legislature, SIDA has provided gender-targeted assistance to the national parliament and provincial bodies through funding for the Women's Empowerment Unit (WEU).

Within the legislatures

The establishment of a Women's Empowerment Unit (WEU) for national and provincial representatives was proposed in the appraisal mission that kicked off the European Union Parliamentary Support Programme (EUPSP).

When it became clear that the funding for the programme as a whole would be delayed, the national speaker and SIDA agreed that the WEU would be funded separately and directly. Staff was appointed and the Unit was officially opened in October 1997.

The first tranche of funding amounted to SEK 750 000 (approximately R600 000). Funded activities included workshops and a needs analysis.

The audit of 1999 revealed a retained income of over R600 000 due to delays in completing the needs analysis and embarking on training. This amount was added to the SEK 2,25m granted as a second tranche and intended largely for training. The Unit has encountered many difficulties in addition to delays caused by elections. In retrospect, the decision to separate this activity from the main programme was probably unwise.

A recent evaluation of the EUPSP found that the main programme made little, if any reference, to gender issues, even within the training activities. When the WEU kicked off its activities with a needs assessment, the report of the consultants noted that 'needs assessment fatigue seemed to have set in' (MBM Change Agents and Ruby Marks Associates, 1998:4).

Respondents said they now wanted delivery as they had already recorded their needs several times. At a more basic level, in at least one province some of the men MPLs felt that the creation of a separate women's structure was 'divisive, as both women and men come into the legislature with a similar set of disadvantages' (1998:27).

At the structural level, the WEU has faced problems in being headed by a provincial deputy speaker. While the person concerned is strong and competent, her position in the hierarchy makes it difficult to assert authority over other provinces.

One of the problems over the last few years has been the lack of clarity over the roles of the different parts of the machinery. In some cases this has led to duplication, either by the structures themselves, or in terms of donor focus. In other cases there have been gaps.

The bodies concerned have recognised the problem and they have made some attempts at co-ordination and joint activities between the different arms of the machinery. For example, in November 1998, the WEU, Women's Development Forum, CGE, OSW, National Women's Coalition and SALGA co-hosted a symposium.

According to one of the participating agencies, an important output of this symposium was a Plan of Action agreed upon and adopted by the partners which foresaw the reduction of fragmentation in service delivery and information sharing around issues of gender and development. Time will tell whether this plan helps in addressing the tensions. The same agency said their donor was unhappy when they spent funds on this and other collaborative ventures that the agency saw as critical.

3.5 TRAINING

Internationally training is a common strategy in attempts to mainstream gender in government (or indeed in any institution's) policy and practice. South Africa is no exception in this respect. There has been a significant amount of general gender-sensitivity training. GETNET, for example, has done training for a range of government bodies. The list includes the Department of Land Affairs in all provinces, the National Intelligence Agency, the OSW in several provinces, the

Department of Welfare and Office of the Deputy President, the National Parks Board both nationally and provincially, and the national Department of Agriculture. It has also done some training within the sphere of local government. Most, if not all, of this training has been supported by funding from overseas donors.

Within the ambit of this research we were not able to develop a full profile of what general gender training is being provided where, by whom and to whom. At least one informant suggested that there are both gaps and duplications – ‘the big bilaterals have gone for the big stuff, for example, in parliament. The others go for the GETNETs. There seem to be hierarchies of training. The bilaterals want the high level. That way they get the presence and status with the state.’

Our research suggested that the picture is not quite so simple. GETNET, for example, has done training at a range of levels. Further, it is not only the bilaterals, but also the non-government donors, who have funded the ‘status’ training initiatives. Nevertheless, overall there could well be some over-concentration on training for women representatives within the different spheres, and too little training for functionaries more directly concerned with delivery.

There has been some more targeted gender-related training. Several of the case studies for this research incorporated training as part of a broader strategy. The Justice College/Law, Race and Gender (LRG) partnership represents an ongoing targeted training initiative where training is the main activity.

Social context training for magistrates

The Law, Race and Gender Research Unit is based at the University of Cape Town. From the start it received funding from SIDA. The initial intention was to spend several years researching bias in the justice system, with the potential of judicial training at a much later stage.

At the outset and since, the Unit has been influenced by judicial training initiatives in Canada, Australia and the United States and has received assistance from at least the first of these two countries in addition to SIDA’s assistance.

The Unit’s plans were fast-forwarded when, in 1995, the new Minister of Justice, Dullah Omar, suggested that the Unit start presenting courses immediately at Justice College, the Pretoria-based national training institute for magistrates, prosecutors and other court personnel.

The Unit’s intervention at the College started with one-day input in the criminal and civil basic and advanced training courses. From the outset one of the two LRG facilitators was a qualified lawyer. The input itself was, however, intended to broaden the social understanding of the magistrates so that they could better understand the (mainly poor) women and men of different colours and cultures who appeared before them.

The first courses were generally not well received. Many of the students – most of whom had worked as magistrates in either ‘white’ South Africa or the ‘homelands’ during apartheid – regarded the facilitators as ‘feminists with unshaven legs’. The format of the teaching was also strange to participants. LRG drew on experiential learning techniques, while a Canadian review noted that even in 1998 these techniques were not being used by ordinary College lecturers (Kirby, 1998:10). The Unit learnt from the one or two friendlier lecturers that other staff was encouraging students either to skip the LRG sessions or cause problems in them. After several years the situation became so tense that the magistrates commission decided to stop the one-day inputs. They argued that the social context input of the LRG was not legal training. The new director of Justice College (a woman who had previously worked for Lawyers for Human Rights) and the director of LRG wrote a motivation ‘proving’ that it was legal training. The classes continued.

Today the transformed magistrates commission, which includes a significant number of black magistrates and women, is far more open to these initiatives – and also more likely to appoint progressive magistrates who then change the composition of the classes.

LRG is recognised to the extent that Wynberg court has seconded one of their magistrates to work in the Unit full-time as a judicial training officer. The LRG’s audience has also expanded in that they are now give input in the prosecutors’ courses.

The need for change of attitude is still there, however. The 1998 Canadian audit still found College stakeholders who ‘felt with the advent of initiatives such as training in the areas of gender sensitivity and human rights the College had lost direction in the last few years and that there was no longer the clear focus on functional training’ (Kirby, 1998: 4).

At a personal level there was ‘clearly a perception in some quarters that the transformation process means that whites, and particularly males, have little opportunity for appointment or advancement and that White Afrikaans males have no voice in the College. This results in a somewhat defensive mentality...’ (Kirby, 1998:7).

Already in the first years LRG started organising short courses which were held away from the College and to which they invited the participants who seemed most receptive. Over the years this activity expanded and a pool of trainers was established. More recently the LRG has been working in partnership with the College on a CIDA-funded two-week course on contextual training. LRG provides most of the training and material, while the College certifies the course. By early 2000 all the Justice College staff will have gone through this course. LRG is also involved in a donor-funded curriculum development programme with the College and about 15 other law schools.

LRG was the first 'progressive' outside agency to provide input on a sustained basis at the College. The Canadian audit of the College recognised the worth of what the LRG was doing and suggested that there was 'potential for doing much more' in bringing in 'other groups who have resources and expertise that can help the College in its task' (Kirby, 1998:29). The author of the audit pointed out, in particular, that this would entail a 'sound economic approach' (1998:29). Here he was presumably referring to the fact that the LRG is not paid by the College for the work.

The LRG also provided the first input on gender issues at the College. Today gender is incorporated into far more of the courses, and the College is working – with the help of the Unit – on changing the syllabi to make them even more gender-sensitive. In the interim, which they recognise is not too short-term, they want the LRG Unit, which they see as working 'marvelously' and 'changing minds', to continue the collaboration.

Justice College's commitment to addressing gender issues is reflected in a range of other donor-funded initiatives. DANIDA provided R1m for a two-year project on violence against women. The College involved five NGOs in this project: Agisanang Domestic Abuse Prevention and Training (Adapt), the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSV), the National Institute for Public Interest Law and Research, the National Institute for the Prevention of Crime and Rehabilitation of Offenders and NISAA. The money for this project is channelled through CSV. At the time of the interview the College was hoping to extend the project. It was also hoping to receive money from the Netherlands for a maintenance project.

The LRG/Justice College initiative is different from some of the other gender training initiatives in that it raises the gender issues in direct and specific relation to the daily work of the participants. Further, participants do not have a choice about attending the College-based presentations. Both of these characteristics reflect an attempt at mainstreaming rather than preaching to the converted. The second characteristic nevertheless increases the likelihood of at least some of the participants being opposed to the message.

Kirby observes that that 'research shows that a non-confrontational approach is by far and away the most effective in influencing people and changing values. The seminar leaders should be individuals who are highly knowledgeable in these areas, and who have demonstrated abilities in leading such discussions' (1996:12). As noted, LRG employed a qualified lawyer to do the training. This did not on its own prevent rejection.

Our second example of sector-specific gender training is found in the health sector and funded by DFID (who allocated R9m) together with the Kaiser Family Foundation. The three-year project provides for both training and other support for the implementation of the termination of pregnancy act of 1996.

One of the primary activities involves re-orientation of hospital nurses. The Reproductive Health Research Unit is the main implementing agent, providing both attitudinal training in the form of 'values clarification' and technical training in manual vacuum aspiration for aspiration. The project is national but is being implemented in tranches. One of the main barriers to progress is resistance

from hospital superintendents, which causes the programme to go 'in fits and starts'.

Below we discuss further the need for gender specialists who are also knowledgeable about sectoral and technical issues and who can move gender initiatives beyond sensitisation. In the field of training, recent draft terms of reference for developing gender training in a sectoral programme in a neighbouring country make the same point:

The training would not be done 'in abstracto', but rather based in (the agency's) experience/programme in order to facilitate practical and theoretical understanding of the concepts. It aims at avoiding theories and declarations of principles and at achieving concrete commitments and at producing useful results (objectives, strategies, activities, indicators, budgets, etc...).

3.6 TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND CONSULTANTS

Recent literature on ODA emphasises the importance of transfer of knowledge rather than money (see Sogge's point on World Bank above). In South Africa this shift in emphasis combines with the small absolute and relative size of ODA to place the emphasis on what the CIDA reviewer of South African ODA characterises as 'the transfer of knowledge and technical capacity' (Anon, 1999:8). For the most part this transfer takes the form of technical assistance and consultants.

The exact amount of aid that comes in the form of technical assistance is not known. The distribution of aid between grants, technical assistance and other forms also differs between agencies and between sectors. But whatever its size, it is clear that technical assistance is an important form of aid, especially in the gender field.

The most obvious form of technical assistance consists of short-term or long-term 'importation' of experts from the donor country to assist with a particular initiative. This was done, for example, for the writing of the gender policy in the Department of Justice and DWAF, the Lund Committee for the Ministry of Welfare, the GETT in Education, and SIDA's Local Government Development Support Programme in Northern Cape. NORAD's agreement with Statistics SA in respect of time use and gender also provides for both technical and financial assistance.

3.6.1 Considerations in technical assistance

Classical technical assistance occurs when the donor country sends its own experts. This practice has encountered some resistance. Highly placed officials such as Frank Chikane, director-general in the President's Office, are of the opinion that donors must 'loosen aid strings, including the use of foreign nationals... If the necessary expertise is not available in South Africa, it will be sourced from anywhere in the world, not necessarily from the donor nation as is now currently the practice' (quoted in Bond, 1999:10). The DCR I report notes that one province has insisted that ODA projects use only local consultants,

thus preventing ODA from 'flowing back' to the donor countries (Landsberg et al, 1999: 65).

Most of the examples in the gender field referred to above used the donor country's own nationals. Some donors see this as a key element of their assistance. One country, in particular, was said to be insistent that they should be offering special skills or knowledge, and that recipients should go elsewhere if they could not offer that.

In some cases, however, technical assistance money is used to employ local people – or even foreigners from other than the donor country. Some donors feel that this type of assistance is often more useful than experts from their own country, as the local or other Southern experts have a greater understanding of the South African context and are better able to interact with their counterparts.

For example, SIDA only contracted the Institute of Development Studies to produce their country gender profile after repeated failures in securing a local agency able and willing to undertake the study in the specified time. The Commonwealth Secretariat waived their requirement that they provide only for foreign consultants in the case of the gender budget initiative in the Department of Finance. AUSAID agreed to fund a South African expert's travel to and work in Australia under the Commonwealth's broader international gender budget initiative.

The multilateral bodies such as ComSec and the UN have greater latitude than country donors in deciding where to source experts. Yet even they have sometimes had to fight before experts have been allowed from other developing countries which – although contributing to the multilateral bodies – are not generally perceived as either donors or having expert knowledge. The fallacy of the latter perception is very clear in an area such as gender. Many African countries have innovative initiatives and there are likely to be important lessons for South Africa in terms of cultural, socio-economic and other factors.

Overall, there were few complaints about the technical assistance in respect of gender. Several informants said that short-term consultants were of limited use. This was especially so if the consultants were from outside the country. One of the longer-term overseas consultants acknowledged this when he said he had broader insights because he was 'becoming a South African'. Other informants felt that short-term consultancies were acceptable if there was adequate follow-up, either by the same consultants or by the funding agency.

One of the local consultants commented on the fact that the same people are employed repeatedly as consultants. This practice can be seen as building local capacity. Repeat consultants, often commissioned by different donors, allow donors to gain from increasing expertise. One problem is the extent to which the contracts and thus experience are confined to a small (disproportionately white) group.

Reading between the lines, it seems that in some cases agencies want technical assistance not only for expertise, but also because it provided an extra pair of hands and head in a situation of limited human resources. In some cases it seems that writing skills more than knowledge were an issue.

We found some examples of instances where informants felt that consultants – and particularly foreign ones – had been unnecessary. In the case of Justice College, Canada sent an expert to do an initial assessment of the situation. The College felt that the expert (and the agency) did not acknowledge the fact that the College was already aware of the problems and had begun tackling them.

The College's response to the consultant's report records existing actions in respect of virtually all of the 34 recommendations. The covering letter from the director notes that: 'Soon after my appointment in May 1997, I constituted a Transformation Task Team to assist me with the transformation of Justice College. It was therefore not surprising that a great number of Dr. Kirby's recommendations were pre-empted by this team and already in progress by the time we received his report' (Justice College, 1998).

A number of informants spoke about the importance of South Africa controlling the recruitment of consultants. The ideal situation seemed to be where the South African side knew exactly whom they wanted and the donor recruited this person.

For some donors at least, this was said to be the preferred option as it relieved them of the search burden. In at least one case, however, when the South African side chose their person, they were told that this person was not available. The agency said that they would not send her – despite her known expertise in gender, previous assistance to South Africa, and having grown up in the region – because she worked in another regional division in the agency. Another long-term consultant from the same agency was deemed by one of our informants to be incompetent. The informant had come to the conclusion that the consultant, a young black woman, was the agency's 'affirmative action person'.

One informant, in speaking about technical assistance in a non-gender-specific project, noted their 'incredible' usefulness both in terms of technical knowledge and because of the legitimacy they added. The latter could well be an important element in the gender field if and where gender activists are seen as too 'gungho'. On the other hand, there were suggestions that some 'imported' experts – whether from outside the country or simply outside a specific sector or region – were less sensitive to prevailing customs and attitudes and thus less effective than local people.

3.6.2 Gender in non-targeted consultancies

Both documents and informants provide evidence of concerns in relation to consultants whose brief was not specifically gender. Corner notes that internationally, despite initiatives by some donors, 'expert personnel working with donors, both local and expatriate, remain largely unexposed to gender training and unfamiliar with gender analysis' (Corner, 1996:71).

SIDA's democratic governance programme for local government in Kimberly, Port Elizabeth and the Northern Cape attempted to address this issue. The component of Swedish consultants to both programmes was relatively large. SIDA policy states that all consultants should be screened in terms of gender

before they are accepted, but in reality this does not happen adequately. There was, however, support for the Swedish consultants while in the field in respect of gender.

Nevertheless, at the evaluation stage local consultants found that none of the terms of reference of the many Swedish consultants explicitly mentioned gender. They noted that this could easily lead to a situation where gender is not considered a criterion for evaluation of either the consultant or the programme as a whole. There was also no real attention to the gender sensitivity or otherwise of local consultants hired by the more decentralised arms of the multi-pronged Northern Cape project. The participating municipalities hired these consultants. The project hoped that the requirement that consultants adhere to the basic principles of the project, which included gender-sensitivity, would be sufficient.

In other cases it seems that there is not even the fallback of basic principles. A consultant employed on a non-gender-specific project reported that there had been no questions asked about her gender skills or attitudes when she was employed. She and others were also not aware of gender criteria in contracts of NGOs who worked on projects. This particular consultant had, however, introduced gender issues in her reports from the start and had noted that the donor concerned appreciated these.

The OECD's draft DAC gender plan notes the need to 'ensure incorporation of the gender aspect in drafting of papers, policies, and in recruitment' (1996:10). It states that DAC subsidiary bodies should 'reinforce explicit gender analysis requirements in Terms of Reference for consultants, papers and studies, guidelines, evaluations and topical meetings' (1996:11). Yet Corner notes that donor agencies generally do not see their role as providing training to consultant. While this 'may be reasonable as a general principle, it becomes dysfunctional in relation to gender training' (1996:71). She suggests that if agencies do not provide gender training themselves, they should require contracting firms to provide it for the experts who work for them.

A DAC report notes steps by USAID to address the issue in the form of newly published guidelines which require that all grantees and contractors 'demonstrate their ability to address gender issues' (DAC, 1998:44). We did not find evidence that this is happening in South Africa.

3.6.3 Study tours

A number of countries classify study tours as a form of technical assistance. Study tours related to gender include a tour in 1996 to Uganda and Australia to examine their national machineries, and a tour in 1999 by commissioners and staff of the CGE. In the Women's Budget research of 1998 CIDA also listed a number of study tours connected with welfare as gender-related. From the description these latter seemed to be more about youth and the criminal justice system.

Learning from Uganda and Australia

The 1996 tour to Uganda and Australia was organised by the Commonwealth Secretariat. The decision to include an African country, in the form of Uganda, represented an important political statement. It said that South Africa should not learn only from developed countries i.e. those who had the money to pay for trips.

The visit established important linkages. For example, two of the leading Ugandan women parliamentarians – Winnie Byanyima and Salome Mukasa – later came to South Africa to provide training for women representatives in the national parliament as well as in each of the nine provinces.

The Ugandans also established contact with the Women's Budget Initiative, which culminated in their establishing their own gender budget project. In terms of lessons learned, the South African visitors were able to draw parallels between the Ugandan gender ministry and the challenges facing the then RDP office as a separate ministry trying to influence all other ministries.

The influence of the trip to Australia is clearly seen in the gender structures subsequently established in South Africa. In particular, it was in Australia that South Africans saw a strong model of the Office on the Status of Women.

The latter trip of the CGE encountered organisational difficulties. A consultant who had previously worked with the Department of Justice did preparatory planning work which was not followed up by the Australian consultancy co-ordinating AUSAID work.

The decision as to the final programme was also fraught with problems. Several of the consultant's suggestions of people to meet with were rejected. One, for example, was rejected on the basis that elections were being held at that time and it was thus inappropriate to see someone from one party but not another, even if the first was a long-term proponent of women's and aboriginal rights.

A second area of disagreement arose over whether the visitors should be allowed to meet with NGOs and others who were critical of Australian government policy or practice. There was opposition to these meetings on the basis that Australia wanted to give ongoing technical assistance.

The consultant countered that the visitors needed to understand weaknesses as well as strengths. Her position finds support elsewhere. For example, Sutherland, describing a Canadian programme, stresses the importance of visitors hearing about the 'negative lessons that can be drawn from Canada's Constitution, bureaucratic history, and practice... along with the good points' (Sutherland, 1999:57).

Despite the difficulties, informants seemed positive about the benefits of study tours. Cynics may well point out that this is not surprising, in that the tours provide free trips outside the country for those involved. For the most part, however, gender-related study tours appear to have provided real-life exposure

to new ways of tackling problems, which might not have been as well understood if only learnt through reading and listening.

Twinning provides for a mixture of standard technical assistance and study tours³. It is a form of technical assistance that has become popular at the local government level. In the case of Mpumalanga, there is a twinning agreement with the German province of North Rhine Westphalia, which has involved the Mpumalanga OSW. GTZ, the German technical assistance agency, also plays a role in the partnership as one of its staff provides advice and support to the Office of the Premier. The official concerned is one who has a strong gender interest.

The twinning arrangement was signed in 1994. Since that date there have been visits in both directions, with expenses shared between GTZ and North Rhine Westphalia. Included in the exchanges was a two-week visit by an expert from the German Ministry of Women Affairs, who assisted the provincial structure in developing a gender policy. North Rhine Westphalia is also co-financing a women's shelter in Louisville to the tune of DM 60 000. There were some delays in this project, which were related to the funds coming from the German North Rhine-Westphalia's provincial budget. GTZ manages the funds given Mpumalanga's Transformation Unit's limited financial capacity. Both parties seem happy with the arrangement.

4 INSIDE THE AGENCIES

All donors have documents which suggest that they adopt a gender-sensitive orientation in their work. The Women's Budget research discusses some of the common themes of the approaches, and points to donors who are more explicit and voluble on the topic, as well as a few who are less insistent. The Women's Budget research records the position in the different agencies in respect of gender focal points.

At the time of the research SIDA was the only bilateral agency to have a staff member who spent a significant amount of her time – close on half – on gender issues. The SIDA post has since been abolished, in line with international SIDA policy, and gender is assigned as a crosscutting issue to one of the programme officers. SIDA has funded more gender-specific projects, both inside and outside government, than any other donor has. The amount assigned for gender – and SIDA is one of the few agencies to have such a semi-dedicated fund – has increased significantly over the years.

More recently, the Netherlands has agreed with the Department of Finance that 20% of the funds in each of their four programme areas will be allocated for gender-specific initiatives. In addition, the Netherlands has set aside a further one million guilders for gender-specific projects. Previously, according to the

³ Because of constitutional restrictions on who can enter into ODA agreements, the twinning agreements are sometimes classified as memoranda of understanding or cooperation. As such, they may not be classified as ODA.

CIDA review, 2% (or just over R10m) of the 1994-98 Netherlands ODA budget was allocated to Gender/Women in Development (Anon, 1999:15).

The Women's Budget research notes that several donors, including some of the larger ones operating in South Africa, have in recent years elaborated on their international gender policies. At the co-ordinating level the OECD's DAC has done significant elaboration work in terms of gender policies over the last few years. This is discussed further below.

As noted in respect of government departments, there is a difference between having a good policy and implementing it. One of our informants with experience of the UN system said that their mainstreaming approach of introducing gender everywhere instead of compartmentalising it, while commendable, in practice introduced weaknesses. She suggested that documents were not enough.

Gender in the UN agencies

The UN agencies have a theme group, which brings together the gender focal points of the different agencies on a fairly regular basis. Heads of agencies should also attend the meetings, but they reportedly only attend if there is a 'critical issue'. The theme group is seen as a 'strategic think-tank'.

However, because everyone has a basic understanding of gender, and perceives gender to be mainstreamed in all activities, our informant felt that they do not necessarily look deeply enough at what is being done. 'The tickmarks are all there. Are women counted, and so on... But I would have liked to see questions about violence, for example ... If we looked more carefully at talking to communities and looked at the impact on women in communities. Question the assumptions. But the UN documents and language don't expect that.'

Even where gender was an expressed focus of a donor's work in South Africa, there seemed to be no clear strategy for incorporating gender into all portfolios. One official, referring to NGO funding, noted instances where, because an organisation worked with women or was headed by a woman, there was an assumption it was dealing with gender. But this was not necessarily the case.

One of the biggest factors determining whether gender is included in other projects seems to be the 'energy and time' of a gender officer who will 'push the issue and take initiatives'. Such initiatives might include special training for the other officers, as well as for consultants. It could also include actively going out and looking for gender-relevant projects and programmes. Both from their own accounts and that of others, it was clear that the ability to network was an important attribute of an effective gender focal point.

Whether gender was incorporated or not also depended to a large extent on the gender sensitivity of the officer responsible for the different programmes. It also depends on their relationship with the gender officer and their official mandate as it is difficult for the gender officer to 'interfere' in another's work unless there

is a willingness on the recipient's side and/or a rule stating that they have the right.

The hit-and-miss nature of this 'non-strategy' is exacerbated by the fact that programme officers usually feel themselves overburdened with the projects and programmes for which they are personally responsible. There is thus little organised interaction between the officers that would allow them to see the linkages.

Often there is a further barrier that reflects the social-technical split. Overall, gender officers are more likely to be skilled and comfortable in the social sectors and thus less able to influence the technical, or more economic, sectors. USAID has attempted to address this problem by employing sectoral experts in its head office. The nine staff of the Gender/Women in Development unit are specialist professionals in different fields to which they apply a gender perspective (OECD, DAC, March 1998:44). The problem in this case is that even the gender focal points in the local offices do not necessarily know that these experts are available. Yet the local office makes most of the decisions.

The OECD emphasises the importance of all staff considering gender issues, while maintaining some gender specialists. The organisation talks about 'a shift from seeing gender equality as the responsibility of a small group of specialist staff, mostly female social scientists, to identifying the responsibilities of policy analysts, planners, managers, and programme staff – including economists and technicians... Specialist gender resources will continue to be needed, but their roles must be revised to focus on targeted catalytic, advisory and supportive functions...' (OECD, 1996:6). This approach largely mirrors the South African government one, which calls for gender sensitivity of all staff and programmes, but sees the need for gender units to promote and support others. The evidence from this research suggests that the problems encountered in making this system work are similar.

Several informants provided support for a Swedish consultant's insistence on the importance of the role of senior management 'in follow-up and support from higher to lower levels throughout the administrative bureaucracy' (Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 1997:9). One of our informants spoke, in particular, about the importance of management's personal attitude towards gender issues. She noted that the agency concerned was generally progressive on gender issues, yet the South African office, despite the conducive environment, was doing less well than the same agency's office in other more conservative countries. She said that there was quite widespread consensus that the difference was largely attributable to the management's stance on the issues. The UN agencies have attempted to address the problem with gender training – by a local female and male Kenyan expert – for heads of all agencies, funded by UNICEF.

The issue of turnover of staff arose in several interviews. On the positive side, one person pointed out that the top officials who were currently proving obstructive to gender sensitivity would, in time, move on to their next posting, opening up the possibility of more gender-sensitive managers. On the negative side, it was clear that the regular changeover in staff resulted in loss of continuity. A serious loss in this respect occurs in respect of the networking and contacts that lie at the heart of much of the successful gender work.

At the simple administrative level, one informant spoke about how payments had been seriously delayed when the person who had negotiated the project handed it over to another person.

At the more strategic level, several of those who had recently joined the agencies said they did not have a full understanding of the history of projects. They also felt that their job at this stage was restricted to managing projects decided upon by others. In our research we regularly encountered instances where informants from donor agencies as well as government were new in their jobs and could give us limited information about initiatives which we knew existed. We also came across several instances where recipients had received strong support from previous officials, but now received little support – or even withdrawal of support – from new incumbents without any explanation as to why they were no longer considered worthy.

5 IMPLEMENTATION

5.1 USING NGOS

The Women's Budget report notes that when donors were asked about their gender-specific initiatives, they tended to mention NGO projects and programmes (Budlender & Dube, 1999:361). This bias persisted despite the fact that donors had been asked to speak about ODA to government.

As is well known, NGOs in South Africa have experienced a serious funding crisis since 1994. Before that date virtually all foreign assistance went to the non-governmental sector. Since 1994 donors have shifted much of their funding to government. Some now talk about increasing the NGO proportion but others intend to cut it still further.

The attitude of donors seems contradictory in many ways. SIDA, for example, increased its support to government over the years until, by 1998, government received about half of their ODA budget. Nevertheless, a SIDA document states that the organisation 'expects the support to NGOs to remain strong, as the South African government is still dependent on this sector to provide basic services. A strong civil society is also deemed to be an important prerequisite for a sound democracy' (SIDA, 1999:2).

More generally, one of our informants noted that while government 'is now saying they can't deliver, and need to outsource, and the NGOs are the obvious place to look, meanwhile the bilaterals decide to up the money to the state and give less to NGOs. They pour it in when the state can't absorb it.' A donor informant noted that the bilateral agreements between the donor country and South Africa sometimes limits the donor to support government rather than NGOs, even where the latter are faster and more efficient.

Bulelwa Belu-Toni, editor of the Western Cape-based community newspaper *Big News for Small Business*, has pointed to the practical consequence of this contradictory stance for small, medium and micro-enterprises (SMMEs). He notes that while Ntsika has accredited close on 100 local business service

councils in terms of its small business strategy 'most of them are dying... Government has done well to form bilateral relationships with the foreign funders of NGOs, but this has eaten into the direct funding of the NGOs themselves. Understaffed and with limited financial support, NGOs are no longer able to assist government to implement the legislation it has put into place' (CDE debates 21, 1999).

In the policy field Hanlie van Dyk points to the difficulties which newer players, including NGOs, have in complying with the 'written and unwritten' rules of tendering and in competing with slick commercial consulting firms and individuals. Yet, she points out, as the emphasis shifts to implementation, monitoring and evaluation, it is precisely the NGO skills that are useful. It is NGOs who are more likely to have access to the communities in which projects and programmes are implemented (Van Dyk, 1999:19).

In the Women's Budget research several donors stressed that they would only give funds to NGOs that were working with government. Again this statement is not as simple as it seems. On the one hand, one of our informants pointed out that virtually all NGOs work with, or have some 'connection' with government.

On the other hand, if donors are serious about the need to strengthen civil society, they should consider NGOs without strong government links. Organisations like the Black Sash, for example, have for several years argued that while service organisations should be funded by the state, it would be invidious for organisations which want to play a watchdog role to be dependent on those whom they watch over. The same reasoning would apply in relation to other, non-financial links to government, or to a requirement that government approve all NGO funding from donors.

The CIDA review of ODA notes a structural problem in relation to NGO funding. The report observes that while most donors use NGOs as a 'delivery channel', only two of the eighteen donors reviewed had direct programmes of support for NGOs and civil society. Similarly, the EU review notes that civil society is 'a group of alternative implementing agents' rather than a 'focal area'. This status means that there is no unit which has special responsibility for the area' (Montes et al, 1999:24).

The result is that while government players often appear slow in jumping at donor offers, NGOs are usually only too eager to come forward. While donor funds might constitute only 2% of the overall government budget, they make up a much higher proportion of NGO funds. One donor agency described how they were flooded with too many applications from gender-related NGOs, while this had not been the case in relation to government-based initiatives.

Once having secured funds, many NGOs have experienced difficulties and uncertainties around renewal. Often these again point to the greater weight donor agencies attach to government together with the delays that often occur in government-donor negotiations.

So, for example, we heard of the difficulties of one gender-related project that received part of its core funding from a bilateral donor in its first three years of operation. As the funding period neared its end, both the organisation and the

evaluator heard a strong message from the donor that they were satisfied with the project and that the organisation should not worry about further funding. The donor did, however, mention that it was in protracted negotiations with a powerful government department. Very close to the end of the funding cycle, the donor announced to the NGO that it would not be receiving further funds as the department had directed the agency to other focus areas.

In the gender field LRG's experience illustrates some of the tensions that arise in funding terms when, on the one hand, donors prioritise relationship with government and government-funded universities promote self-sufficiency and, on the other hand, government does not feel able to pay for the services of NGOs.

Who must pay the NGO's costs?

SIDA's contribution to magistrates' training is channelled through LRG. SIDA was, in fact, the main source of funding for the Unit for the first years of its existence, covering overhead and other costs as well as those that were training-related. More recently, SIDA has told LRG that they will be receiving less money and must diversify their funding, either by finding other funders or by charging for their services.

Justice College meanwhile thinks highly of the Unit's contribution but is unable to pay for the work. The government contributes only minimally to College operations as a whole. At the time of our interviews the government contributed only about R2m to the College directly, while there was a further R10m from donors and through the National Crime Prevention Strategy. Meanwhile the Development Office at the University of Cape Town, which assists other departments with fund-raising, refuses to send out the Unit's proposal on the basis that they do not have any plans for self-sufficiency.

In LRG's eyes, SIDA stresses the importance of partnerships with government but does not recognise what this implies in terms of funding dependency.

Several informants noted examples where donors were funding NGOs in respect of gender-sensitive programmes, but had not 'built the synergy' between their NGO and government assistance. They pointed, for example, to the failure to use the expertise and experience of groups like the Women's Health Project. They felt that both donors and the NGOs did not have adequate strategies to ensure government followed through: 'The trick for donors (and for the NGOs) is how to get the initiative accepted by government... The glitter and glamour of catching the camera.'

The partnership of the Planned Parenthood Association (PPA) with Working for Water (described in more detail below) is one of the more successful collaborative ventures between NGOs and government. It provides an example where the synergies have been built, and where all sides deem the association a success.

The PPA/Working for Water collaboration has, however, not been without difficulties. One of these relates to the slowness and lack of flexibility of government operations. This is a common complaint from NGOs who work with government.

A second difficulty arose in relation to the sustainability of funds – both as it affected payment of the NGO's expenses, and in terms of what it meant for the ongoing success of the project. The erratic budget and late notification of government funding for Working for Water has caused planning problems for the programme as a whole, not only for associated projects.

The main problem is that the project receives much of its funding through the poverty alleviation fund, which is usually announced on budget day rather than being planned through normal project cycles. The erratic and unplanned budget caused particular problems in the PPA project, in that the organisation is providing clinical services – when putting women on the pill or other contraception, 'you have to be around all the time and not employed on an on/off basis'.

To solve the funding problems, PPA turned to a US foundation to cover the management costs which government refused to cover. In this particular case the extra funds were raised with no difficulty.

5.2 CHANNELING THE MONEY

In both this and the Women's Budget research informants were more or less unanimous about the difficulties involved in channeling money through government, and in particular through the RDP Fund. In only one of the case studies had money been channeled through the Fund. In this case the delays in passing the amendment to the RDP Act, combined with political changes in the donor country, resulted in a delay of more than two years between reaching agreement on the project and formal signature and transfer of money. The recipient agency eventually decided to advance money itself to get the project started.

It was also able to access a small contribution from another donor with more flexible funding channels. By the time the original money arrived, its value had been seriously eroded by inflation. There are now serious concerns as to how the project is to be completed unless additional funds are allocated. There is also some concern as to whether the allocated money, now it is in the agency's budget, will remain dedicated to this project, or be swallowed up by some of the many other needs in the resource-hungry agency.

Other initiatives have utilised a variety of methods of avoiding channeling money through government. For example, with Working for Water and Justice College training, funds were given direct to the implementing NGOs. With the research around implementation of the child support grant, the money was given to the Centre for Social and Development Studies at the University of Natal, which then administered and accounted for it to the Department. In the case of the Gender Equity Task Team, money was given to the Centre for Education Policy Development and then channeled through the University of the

Western Cape. Some – perhaps all – UN agencies in South Africa have decided to administer the money themselves. This is against the standard international practice and imposes a heavy administrative burden. Head office has, nevertheless, reluctantly agreed to the arrangement given all the difficulties.

These alternative channels have their problems. The UN agencies themselves, as well as agencies such as universities, bring bureaucratic delays and other problems. Nevertheless, most informants seemed to agree that these problems were not on the scale encountered in using government channels.

Some countries – Canada and USAID are prime examples – channel their money through their own non-government agencies. In many cases these agencies play more than a simple disbursement role, in that they are also involved in conceptualisation and implementation. Justice College reported serious conflicts in co-managing the funds and direction of the Canada-South African Justice Linkage Project. Similar sounding difficulties were reported in relation to a Canadian partnership in another sector. In the former case the difficulties did not relate to a gender issue as such, but more to the direction of policy. The conflicts were so intense that at one stage the College director called in the Minister to assist.

The problem in this and the other Canadian case is exacerbated by the fact that the Canadian co-manager works full-time on the project while the local co-manager has many other tasks. The co-manager's foreignness was felt to be at least partly responsible in that she did not seem to understand the local context and imperatives sufficiently. The South African who managed a UN project based at the College was said to be more sensitive – and also keen on promoting gender issues.

In these particular cases – and there would almost certainly be further examples related to assistance from other countries – the problem is partly structural, but also seems to be a matter of attitudes.

In other cases, local people and donors appeared to work well; with local individuals or teams playing the key decision-making role. UNICEF in relation to Education, for example, has worked within those areas already being developed by the various education departments. The approach supports departmental needs and has led to cordial relations with recipients. The approach has benefits for both sides, but also has drawbacks for the funder in terms of frustration caused by delays in implementation, frequent change of personnel, and change of priorities dependent on a new MEC or minister.

5.3 OUTSOURCING

In many cases donor agencies are handing over the management of aspects of funding to other bodies. We found a variety of ways in which this was effected, some of which were reported to cause particular problems in relation to gender.

One informant described how a particular country had outsourced the management of their technical assistance, in the home country, to a consulting firm. She said that the people dealing with consultants had very little idea about development, and no apparent commitment to it.

Another informant described how some donors outsourced management of their programmes to private sector agencies or NGOs. These agencies are like 'super-NGOs', performing tasks such as managing procurement and contracting other NGOs. The informant noted that this model was 'enormously expensive', often delayed delivery, but was nevertheless favoured by funders because it allowed tighter financial control. The interest in this latter aspect meant that funders would usually go for agencies that could offer 'slick' accounting. Such agencies would often lack social and gender sensitivity.

Above we have referred to several cases where donor projects are relatively independent of line departments, although they work with and through them. Typically in these cases the donors contract an organisation from their home country to implement the project, and foreign consultants are stationed long-term in the country.

One critique of this approach is that it provides benefits as much or more for the home country – in terms of employment – than for recipients. This type of project can also raise problems in terms of lines of accountability. As noted above, it can present particular problems for gender units who are meant to ensure gender-sensitivity in line department activities but may have limited – or no – influence over or even knowledge of these projects. This type of outsourcing could well increase, as donors become more involved in local government initiatives.

A 1998 OECD document recommends that roles and responsibilities of the different players be clearly defined and that contractors be held accountable for their performance in respect of gender equality. It states the members should:

- ◆ 'develop criteria to assess the capacity of contractors on gender equality;
- ◆ ensure that contracts and terms of reference clearly define responsibilities and state specific expectations about performance on gender equality' (OECD, 1998:18).

5.4 PILOTS AND SUSTAINABILITY

Internationally pilots are a common strategy whereby donors (and governments) attempt to test new ideas before implementing them wholesale. In South Africa the relative smallness of donor funds compared to the overall government budget makes pilots particularly attractive.

Some donors were said to argue that this provided an opportunity which government itself could not take up 'because they must concentrate on keeping the main thing going'. Government, on the other hand, was said to be generally opposed to the idea of pilots. Much criticism relates to sustainability. Thus one informant asked: 'What happens when it is over – does the clinic die?' Similarly, an informant to current Women's Budget research in the health area observed: 'The pilots tend to be more not well run. They become idealistic.' She said externally funded pilots, in particular, tend to create a false situation.

There was also a sense from some informants that there was often no real intention to replicate the pilots or bring them to scale. Within Finance itself, the

recent budget speech and documents suggest that the government has dropped the idea of 'engendering' the budget now that the Commonwealth Secretariat pilot period is over.

The cynical view of pilots is that they provide a neat story for the donors to report on back home. The less cynical view is that, while the pilots might not be replicated nation-wide, they can significantly benefit local communities. And because projects are easier to implement than more holistic programmes, at least in the short term, they can serve as a 'sweetener' for further activities.

Thus an observer noted that in the SIDA urban programmes in Port Elizabeth and Kimberley, the smaller components such as tree planting worked better than the 'more holistic, deeper stuff about cities'. The smaller components were developed as a result of meetings in the community and had better buy-in. The larger, but more important, work was far more difficult.

The main difficulties of pilots appear to be replicability and sustainability. This is a problem in both government and donor-funded projects. The Flagship Programme of the Welfare Department, for example, was termed a pilot when it was initiated in the early years of the ANC government. Until today, the programme is still confined to one or two small projects per provinces.

Hiding the true costs?

In the case of family centres the Department of Justice tried to circumvent the sustainability problem by providing no extra funds. Family centre pilots, which bring together domestic violence, divorce, maintenance and the children's court under one roof, were established in five different locations around the country. The only extra funds available for the initiative came from USAID, and their use was restricted to training and the employment of a fixed-term co-ordinator. Officials in the different centres, as well as NGOs working in the area, have shown remarkable commitment in working in spite of the absence of funds and other resources. The success of the initiatives have, however, certainly been less than it would have had there been some additional resources.

In another case of cost-consciousness, the NGO providers to a government pilot programme complained that the project manager had pushed their prices down on the basis that the proposed level would make replication unaffordable. The NGO felt that the manager had not taken overhead costs and economies of scale into consideration in these calculations. The difficulties experienced in both these cases suggest that an approach of extreme scrimping is not the answer.

From our research we can provide two gender-related illustrations of the difficulties of achieving sustainability and replicability even where programmes have merit.

The first example is a project on gender violence funded by Canada's International Development Research Centre (IDRC). The project plan envisages five cycles, of which the first three were to be funded by the IDRC. The first two

cycles are complete and have produced some interesting results. The third cycle will be conducted in 2000. At this stage there has been a show of interest but no firm commitment from other donors for funding beyond the first three cycles. The main follow-up from the action research project to date has been:

- ◆ Modifications made by the South African Police Services to their reporting process. This activity was not donor funded as far as the project is aware;
- ◆ A schools-based forum theatre, involving over twenty schools, and focusing on male resilience;
- ◆ Several local initiatives, of which the project is trying to make an inventory.

The second example is the Northern Cape's LGDSP described above. The SIDA funding for this initiative can clearly not continue indefinitely. At present the project is moving into phase 2, in which the teams are required to document the 'best practice' which they have developed, and to produce manuals which can be used in training others to take it further.

The original intention was to hand over the materials to the local government training board. The training system is, however, currently in transition. The training board is no longer functioning, but the local government sectoral education and training authority is not yet established.

A second option, the provincial local government association, is also not feasible because of its weakness. The LGDSP has been speaking to a Free State academic who is keen to take the training forward through his institution. Even this causes difficulties, as the province has not yet agreed on its policy for higher education institutions.

In this case the questions of sustainability are more complicated. They do not relate to the absence of funds to continue the same activity. The main problem at present is that the project planned to have its work carried forward through training. The difficulty is that, with the many transitions in the education and training as well as the local government fields, the necessary structures to do so are not yet in place. In the jargon of logical framework analysis, the 'assumptions' have not been fulfilled.

6 OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL

Questions of ownership and control were identified as key concerns at the start of the DCR project. Across all sectors and themes, the initiators of the project want to know to what extent funders are fitting in with South African government priorities, and how the match can be improved. This section looks at three aspects affecting ownership and control – co-ordination, monitoring, and the broader question as to whom is calling the shots in the gender arena.

6.1 CO-ORDINATION

South Africa is different from many other recipient countries in not having sector groupings of donors. Instead, the Department of Finance and then the individual agencies deal separately with each donor agency.

The EU review reported in 1999 that the Deputy President's Office, then responsible for gender, held bi-annual donor meetings on gender issues (Montes et al, 1999:29). An official of the OSW confirmed this point. Donors appeared unaware of these events. The description of all the different elements of the national machinery above suggests that it would, in any case, be difficult for any one structure to co-ordinate funding to the full machinery. It would be even more difficult, if not impossible, for one structure to co-ordinate all gender-related funding if mainstreaming were taken seriously.

Most donors expressed unhappiness with the lack of co-ordination by the South African government. This echoes the finding of DCR I that 'donor representatives widely agree that donor co-ordination should be undertaken by South Africa and not by donors themselves' (Landsberg et al, 1999:52).

Donors argue that it would serve the government's interest if it could call all donors together, lay out its own vision, and then ask where each of the agencies is willing and able to contribute. They generally feel that South Africa is in a better position than are most other aid recipients to play such a co-ordinating role. They argue that it would cut down on the amount of time that government agencies spend on dealing with donors. They point out that in South Africa this time is not cost-effective given that donors contribute a relatively small proportion of the budget. They argue that sector meetings would avoid the current simultaneous duplication of funding in some areas while others are neglected. In the area of gender, for example, they suggested that the big donors are particularly keen on funding high profile areas, such as training of parliamentarians and local government councillors, while other less high status issues are ignored. One informant suggested (in an example not specific to gender) that there was double funding in respect of some activities where, for example, an NGO was being funded to do training on a particular topic in a given area while the department was funding the NGO for the same work.

During the time the Commonwealth Secretariat had an office in South Africa, their representative played an important role in co-ordinating and augment gender-specific donor funding. The Commonwealth Secretariat is, by its nature, a co-ordinating agency that can draw on the resources of member countries. Several recipients remarked on how this form of funding – where a single agency sourced money from several places – lessened the administrative, time and other burdens on themselves. The representative played a role beyond this. By establishing good contacts with key government and non-government players, and because of her own commitment to and understanding of gender equality issues, she was able to spot opportunities and turn them into initiatives by obtaining buy-in from both donor and government sides.

Since the closing of the Commonwealth Secretariat local office, those responsible for gender in donor agencies in South Africa have established their own gender grouping. The then social development advisor spearheaded the formation of the group for SIDA. The group appears to have gone through a dormant period since the advisor's departure, but was brought together again in mid-February at a workshop to discuss the preliminary findings of this research (See appendix for list of participants). Group members report that it is an

important forum for sharing ideas and information. This function expanded when the group had some joint sessions with the gender network formed by northern NGO donors. The forum also seems to have provided a supportive network for staff who sometimes felt marginalised within their own agencies. It does not, however, seem to have moved beyond information-sharing.

Both the literature and funders acknowledge the difficulties of a sector-wide approach. One donor noted that sectoral meetings of this sort required a level of trust between government and donors. She and others also acknowledged that donors themselves – while overtly supporting collaboration – were sometimes wary of collaborating too closely with others as they needed to be able to ‘claim’ and report back to their home constituencies on what ‘they’ had done.

Klos discusses both the general and gender-related problems with the sector-investment programmes (SIPs) which are becoming increasingly common in other countries. She explains that these programmes were ‘originally intended to end donors’ piecemeal pursuit to development in many sectors... Instead, all donors were to join hands to support a coherent sector strategy designed and managed by local stakeholders’ (1999:6). She notes firstly, that a review of 24 SIPs in the period 1988 to 1998 found that only 15 had attempted to address gender issues (1999:8).

More generally, Klos reports that in some countries the SIPs run parallel to and independently of an existing government policy, and/or create parallel institutions where local institutions are still being developed. In such cases the SIP clearly subverts the recipient country’s control and ownership of the development process, and donor aid in particular. The ongoing transition in South Africa could mean that a similar pattern emerged here, particularly in areas like local government. However, while the lesson from these experiences is important, it is probably less likely in South Africa – at least at national government level – given the smallness of donor funding and the relative strength of local policy- and decision-makers.

6.2 MONITORING

The terms of reference require that this research examine issues of monitoring and evaluation. They also suggest that the research should come up with tools. More than one informant suggested that mechanistic tools were not enough – or even very useful. After explaining her agency’s system of ‘ticks’ for initial evaluation of proposals, one informant observed that the system broke down at the implementation stage. She said: ‘My biggest wish is that gender sensitivity and mainstreaming is not an excuse to stop asking questions... Far more attention is paid to releasing money than to checking if things are working.’

Another informant remarked that there were far more evaluations of NGO sector activities than of government’s. Again there was the feeling that the ‘donors don’t care as long as they have spent and can tick off.’ From a non-gender point of view, the reviewers of the EU programme note that while it is extremely difficult to assess impact, sustainability or relevance directly, such criteria can best be addressed through examining processes (Montes et al, 1999:footnote 3).

The Women's Budget research records which agencies said they had gender monitoring systems, although it did not go into the details of each system. In the course of this research we were given two pages of gender guidelines which USAID has developed to assist staff in incorporating gender planning and analysis into programmes and projects.

In their inception report the Water and Sanitation team question the usefulness of each DCR team producing a separate set of monitoring and evaluation tools (Dec 1996:5). Extending that argument, it seemed sensible in this report to examine multilateral frameworks such as those of UNDP and OECD as these should apply to more than one of the donor agencies.

6.2.1 Monitoring of gender at the international level

Gender and/or women are not among the OECD/DAC or UNDP sectors. They constitute a 'theme' for the UNDP DCR reports. However, as noted in the Topham commentary on seven UNDP reports, these themes are never discussed. For OECD-DAC, which brings together the majority of the donors we are concerned with here, gender is also considered as one of several crosscutting issues. DAC has developed a gender marker system, as well as systems for environment and participatory development/good governance. (There was no agreement on the marker for poverty when the other three markers were adopted in 1997.) These systems have been developed so as to satisfy calls for some sort of statistical measure.

Discussion of the DAC system highlights some of the problems in monitoring gender in this way. However, before going into the details, one must note DAC's own caution that its statistical reporting system does 'not, per se, evaluate the impact of aid.' Instead the system reports on objectives, which DAC suggests can be considered 'an ingredient of impact analysis' (Dec 1996:3).

The marker is applied separately to each project or programme, whether in the form of a grant, technical assistance, investment projects or loan. A score is allocated indicating whether gender equity is a principal objective of the initiative, significant objective, or not applicable or targeted at all. A 1996 document suggests that projects classified as having gender as the principal objective more or less coincide with what are sometimes terms WID-specific programmes, while those with gender as significant objective could be seen as analogous to WID-integrated programmes.

The reporting directives stress that a programme with gender as principal objective is not necessarily superior to one with gender equity as significant objective. Indeed, if 'true mainstreaming is practised, equality will often be a significant objective, integrated into other sectoral projects' (1997:8). Further, any single activity can have more than one policy objective. Thus while the markers are numeric, they cannot be added together and are in fact descriptive rather than quantitative indicators.

A series of documents bears testimony to the care and attention that has gone into perfecting the terminology and details of the definitions, criteria for eligibility and examples of typical activities. A 1996 draft which was later accepted

defines gender equality as programmes which address gender disparities in recipient (changed from earlier 'developing') countries through:

- a) mainstreaming gender equality into all development co-operation efforts; or
- b) positive actions for women through women-specific activities.

Again, this points to an acknowledgement of both gender-specific and affirmative action type initiatives, and those which attempt to incorporate gender issues into general programmes.

To be eligible, programmes must exhibit all the following characteristics:

- a) 'gender equality and/or WID is explicitly promoted in activity documentation; and
- b) gender analysis has been carried out, either separately or as an integral part of standard procedures, demonstrating the need for activities to promote equality or WID; and
- c) gender analysis has been incorporated into activity design so that the activity meets a number of the following criteria:
 - gender sensitive strategies and implementation plans are incorporated and reflected in the activity budget.
 - Specific means have been designed to help overcome identified barriers to women's full participation.
 - Specific means have been included to help to ensure equitable participation and control by women and men over the activity output.
 - Gender sensitive indicators including impact indicators have been or will be developed for monitoring and evaluation.
 - Gender skills are used in design, implementation and monitoring.
 - Gender sensitive consultation is carried out at all levels' (December 1996:12).

While acknowledging the care taken in compiling these documents, the question remains as to the extent that they have influence – whether they change practice, or simply reflect the best practice of the gender enthusiasts within the leading agencies. The Institute of Development Studies' BRIDGE programme at Sussex has done some work for the DAC Secretariat and found some worrying evidence. For example, an examination of DFID's Zimbabwe programme found, in scoring the 18, 17 and 16 new projects introduced in 1996/97, 1997/98 and 1998/99, the WID/equality/gender marker scores were 2, 5 and 0 respectively (personal communication),

One cannot, of course, generalise from one example. On BRIDGE's request, five additional questions on the gender marker were addressed to DAC members after the DAC-designed general questionnaire had omitted any reference to this. The report on the analysis of these responses should be complete in March 2000, and will eventually become a public document.

Beyond the markers, the peer review system could, potentially, provide both a critique and guidance in respect of the gender sensitivity of the ODA of different countries. The peer reviews constitute a quality control exercise whereby DAC staff and representatives of two other countries review the aid programmes of a particular bilateral. The reviews are based on documents and on visits to head offices as well, sometimes, as to recipient countries. The Aid Policies Review

Division of DAC has since 1989 attempted to deal 'systematically' with WID issues in their review process. Usually each Secretariat report will contain a special section on WID, among other crosscutting issues.

The September 1996 draft guidelines for aid reviews mention gender/women only twice in the annex of over 80 key points. Under capacity development in partner countries, there is a point about 'enhanced participation of all people, notably women, in economic and political life and the reduction of social inequalities'. Under composition of aid, sectoral distribution of aid, there is a point 'aid to special objectives (Women in development (WID), environment, population'.

DAC's Working Party on Gender Equality suggested that, at the least, the key themes in capacity development should include a point relating to 'efforts in contributing to gender equality at all levels of society and in all fields of development Co-operation (institutionalization of gender in the partner countries)'. Another suggested question for peer review was: 'Can the DAC Member identify lessons learned and/or best practices that contribute to greater understanding of work to support gender equality? These lessons could relate to process (what techniques or methodologies facilitated positive results?) or impact (which specific interventions were more successful in contributing to specific development goals?)' (OECD, 1998: 22).

While such guidelines might help, what is seen and commented on ultimately depends on the gender sensitivity or otherwise of the reviewers. An anonymous and undated discussion of the reviews reports trends that do not seem to fit easily with the South African experience. For example, the note reports German, Ireland and Australia as countries where there is 'no explanation of gender efforts' and states that 'it is not clear how these countries take gender issues into their development efforts.' (Anon:2). Yet all three of these countries are among the more overtly gender-sensitive donors in South Africa.

On the other hand, the note reports that Japan and the US are 'very active' in the gender field. Yet the Women's Budget research found both the US and Japan lagging behind others in terms of gender issues. Indeed the US's representatives themselves acknowledged this fact. In this research, too, at least one sectoral informant compared the gender-sensitive approach of donors such as SIDA and DFID with that of USAID who do 'nothing on gender'.

Yet a 1998 DAC review of USAID's activities noted, in its rather flattering comments on how USAID address gender issues, that the South African Department of Land Affairs had 'changed the national system of land distribution from being based on the household to accounting for the individual, thereby ensuring gender equality in landownership and tenure' (DAC, 1998: 44). The claim is surprising on two points. Firstly, there has been no such shift from household to individual in claims. Secondly, USAID has not provided assistance to the Department of Land Affairs.

It is possible that South Africa is different to other countries in respect of the gender-sensitivity of USAID. Elson and McGee, in looking at the global picture, report that USAID appears to give WID more emphasis than many other donors, attributing the pattern to the type of aid – sectoral rather than general.

This does not explain why South Africa is different, as most South African aid is sectoral. It also does not explain the strange comment about Land Affairs. Further, Elson & McGee, while noting the WID emphasis of USAID, express a concern that the allocations 'consist simply of adding-on compensatory components, and will not entail any rethinking of the reforms themselves' (Elson & McGee, 1990).

In 1998 BRIDGE were asked by the DAC secretariat to include training on 'gendering' the aid review process within their larger training programme. This did not, however, happen.

6.2.2 Monitoring by donors at the national level

At present monitoring of gender within the South African-based donor agencies seems to be limited. Most agencies have fairly developed monitoring systems in terms of simple accountability on finances and regular narrative reports. Most now require projects to be presented according to the logical framework method or a similar one, and monitoring then occurs against this. Problems with this type of monitoring were mentioned mainly in respect of NGO projects. Some older projects, in particular, had been initiated before the formal planning systems were required and were experiencing difficulties shifting over to them.

In terms of finances and sticking to budgets, several informants said that NGOs sometimes performed poorly. All went on; however, to stress that they had not encountered any corruption in terms of the gender-related NGOs. In fact, the NGOs were often far ahead with implementation. Rather, in some cases problems arose because of lack of financial skills, whereas in others the lack of adherence to plans was seen as a sign of initiative and vision rather than of poor performance.

Many donors build a requirement for evaluations into their funding, although there was some questioning of the usefulness of this. Some informants, for example, suggested that donors needed to make more use of independent evaluators. Some criticised the use of evaluators from the home country. Some pointed out that the evaluations – even if called 'mid-term' – usually occurred too near the end of a project to be useful. Several commented that evaluations were of limited use if they were not distributed beyond the funding agency.

Beyond the project level, all agencies produce reports on their own activities. At least some of these reports are public. One serious problem is that internally-generated reports are open to exaggeration, if not misrepresentation.

Thus a USAID report on achievements relating to gender in their South African democracy and governance projects lists a number of initiatives undertaken by their partners, but funded by other donors. These include:

- ◆ The Women's Budget, which USAID funded only in its first year, but where they report on three years' volume of research;
- ◆ A gender manual prepared by the Centre for Socio-Legal Studies in Durban, but funded by the EU. The report notes that the manual 'is based on recent experience with women in rural areas, some of which was funded by USAID';

- ◆ The 'Fast Track' programme of the Institute for Mediation Services of South Africa in respect of 150 newly-qualified black and women lawyers, which is funded through American and Swiss funds;
- ◆ The establishment of a gender unit in the NGO ACCORD, with British funding.

These examples say little – if anything – about the gender sensitivity of USAID's own funding.

6.2.3 Monitoring by South Africa

The above discussion focuses on monitoring by donors of donor funds. For South Africa there is the more basic question of what resources – including both own and donor funds – are being allocated to address gender issues. An approach which looks at combined own and donor funds is important if donor funds are not to be seen as a replacement of government funding, rather than an addition.

The fear is not unfounded. The European Union's gender consultant reported that a highly-placed official in the Department of Finance informed her that 'in the context of a new government facing resource constraints and high expectations, it made sense to seek external funding for the national machinery as donors 'are awash with funds for gender'' (Beall, 1998).

The qualitative approaches used by the Women's Budget in both the inside and outside government initiatives provide a start in this regard. Diane Elson, a Commonwealth consultant, has also suggested more specific and quantitative disaggregated measures that might be developed in different sectors. These include:

- ◆ *Gender equality targeted expenditure*: The share of expenditure which is explicitly targeted to women, to help address past inequalities;
- ◆ *Women's priority public services*: The share of expenditure allocated to public services which have identified reducing the burdens on women, and especially poor women, even where this expenditure is not specifically targeted to women and girls;
- ◆ *Gender management system*: The share of expenditure allocated to the national women's machinery.
- ◆ *Women's priority income transfers*: The share of expenditure devoted to income transfers which reduce women's income inequalities and dependence;
- ◆ *Gender balance in public sector employment*: The proportion of women and men in employment at each level, and the average earnings of women as percentage of the average earnings of men in each grade;
- ◆ *Gender balance in business support*: The projected shares of women and men benefiting from expenditure directed to business support in agriculture, manufacturing and services.
- ◆ *Gender balance in public sector contracts*: Shares of contracts going to female-headed firms and male headed firms.

Most of these measures are already being used somewhere in the South African system. The items could be used more systematically as a basic checklist in terms of which newly proposed programmes and policies – and donor-funded projects in particular – could be asked to develop indicators and report regularly.

Unfortunately, however, there is no quick fix or single solution in respect of gender indicators. What these indicators should be will differ between sectors, between programmes and between projects. They will also need both monitoring and adaptation as initiatives move through the planning into implementation phases.

6.3 WHO DRIVES GENDER?

One of the central themes of DCR II is ownership. A key concern for the Department of Finance is how to ensure that the South African government drives the development process and that donors fit in with the South Africa vision. This concern is reflected in the second overall objective in the terms of reference, which entails recommendations ‘as to how present and future ODA should be co-ordinated and aligned to the articulated needs and priorities of the South African government’.

The CIDA-funded review of ODA in South Africa came to the conclusion that the South African government had, through the bilateral annual consultations, maintained ‘tight control over the donor agenda’ and ensured that donor programmes ‘fall in line with the national priorities of South Africa’s government’ (Anon, 1999:4). Nevertheless, the inclusion of this aspect in the terms of reference suggests that government itself is not as confident of its performance in this respect.

Montes et al, in their review of the EU in South Africa, also suggest a lack of alignment. They state that some donors resist integration as government ‘structures, priorities and process’ sometimes conflict with their own (Montes et al, 1999:14). In this research there were several references to the pressures that might lead an agency to deviate from South African priorities.

One donor informant who stressed that South Africa should, and could, play a much stronger co-ordination role, nevertheless pointed to some of the tensions. ‘It is not as simple as saying government has its agenda and we feed into that. We have a tiny pot and there is an ocean of need and we need to decide how we give that pot out. It won’t look the same to us as to them.’

A Business Day editorial in early 1998 was even more explicit as to what some of the other considerations might be: ‘Aid agencies should not be confused with charities. Whether one likes it or not, they are instruments of foreign policy, designed to further their governments’ political and commercial interests’ (16 March 1998).

In this research one informant cited an instance where foreign policy had directly shaped an agency’s action. She said that the bilateral donor concerned had, after an election, suspended all gender-related funding while they did a review as to their stance on gender issues internally and externally.

In terms of gender initiatives, South Africa does not have the same history as many other countries and might therefore present some unusual characteristics for donor agencies and their officials. In particular, there has not been the same straight-line development from a women-in-development (WID) to a gender-and-development (GAD) approach. Instead, 'historical conditions of apartheid and the nature of the struggle against it ... ensured that ... both approaches co-existed and continue to be in conversation with each other' (Chisholm & Unterhalter, 1999:3). To these two factors, one could add the country's lack of exposure in previous decades to donor initiatives, as well as the isolation of people inside the country more generally.

South Africa is also more strongly in favour of gender equity, at least at the central level and on paper, than many other countries. This provides a more fertile field for gender-sensitive interventions than one where gender is seen as being imposed. Thus Elson and McGee, in discussing the advisability or otherwise of donors imposing gender conditions on recipient countries, state:

Given that full compliance with formal conditions is rare in any case, gender conditionality is unlikely to succeed in securing far-reaching change in social institutions. Gender-related conditions may even be counterproductive, reinforcing notions in recipient countries that WID and gender concerns are foreign ideologies imposed from outside. The policy reform processes with the highest chances of success are those which are locally designed and implemented (Elson & McGee, 1995:1991)

Sogge reports similarly on the 'key design fault' of lack of local 'ownership' in respect of conditionalities more generally: 'Donors realise that policies must be arrived at through self-enforced common understanding, not through coerced, half-hearted agreement. Indeed, policies should be 'home-grown'.' (Sogge, 1999:67) As discussed further below, in South Africa the question of gender commitment arises largely at the level of implementation. To the extent that the country moves towards decentralisation, the question will become more and more pertinent.

The Women's Budget Initiative research evoked mixed responses when donors were asked whether they, government or both were promoting gender issues more actively. Some donors said they were more active on the issue, some said the South African side was more active, and some said both were pushing equally, at least in terms of verbal and written pronouncements. Overall, there were probably slightly more who said that the South Africans were stronger on the issue.

In this research we spoke to recipients, NGOs and consultants as well as donors. Many informants spoke about donors' willingness, even eagerness, to give money for gender-related initiatives. A few gave instances where they felt that particular donors had definitely made a difference in insisting that gender issues be addressed in particular initiatives. Several confirmed, however, that there was not the same imbalance as in many other African countries, where donors tended to be much stronger on the issue than governments.

Thus several noticed that while donors were keen, it was the South African side that often initiated, or that provided the right 'context'. They also pointed out gender initiatives that did not rely at all on donor funds. From both the South African and donor sides there were people who said that while they were keen, it was easy to go in because the doors were wide open from the other side.

While this picture is optimistic, several informants distinguished between different actors on the South African side. A common distinction was between the national level, which was open to gender at least in terms of stated policy, and the levels responsible for implementation. In one case, an informant said that the problem was deeper than gender insensitivity.

While she had not encountered any blatant resistance from the middle levels with which she had worked, they were ignorant because of lack of exposure. She felt that they needed '101 basic' on what is development, what is service delivery, before they could go forward. A second informant referred to a case where a donor agency rewrote the logical framework of an NGO in terms of gender, but the NGO concerned could not deliver 'because they couldn't even spell gender. So the programme failed.'

Other informants noted that gender issues had to compete with a wide range of other issues. 'The government is there in principle. It is slowed down because there are so many things on people's agenda – how do you prioritise gender if there are so many things?'

The question of leadership is not a simple question of whether South Africa or donors are driving action. For one thing, within South Africa there is a range of players. The R10m Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) commissioned by the Department of Health – one-fifth funded by USAID through Macro, and implemented by the Medical Research Council (MRC) – provides an interesting example here.

Gender in the Demographic and Health Survey

The DHS is a largely standard household survey which countries adapt for their particular situation and needs. The main objective of the survey is to provide information on fertility and population. Even within this, the Beijing perspective on improving reproductive health is not necessarily built in.

In designing the South African DHS a number of topics were added. In terms of gender the main additions were questions on sexual violence and abuse, and questions on decision-making. MRC staff who had been working in the field of women's health and gender violence suggested these. Macro said they were happy with these additions as long as they did not 'compromise the basics'. To allay this fear, the in-depth questions on sexual abuse were placed at the end of the questionnaire. Once this concern was addressed, Macro assisted where they could by providing contact with others who had studied the issue.

The Department of Health was very concerned that South Africa should control the study and in fact provided a larger proportion of the funds than they needed to. Yet they played no particular role in relation to the gender questions. During the design, they were neither positive nor negative on the gender questions. So far only the preliminary results have been published and the Department has not responded to the 'gender' data at all. The full report may give more of an opportunity for a departmental response, but the MRC sees the Department of Education as a perhaps more important target.

The Working for Water Programme provides an interesting example of a programme in which South Africans have introduced a range of gender-sensitive policies, but in which at least one donor (UNFPA) has made a significant contribution to its gender sensitivity.

Working for Water falls under the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry, but has a multi-departmental management structure involving nine national departments. The programme is a combined conservation and job creation programme, with the primary activity being the clearing of alien vegetation. Kader Asmal, previous Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry, described the project as 'a programme that has grown from something of an afterthought, into one of the premier Poverty Relief initiatives of the Government' (The Working for Water Programme, 1999:3).

The donor contribution to Working for Water is small. Two-fifths of the programme's income is from DWAF tariffs and 55% from government's poverty relief funds. In 1998/99 foreign funding accounted for only 3,4% of total income (up from 0,1% or less in previous years). The 1998/99 income statement reflects R4m from Finland, R2,04m from the Netherlands and and R1,25m from Norway. Further foreign funding – R0,7m from the IDRC, R0,8m from UNFPA and R0,125m from New Zealand – is not shown on the statement because it passes through the books of other organisations who work with the programme (Working for Water, 1999:22).

Working for Water's strategy document includes a range of gender-sensitive provisions. These were incorporated as provisions for special employment programmes more generally at the Job Summit. For example, the document lays down a target of 60% of salaries and wages to be paid to women. The inclusion of salaries, rather than simply jobs, ensures that women are not relegated to the lowest paying jobs. To facilitate reaching job and wage targets, about 40% of the projects provide childcare for workers' children.

Beyond numbers, the strategy states that 'care will be taken to understand the implications of the policy, such as the consequent changes in the power relations within families, and the support needs that attend these changes.' It states that secondary benefits of the programme, such as procurement opportunities, secondary industry jobs, and provision of transport and food, should also comply with gender sensitivity. It acknowledges that there will be costs associated with ensuring gender sensitivity. Project training for staff and workers covers gender violence, as well as issues such as HIV/AIDS.

In terms of performance, the programme reports between 56% and 58% of jobs going to women over the last few years. The change from a daily system of pay, first to a task based system and now to independent contractors, has presented challenges in that at least 60% of the contractors – who are regarded as management level – are men. The latest report notes that with the move to contract work, 'maintaining the RDP nature of the work, as well as ensuring that fair and honest tasks are set, remain serious challenges to us' (Working for Water, 1999:5). The programme plans to take corrective action in this respect in terms of training, selection criteria and a partnership with the female-dominated Homeless People's Federation.

The policies described above were initiated locally, without donor intervention. The significant gender intervention by donors comes through UNFPA's funding of a pilot reproductive health programme in Working for Water projects in the Eastern and Southern Cape. The idea was born when one of the area managers who felt 'passionately' about the topic contacted UNFPA's Jay Parsons. All informants acknowledged the subsequent 'catalytic' role of UNFPA.

The programme is a partnership of DWAF and the Department of Welfare on the government side, while the NGO Planned Parenthood Association (PPA) receives the money from UNFPA for implementation. The programme aims to provide for reproductive health services (contraception, reproductive health education, and free tests for sexually transmitted diseases, HIV awareness and broader family planning) through PPA's community-based reproductive health service programmes. The PPA programme runs along similar lines to Working for Water in that it trains unskilled workers, 80% of whom are women, to do labour intensive work. The organisation says that it creates employment by employing about four workers for the cost of a nurse.

One concern of PPA and others is that the programme is not able to offer sustained employment and so does not assist the workers concerned in improving their lives in a meaningful way. Further, part of PPA's brief was to identify, through participatory needs assessments, other problems which were preventing the communities' development. Among the most pressing problems identified were alcohol and drug abuse, and abuse of women and children.

These problems were probably there before Working for Water arrived. There seems little chance of short-term jobs – even if they came together with other (short-term) programmes – assisting in addressing them.

7 GETTING TO THE HEART OF GENDER INEQUALITY

The previous sections have provided the background and examples that allow us to move on to a deeper assessment on the extent to which donor involvement in South Africa has assisted in addressing gender inequity. The first part of this section looks in more detail at the issue of mainstreaming which is posited as the core strategy of both the South African government and donors. Mainstreaming – or ‘gender integration’ – is also the key topic of investigation in the terms of reference. The second part looks at initiatives in the area of gender violence. This is a phenomenon which is widespread in the country and which constitutes a major barrier to the attainment of gender equity.

7.1 MAINSTREAMING

Mainstreaming – or its equivalent of viewing as a ‘cross-cutting’ issue in respect of all programmes and activities – is probably accepted policy of all donors active in South Africa. Gender was also accepted as a crosscutting issue for this research. Stated crudely, gender mainstreaming requires that gender issues (i.e. the impact on women and men, girls and boys) are considered in all government and donor activities. At the same time, the Women’s Budget Initiative research revealed that most donors saw the parallel need for special initiatives in respect of gender. This approach is reflected in DCR II by the commissioning of this particular paper.

Both donor and internal documents provide support for a parallel approach. An OECD document of 1998 states that a ‘mainstreaming strategy does not preclude initiatives specifically directed towards women. Similarly, initiatives targeted directly to men are necessary and complementary as long as they promote gender equality’ (OECD, 1998:12). A DTI document summarising the achievements of the department in terms of gender is even clearer about how the different elements work together. It notes that the agency has adopted ‘a three-pronged approach involving both integrative and women specific actions’. The approach will include:

- ◆ ‘the Women in Development Approach ... as a tool to assist empower women to take control of their lives; set their own agenda; gain skills and knowledge; increase self confidence; solve problems, etc, based on their own needs in their own space
- ◆ the Gender and Development Approach ... to work towards ensuring that women in relation to men are acknowledged, accepted and treated as equal partners of the organisation and the broader society...

These positive outcomes we hope will lead towards... the ultimate adoption of the Gender Mainstreaming approach. This approach is a process of assessing the implications for men and women and any planned action, including policies

and programmes in all areas and at all levels of the DTI... thus ultimately achieving gender equality' (Department of Trade & Industry, 1999:9).

Despite acknowledgement by bodies such as DAC of the need for both mainstreaming and gender-targeted initiatives, Beall reports that at least one South African donor, from a multilateral agency, said that they would not support the CGE or OSW as their policy was to mainstream. One of our informants said that she could not disaggregate how much they allocated for promotion of gender equality because they mainstreamed gender in all their programmes. This statement is valid. It is, in fact, one of the difficulties encountered in this research in assessing the extent to which donors are contributing to gender equity in the country. Yet this same informant also did not give us any information on gender-specific interventions of her agency about which we knew.

While policy acceptance of the need for gender mainstreaming is widely accepted, implementation has encountered many difficulties. Montes et al report on two European Union backstopping missions from Brussels in respect of gender. The conclusion from the missions was that, while there had been progress, this had occurred mainly in the form of 'head count' and 'word count' initiatives rather than in more fundamental areas such as gender planning and sectoral guidelines (Montes et al, 1999:35). At the international level, an EU Action Plan on Mainstreaming Gender is still waiting for approval by senior management. Signing is, apparently, 'not yet viewed as a priority throughout the Commission' (InterAction, February 2000).

At the level of bilateral agencies, a consultant commented on the seeming lack of integration of a particular donor's different interests. The donor concerned had a strong gender programme, as well as strong sectoral programmes. Yet the donor was observed to restrict its intervention unnecessarily in relation to gender in the sectoral programmes: 'Their policy seems to be to pass comments, not to insist. A non-directive policy.'

A researcher from one of the DCR sectoral teams said that a donor official showed her the agency's 'fat policy on gender' and reported that gender issues have to be integrated into all that they do. Nevertheless, the official was not able to say how the gender policy had been implemented in the provinces and suggested that the researcher speak to the implementers. Drafts of the project document contained no mention of gender issues.

In fact, project documents from both the South African and donor sides often include gender as a matter of course (or a requirement) from the outset. In another example, involving a UN agency-department project, the foreign consultant involved explained that the 'gender question was put in all workplan drafts, as it is in all (country) human development programmes'. It was, however, only after a year's operation that staff on this particular programme started consulting seriously as to how they were to incorporate gender issues. What is interesting about this case is that it involves an area of operation widely acknowledged to involve a lot of women, situated in a department with a strong gender unit (whose staff knew nothing about the project) and with strongly pro-woman political leadership (who also did know about the project).

Mainstreaming gender in an urban development programme

SIDA's urban development support programme in Port Elizabeth and Kimberley is one example of an initiative which, from the start, attempted to address and mainstream gender issues. The original plan included four weeks for a gender consultant in the first months of project implementation. This was, however, supplemented by further training and follow-up. Gender training of councillors and officials was conducted both by the SIDA gender officer, by a Swedish consultant expert on gender and urban housing issues, and by local consultants, experts in the fields of local government or urban issues. Training was followed up in quarterly meetings and through refresher training a year later.

The local consultants decided to structure the programme so that gender was addressed mainly on the second day. The first day included a two-hour lecture on basic gender concepts but was also used to prove the consultants' expertise in respect of the core topic.

The workshop looked at the many local and international developments since 1994 and explored where gender fit into each of those. This approach was intended to 'build legitimacy around gender – that it is international best practice, pragmatic, not about being a nice person.' At the same time, the facilitators attempted to relate the gender aspects to the concrete problems facing participants in the programme and to avoid generalities – 'to contextualise in terms of what people do. Otherwise, you land up with warm touchy-feely which is unhelpful.'

Our informants felt that the workshops had gone well. One problem identified was that the planners had assumed the existence of some skills that were missing. As one of the trainers put it: 'If you want to make something gender-targeted, you are assuming that people know how to target.' On the other hand, there was a feeling that SIDA was expecting the pilot towns 'to do things that the Swedes can't do'. There was also a perception of cultural insensitivity on the Swedish side. One consultant referred, for example, to the attempt to have a gender quota in Kimberley's housing construction programme. In the context of major unemployment among coloured men, she felt this was unlikely to succeed.

The gender thrust in the programme was seen as emanating from SIDA, but fitting in well with South African policy. There was suspicion that part of the buy-in was because people wanted the benefits associated with a well-funded donor project, whether in the form of attending a comfortable workshop or of overseas trips. Kimberley was said to be more receptive than Port Elizabeth: 'In Port Elizabeth there are politically correct councillors so they claimed to be okay on gender. But in Kimberley the practice is better.'

The major problem identified was insufficient regular, sustained and skilled follow-through during implementation: 'It is almost theoretical ideas which they leave for people to burn their fingers on. If it works, it is best practice, and otherwise they ignore it. There is no-one on the ground to think about

what is happening and adapt.' Sustained follow-up is also important in building trust, especially in more conservative communities, and in particular when one is dealing with a sensitive issue such as gender.

The local government planning area provides a second example where gender was not initially mainstreamed, but where a donor has since attempted to address the gap. This example concerns a GTZ-assisted initiative of the Department of Provincial and Local Government in respect of land development objectives (LDOs) and integrated development plans (IDPs). National South African policy states explicitly that IDPs should address gender issues, although the policy does not explain how this should be done. A pilot assessment by the GTZ-assisted project found that:

- ◆ 'The LDO/IDP process tended to follow a spatial panning rather than a target-group specific approach; it addressed the needs of communities and geographical locations rather than the needs of specific socio-economic groups such as the unemployed, women, youth, female-headed households, farm workers, etc.
- ◆ the poverty issue, therefore, was only considered by including historically disadvantaged communities with their community-related needs such as social facilities, but not by paying specific attention to poorer sections within such communities;
- ◆ the gender aspect was taken care of by involving women in public participation events: there was, however, no consideration of gender-specific issues or strategies in most of the planning documents.'

GTZ and the Department have now commissioned consultants to try to address the gaps revealed by the IDP pilot assessment study. The terms of reference for the gender consultancy note the existence of a range of planning tools relating to gender and poverty issues, but implicitly question their usefulness unless adapted. They note that 'most of the South African local authorities cannot afford the application of complicated tools... It became obvious during the IDP pilot process that the planning methodology needs to be simplified rather than becoming more complicated.' GTZ is hoping that the consultancy will come up with methods that can be used easily by the more disadvantaged municipalities.

This case study is a useful one in several respects. Firstly, it shows that merely writing in a requirement for gender sensitivity is not sufficient. Secondly, it provides an example of how, even if gender is not addressed adequately at the outset, one can attempt to rectify the situation. Thirdly, it makes the point that, for gender integration to succeed, it must be introduced in a way that it can be implemented in terms of financial and other capacities.

7.2 GENDER VIOLENCE

In virtually all interviews we asked whether the agency concerned had any initiatives which addressed gender violence. We included the question for three reasons. The first relates to the widespread prevalence of such violence. The second relates to the government's interest in addressing the crime problem. Research suggests that there are differences in the way in which different

groups perceive crime. To put it crudely, men and richer people are more likely to focus on crimes of property. Women and poorer people, meanwhile, are more likely to focus on – or suffer from – crimes against the person. This question allows us to see how donors and government understand crime.

The second reason for including this focus is the centrality of gender violence to gender inequity. Recommendation 19 of CEDAW states that: 'Violence against women is both a consequence of systematic discrimination against women in public and private life, and a means by which constraints on women's rights are reinforced' (Connors, 197).

In other words, gender violence is both symptom and cause of gender inequity. Until gender violence is addressed, women and men in South Africa cannot be equal.

Our research revealed a wide range of initiatives, including the following:

- ◆ A five-stage action research initiative funded by CIDA through the IDRC, and located in the Johannesburg metropole.
- ◆ The Addressing Gender Violence Fund recently established by AUSAID. The fund provides for R6m, to be used over a period of three years, to assist civil society organisations to combat gender violence.
- ◆ The R3m Northern Cape Violence Against Women Fund established by SIDA and intended to reach the 'grassroots'. The Kimberley Community Chest will act as conduit for disbursement. A steering committee composed of the Department of Justice, Social Services, OSW and three NGOs will decide on allocations. This alternative channel decision-making structure was devised after SIDA itself was 'swamped' with applications relating to gender violence from the Northern Cape.
- ◆ The SIDA-supported national sexual offences forum, to monitor the Domestic Violence Act, which held its inaugural 'talkshop' meeting in February 2000. The government agencies involved are Justice, Social Welfare and the OSW.
- ◆ An SADC conference held in March 1998, funded by several donors, in which the CGE and Department of Justice played central roles.
- ◆ The 16 days of action against violence against women, which gained support from a range of donors.
- ◆ UNDP's allocation of US\$150 000 to the National Network on Violence Against Women. The UN gender theme group has apparently also discussed how each of the UN agencies could add a component on violence against women, but it is not clear whether this has happened.
- ◆ DFID's donation of R19m to support projects aimed at preventing violence against women. Somewhat ironically, this donation was announced in the same article that reported on Britain's interest in South Africa's R29bn weapons-for investment packages (Business day, 8 January 1999).
- ◆ Netherland's allocation of R100 000 to the 'one-stop' West Rand Crisis Support Centre, R52 000 to the Network on Violence Against Women for a feasibility study of a similar centre in the Northern Province, and several allocations to NGOs which address gender-based violence.

The National Network on Violence Against Women

The network was established in 1994 as a partnership between and civil society organisations (POWA; NISAA, ADAPT; FAMSA; NICRO: Womens Bureau and others) The government departments involved were Welfare, as chair, Safety and Security, Education and Foreign Affairs). Civil society was represented by a range of NGOs involved in violence against women or gender issues more broadly.

At the time of its establishment the partnership had no external funding. The Department of Welfare provided the secretariat, and paid for travel and workshop costs from a Women's Unit budget of between R60 000 and R70 000. The first external funding came from the Netherlands government. This, with additional funding from Welfare and Justice, provided for a national workshop held in Cape in 1994 as well as for provincial workshops. In 1998 the Network obtained R200 000 from **Rowntree** for setting up an office and meetings.

The **UNDP** provided US\$275 000 for a year's capacity building in five provinces. UNDP is also covering the salary of the co-ordinator and an office worker until 2000. The UN Overseas Volunteer Services recruited one volunteer for each province, each of whom was to receive a R2 600 monthly living allowance. The contracts took up to six months to process, during which time volunteers had to borrow money to survive. The result was that three of the volunteers resigned. The fact that the volunteers were black South Africans created the belief among some that racism was responsible for their poor treatment.

The **UN Drug Control and Crime Prevention Programme** (UNDCCP) is funding a R3m project to provide one-stop centres in Eastern Cape and Mpumalanga. This allocation is seen as support to the government's Victim Empowerment programmes. The UN allocation will cover running costs, salaries and capacity building for the first three years, while government is expected to cover current infrastructure costs and running costs from year four.

In the Eastern Cape the structure earmarked for the project was vandalised and requires R600 000 for repairs. This is holding up the establishment of the centre. The project at KwaMhlanga in Mpumalanga has meanwhile started. Managers have been employed in both provinces, but can only do counselling until the centres are up and running.

DFID is providing support of BPR870 over a period of three years. This amount includes salaries for 20 staff members in national and provincial offices, capacity building, and other activities. It also covered the development of a logical framework plan.

Achievements of the Network, apart from workshops, include drawing up sexual offences guidelines. There are also plans to commission training of social workers and the drawing up of guidelines of shelters in rural areas.

This list and the Network description by no means cover all donor-funded initiatives in the gender violence field. Yet, despite the relatively extensive range of interventions, one informant commented that the overall picture is that the support is all somewhat 'ad hoc'. This is not surprising as the government itself does not have an integrated programme on gender violence.

The National Network on Violence Against Women represents a serious attempt at co-ordination. However, despite its achievements, there has been very limited support from departments outside of Welfare and Justice. The level of awareness of gender violence has certainly increased over the last few years thanks to actions by both government and NGOs. At this stage, however, it does not seem that there has been any success in bringing down the high levels of violence.

Internationally, Connors notes that most governments have tended to address gender violence primarily through legal solutions. While some governments have supported other approaches, such as shelters, 'in general these have emerged as ad hoc, grassroots and activist responses rather than the original response of government.' (Connors, ??:183).

A 1997 review by the Netherlands Institute on Southern Africa and Dutch government officials found that in this region, too, NGOs were doing most of the work with limited support from government ('Post conflict Domestic Violence' in Policy Watch, Women's Health Project Newsletter 26, May 1998:10). Several of the donor initiatives listed above reflect an acknowledgement of civil society's role.

In terms of this research, it is difficult to say how donors should follow government priorities in this field until government itself comes up with a co-ordinated approach across the many government agencies which need to address the issue.

8 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 CONCLUDING REMARKS

8.1.1 Coverage of the terms of reference

The terms of reference list a number of issues requiring specific attention. The discussion above provides a basis for the conclusions we draw here in respect of each.

The research could not hope to provide a comprehensive **review** of all existing literature on gender integration in ODA, the MTEF, donor strategies and donor programme evaluations. The last-named group, in particular, are difficult to access. The research has drawn on all the relevant literature known to the researchers.

The research has explored both **gender-integrated** and gender-targeted programmes. The overall assessment must be that both donors and the

government are succeeding better in the area of gender-targeted than in gender-integrated initiatives.

The research suggests that there are a wide number of **tools** available but:

- (a) these are not always particularly helpful, or sufficiently specific, in addressing the implementation difficulties which are the most common impediments to gender integration;
- (b) they are often unnecessarily complicated or time-consuming for already overstretched officials; and
- (c) they are sometimes applied in a mechanical – or even dishonest – way; their application is often confined to the conceptualisation stages, neglecting what happens during implementation.

Our conclusion is that it is not possible – nor helpful – to develop tools at the general level suggested in the terms of reference.

The research did not succeed in reaching a meaningful level of **output reporting** in respect of gender-integrated projects. We hope that the sector teams will do this to some extent in respect of projects falling within their brief.

Unfortunately, the staggered starting and ending points for the different teams, as well as some teams' relative neglect of gender issues, means that their findings cannot be incorporated into this report. In the case studies within this report we have been able to reflect on both successes and failures in respect of gender-integrated and gender-targeted initiatives. We have generally not done this in terms of outputs or indicators called for in project documents as most informants said that such indicators were either missing or very general.

In terms of **sustainability**, the report includes discussion of the gender strategies, roles and priorities of donors and the South African government. It also discusses the extent to which activities match stated policy.

The recommendations below draw on the **lessons learnt** from our review of ODA in the period 1994-1999.

8.1.2 Overall patterns

The discussion above provides a large number of examples of gender-related donor funding. It also covers a lot of topics. Moving beyond the detail, we can extract the following conclusions.

The report confirms that gender is one of the priorities of the South African government. This is seen in the Constitution and other laws, in policy documents as well as in initiatives spearheaded by South Africa, whether with or without donor assistance. The cases above are largely those in which donors assisted. We could have added many more where there was no donor assistance. Many – if not all – of the initiatives have encountered problems of various kinds. This should not be taken as negating the point made here – development rarely occurs without some hitches.

The fact that gender is a local priority is important. Firstly, it confirms this issue as a topic for the DCR, whose overall aim is to ensure alignment of ODA with

local priorities. Secondly, it differentiates South Africa from many other countries where donors are seen as imposing gender concerns.

Having a policy does not necessarily mean it is implemented. The Presidential Review Commission noted that there was often a 'missing link' between the national vision and priorities and budgets at other levels (Presidential Review Commission, para 5.3.3.1). This finding was confirmed in this research in that the obstacles to incorporating gender were often found at the level of implementation rather than in policy.

This report suggests that the country is performing relatively satisfactorily in respect of gender-targeted activity, but that this is not the case with mainstreaming. We spoke primarily to the converted, to those who were involved in some way in gender initiatives. The picture is thus almost certainly overly optimistic. A researcher from one of the other teams observed that generally informants looked 'embarrassed or bemused' when she asked about gender. The exception was a number of pilot projects aimed specifically at learning about and harnessing the role of women. The informants from these projects were 'quite enthusiastic' about the issue.

The view of gender as an added burden was evident in the DCR II as a whole. At the second intersectoral meeting researchers on other teams said that it would be difficult to include the gender, capacity building and environment questions as there was too much else to tackle. At the level of practice, an informant who had previously been very active on women's and gender issues noted that in her current position she had let the matter slide: 'One needs to choose one's issues. But maybe I am copping out.'

One suggested solution to the problems in mainstreaming is to focus more heavily on gender-targeted initiatives and accept that mainstreaming will not succeed. A strong approach in this direction could include actions such as the agreement between the Department of Finance and the Netherlands Embassy that 20% of each sectoral allocation will be used for gender-targeted activities. The problem with this approach is that it will never get to the core of the problem and achieve gender equity.

The paper refers to a range of policy documents which state the commitment of both government and donor agencies to mainstreaming. Some of these documents – and those of the OECD in particular – suggest ways in which agencies can strengthen the approach. There are some doubts as to the extent to which these documents impact on and reflect practice. Nevertheless, while the documents might have been drawn up by gender enthusiasts, the authoritative bodies in each case have formally accepted them.

The challenge at this stage then, is to take the approach seriously, and put in place the suggested mechanisms in an attempt to improve the situation. Many informants stressed that in South Africa the doors in respect of gender were open on both the donor and government side. What is needed, though, is for people to take the initiative and walk through the door.

The terms of reference require that we assess ODA support to gender issues in terms of poverty and job creation 'where appropriate'. The case studies

described above include a few – such as Working for Water – that can be seen as falling directly in this area. Many sectoral initiatives could also probably be described as addressing the needs of poor people, and poor women in particular.

Nevertheless, the focus on poverty does not come out at all strongly either in this report or – we would argue – in the area we were asked to investigate. Meer makes this point strongly in relation to the achievements of the last five years. She acknowledges the gains that women in South Africa have enjoyed. However she says that the gains have not gone to women workers, the rural poor, or women trading in the informal sector. Instead, primarily middle-class women have reaped the benefits. She attributes this pattern to a focus on rights with insufficient attention to enforcing these rights, as well as a failure to differentiate between different groups of women (Meer, 1999:115).

Meer's assessment is perhaps too harsh. Other research – such as the national opinion survey commissioned by the CGE and funded by the Swiss Development Corporation (Kola et al, 1999) and rural focus groups commissioned by Ntsika Enterprise Promotion Agency (1999) – show that the post-1994 emphasis on gender equality has filtered down to women and men in remote corners of the country. Nevertheless, Meer is correct in observing that gender discussions often fail to focus sufficiently on gender as it intersects with other axes of disadvantage, including the important axis of poverty.

A review of the Department of Land Affairs' land reform project notes that, in order to address gender needs, one needs to disaggregate the different types of needs into, for example, settlement needs, household livelihood needs, and production needs (McIntosh, 1999:33). We are making a stronger point here. We are saying that, in order to address the needs of those who are most disadvantaged, we need to disaggregate women (and men), and then talk about the needs of these disaggregated groups. It is when we do that, that we will begin asking why both government and donors are paying so little attention to areas such as adult basic education and training.

8.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations arise directly from the findings reported above. In the interests of brevity, the situations which gives rise to the recommendation/s are not repeated here.

8.2.1 Co-ordination

The Chief Directorate International Development Co-operation (IDC) – possibly with donor support – should convene a meeting which includes representatives of all bodies which make up the gender national machinery at national, provincial and local level. This meeting should discuss how donor co-ordination in respect of addressing gender issues could be ensured. Donors could join the second half of this meeting, but should not be present for the first part so as to allow free and open discussion. This would help to address current jealousies and tensions, and prevent a situation where one structure is seen as

dominating. It would also help ensure that the co-ordination is driven by South Africa and reflects South Africa's own plans and priorities rather than those of donors.

Gender focal points, departmental gender offices, provincial OSWs or those holding equivalent positions should be included in any co-ordination mechanisms or meetings that are established in the different sectors. Any move to clustering of departments will, likewise, need to ensure that meetings include people who will ensure that gender interests are addressed. Once projects and programmes are agreed upon, the gender staff should be brought together with project managers, technical assistants and the others involved so that they have full information on the agreement, the project, the gender-specific conditions and issues and ways in which these might be addressed.

Particular attention must be given to local government interventions. This sphere is currently still undergoing major changes. The many bodies involved will require careful co-ordination if duplication, gaps and other difficulties are to be avoided. SALGA and the Department of Provincial and Local Government should be involved in discussions as to how gender co-ordination should take place. The role of traditional leaders will need special consideration if gender equity concerns are to be addressed.

The Donor Gender Forum should meet at least once in every three months in order to share information on projects and programmes and so avoid duplication. Government and NGO representatives should be included in these meetings to ensure that donors are following local priorities.

The Donor Gender Forum should organise sessions that deal with sectoral issues and urge their more technically-oriented sectoral colleagues to attend.

8.2.2 Monitoring

We should abandon the hope of finding a 'quick-fix' single checklist to ensure gender is integrated in all initiatives. Donors and others can continue to use existing checklists. They and the IDC must try to ensure that the checklists are completed with care and honesty. Checking for gender integration should occur regularly throughout the life of projects and programmes, rather than only at the beginning, so as to pick up on problems during implementation.

The South African government must take its full share of responsibility for monitoring and follow-up and other things, and not leave this task to donors. This will help ensure that donors fall in with local priorities and plans.

The list suggested by Diane Elson (see above) can be used as the basis for generating quantitative indicators for particular projects. The indicators should, wherever possible, be disaggregated beyond the simple 'women/men' dichotomy so as to distinguish between different groupings. At the least, the 'women count' must be kept separate from the youth count i.e. data collection must acknowledge that some youth are female, and that some women are young! Indicators must be monitored throughout the life of a project.

Gender monitoring systems must be simple enough that they are easily understandable and do not impose unnecessary burdens on implementers. Project and programme evaluations on donor-funded initiatives should be more widely distributed wherever possible. The IDC or some other body should take responsibility for drawing out and disseminating the lessons learnt.

Departments which have not accounted for donor funding or are not spending the funds due to perceived or real constraints should take steps to correct the problem/s or outsource if the problem is capacity. There should be a combination of carrots and sticks to reward those who perform well and encourage those who do not to improve.

8.2.3 Gender training

Training is important. A key finding of this research is that it is individuals – whether in government, donor agencies or civil society – who often make the difference. Training can ensure that there are more individuals willing and eager to do so. All implementing agencies and all donors need to ensure that they include training on gender issues wherever applicable, including in mainstream projects and programmes. The South African Management Development Institute, OSW or some other body can play a lead and supportive role, but cannot bear sole responsibility.

Training initiatives should increasingly move beyond sensitisation to engagement with the core work of trainees. This will avoid current frustrations where trainees are eager to do something about perceived inequalities, but lack the know-how as to how to proceed.

Training should emphasise both the equity and efficiency arguments for addressing gender issues. This will help in shifting perceptions from seeing gender issues as yet another burden to appreciating how, by addressing gender issues, effectiveness in achieving other goals will be enhanced.

Training initiatives should include management level within donor and government agencies – at least insofar basic sensitisation is concerned – so as to ensure the management support without which most initiatives will fail. Funding should be set aside for training of a minimum of ten chief directors and directors in the government agencies implementing an agreement, with no substitution allowed in attendance.

Donors funding training and capacity building of local councilors for SALGA and in the provinces should meet with the organisations and individuals doing the training so as to avoid duplication and ensure the effectiveness of technical assistance and twinning arrangements.

Funds should be set aside for training on gender budgeting for heads of department and finance personnel across departments and provinces. Performance in terms of gender sensitivity should be built into performance management systems for both officials and donors.

8.2.4 Technical assistance

Technical assistance, which brings together gender and sectoral expertise, should be encouraged. This implies promoting gender experts with sectoral expertise, as well as ensuring that technical experts understand gender issues. Donor agencies should ensure the latter in their recruitment, through terms of reference as well, if necessary, as through gender training.

Government should encourage donors not to draw on technical assistance only from their home country. In particular, technical assistance from within the country, elsewhere in Africa or other developed countries should be encouraged.

Government should assert control over who is employed as technical assistants. The ideal solution is where the government agency names the person they want. An alternative is for the donor agency to provide a list of possible candidates and curricula vitae and the government agency to choose from this.

The structuring of projects and programmes must ensure that the South African side retains control over key decisions. This will require attention to issues such as the time and resources which local people and outsiders have to devote to the initiative.

8.2.5 Study tours

Study tours must allow for exposure to both positive and negative examples of what a particular country has to offer. Likewise, it must allow for exposure to both supporters and those more critical of the initiatives being show-cased.

8.2.6 Outsourcing

Outsourcing should be viewed with caution unless there is some guarantee that those commissioned will operate according to the values and principles of the initiators of the project. These core values should be built into contracts and performance monitoring.

The use by government agencies of NGOs should be encouraged. However, donors and government need to ensure that NGO costs are adequately covered either through payment by government, or by grants from the donors. They also need to ensure that payments are made timeously, as NGOs are dependent on smooth flows for their survival (and for efficient delivery).

8.2.7 Mainstreaming and gender-targeted activity

All donor-government agreements should specify that gender will be mainstreamed. Agreement must be reached on relevant gender impact indicators. Gender impact evaluation should be undertaken at the end of each phase or before release of the next tranche of funds to ensure that mainstreaming and the indicators are taken seriously.

Gender-targeted activities should continue alongside gender mainstreaming, particularly in areas such as gender violence. The Women's Budget categories can be used in respect of both government and donor allocations to assess balance between gender targeting and gender mainstreaming. Care must be taken to ensure that the existence of gender-targeted initiatives does not allow mainstream initiatives to ignore gender issues. In particular, in research and assessments such as these, there should be serious thought before having a separate gender focus.

Where donors decide that specific amounts will be allocated for women's empowerment projects, the percentage should be specified in the agreement as well as the means by which the allocation and implementation will be evaluated.

Gender-targeted assistance should focus on assisting with the implementation stage rather than in producing additional policies and documents.

8.2.8 Within donor agencies

Agencies need to ensure that they take OECD-DAC, their own, and other gender marker initiatives seriously and use them to full effect and honestly.

Agencies need to find ways of promoting dialogue and cross-fertilisation between their staff. In particular, they need to promote dialogue between the technical and more 'social sector' staff, and between the gender experts and others.

9 INTERVIEWEES

1. Neil Andersson, CIET International (email)
2. Adrienne Bird, Department of Labour (telephone)
3. Jaqui Boulle, Working for Water
4. Sally Baden, Institute for Development Studies, Sussex (email)
5. Debbie Bradshaw, Medical Research Council
6. Rosemary Brazier, Special Projects Unit, Mpumalanga
7. Richard Captain, Central Services, Premier's Office, Mpumalanga
8. Josette Cole, Oxfam (telephone)
9. Anna de Cleene, DFID (telephone)
10. Bridget Dillon, DFID
11. Audrey Elster, PPA, currently Harvard (email)
12. Susan Fine, USAID
13. Zini Godden, Netherlands Development Co-operation
14. Barbara Haeming, GTZ
15. Lynette Hlongwane, UNDP
16. Saras Jagwanth, Law, Race and Gender Unit
17. Betty Kgare, OSW, Northern Province
18. Mamathe Kgarimetsa, AA Gender Unit, Development Bank of Southern Africa
19. Barbara Klugman, Women's Health Project
20. Joy Lentlonkoane, Transformation Unit, Mpumalanga
21. Keneilwe Letele, Department of Housing, Mpumalanga
22. Colleen Lowe-Morna, consultant
23. Francie Lund, Centre for Social and Development Studies (telephone)
24. S Luswata, UNICEF
25. Mandla Mabaso, UNDP
26. Maria Mabetoa, Women's Directorate, Department of Welfare
27. Rosa Machaka, Department of Finance, Northern Province
28. Irene Mahapa, OSW, Northern Province
29. Irene Mahlangu, OSW, Mpumalanga
30. Teboho Maitse, Womens Empowerment Unit
31. Esther Makhumisane, Department of Local Government & Housing, Northern Province
32. Robert Masambo, Office of the Status of Disabled People, Mpumalanga
33. Mr Mashabane, Department of Housing, Mpumalanga
34. Mmabatho Matiwane, Gender & Transformation Unit, Department of Trade & Industry
35. Julian May, Centre for Social and Development Studies (email)
36. Milla McLachlan, World Bank, previously DBSA (email)
37. Shamim Meer, consultant (telephone)
38. D Mogashoa, Department of Land Affairs, Northern Province
39. M Mokhobo, Gender Equity Directorate, Department of Education
40. Joyce Moloi, OSW, Northern Province
41. Sonto Mondlane, Finance Department, Premier's Office, Mpumalanga
42. Susan Mossoudi, UNICEF
43. Mmatsilo Motsei, Agisanang Domestic Abuse Prevention and Training
44. Mandla Motshweni, UNICEF
45. Sisonke Msimang, African Gender Institute, previously AUSAID and UNFPA
46. Miseria Nyithi, Commission on Gender Equality
47. Julie Oyegun, ex-consultant for Commonwealth Secretariat (telephone)
48. Deidre Papenfus, Local Government Development Support Programme

49. Sue Parnell, consultant, University of Cape Town
50. Mmabatho Ramogoshi, National Network on Violence Against Women
51. Zoe Rathus, Women's Legal Service Centre, AUSAID consultant
52. Hazel Reeves, Institute for Development Studies, Sussex
53. Nelisa Roche, UNDP
54. Elaine Sacco, South African Local Government Association
55. Angela Schaffer, consultant (telephone)
56. Sydney Shongwe, Department of Health, Mpumalanga
57. Lotta Sylwander, SIDA, Sweden (email)
58. E Twala, Department of Economic Affairs, Mpumalanga
59. Maria van der Venter, Poverty, Mpumalanga
60. Cecille van Riet, Justice College
61. Laurene Watson, SIDA
62. AnnMarie Wolpe, former chair of Gender Equity Task Team
63. Many other people provided information outside of formal interviews.

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11 APPENDIX: GENDER-TARGETED EXPENDITURES BY DONOR AGENCIES

The following extract is taken from the report in the Fourth Women's Budget (Budlender & Dube, 1999:345-352) and reflects the situation in late 1998/early 1999.

Australian Agency for International Development

The AusAID representative said that the agency was providing support to the Commission on Gender Equality. Baden *et al* reported that AusAID was supporting the Commonwealth Secretariat and gender budget initiatives (within government) and work on violence against women in Mpumalanga (possibly outside government). They were told that gender-related activities accounted for approximately 10% of the total AusAID budget in South Africa. An AusAID information pack recorded assistance by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation to SABC and community radio. This included the funding of short programs encouraging women to vote in 1994 elections, support for the now defunct SPEAK magazine and planned support for adult literacy programmes specially targeted at women (AusAID, nd). An apartheid-era document on foreign mission funding in South Africa reveals the Australian Embassy as the only one referring to gender or women in its specification of 'enhancement of women in development processes' as one of its five favoured sectors.

Belgium

Belgium said they were not giving aid specifically for gender or women's issues.

Canadian International Development Agency

In the past CIDA provided support in terms of South Africa's Beijing Platform of Action. Projects included a high proportion of female students in the tertiary funding programme, support in respect of the development of the country's gender-sensitive constitution, support to the Legal Resources Centre (an NGO) in respect of constitutional litigation on gender issues, support in respect of participation by women in the local government elections, as well as funding of a range of smaller initiatives. CIDA's list of its current gender-focussed initiatives includes:

- ◆ A study tour led by the Deputy Minister of Justice and including officials from Justice, Correctional Services and Welfare to learn about Canadian legislation, policy, models and practices in a range of areas including violence of women;
- ◆ Inter-disciplinary training for Justice officials, police, other departments and NGOs, by a visiting Canadian expert on dealing with gender violence;
- ◆ A study tour for a Department of Labour team to the Employment Equity Directorate in Canada;
- ◆ Funding for the development of a specialised training programme for child and youth care workers under the Department of Welfare;
- ◆ Technical assistance to the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology in the development of a Cultural Industries Growth Strategy;

- ◆ Study tours by the Minister of Welfare and members of the Portfolio Committee on Welfare to learn about Canadian experience in social welfare.

It is not clear why CIDA includes initiatives such as those relating to social welfare and child and youth care initiatives under gender-specific funding.

Commonwealth Secretariat

Baden *et al* undertook their research at a time when the Commonwealth Secretariat still had a local South African office. At that time they reported Commonwealth support for the development of a national gender policy, for the Commission on Gender Equality, in the drawing up of South Africa's first CEDAW report, for the compilation of an audit of gender-related data source and to the Department of Finance in terms of its own Gender and Macroeconomic pilot project. At the time we undertook our research the local office had closed. Support for the Gender and Macroeconomics pilot was ongoing as was support for the Commission on Gender Equality.

Danish International Development Agency

Denmark funded the Office on the Status of Women in respect of policy formulation on gender integration within government. The Danish representative also noted that many of their provincial programmes focus on women's issues. The SIDA Country Gender Profile records previous Danish support for the RDP Office gender desk, for a survey on gender in Gauteng and for gender sensitivity training in the Department of Justice.

European Union

The EU does not have a separate programme or budget for gender, but some of their programmes include gender-oriented activities. The representative referred to their large parliamentary programme as well as their support to the SA Labour Development Trust in respect of affirmative action in trade unions. He noted, for example, that they request that at least 25% of trade union trainees are women.

Finland

Finland gave a negative answer to this question, but noted at another point in the interview that they look at employment of women and disabled people in water projects. They provided us with business plans for water projects which were explicit about the gender impact and benefit.

GTZ

GTZ referred in the interview to their establishment of the Women's Outreach Foundation. The Foundation is described in their documentation as an 'individual poverty alleviation and employment promotion on a self-help basis appropriate to the various development levels of marginalised rural and urban women'.

GTZ did not mention their Pilot Programme Gender. This programme is controlled and funded from the headquarters of the Ministry for Economic Co-operation and Development in Germany. The aim is to experiment with practical

ways of mainstreaming a gender perspective in development. South Africa, Zambia, Mongolia and Peru have been chosen as pilot countries.

GTZ also did not mention the projects listed in [one of] their documents as including women among their direct target groups. These projects included Khuphuka Skills Training and Education Programme, the Department of Land Affairs' People and Parks programme, the Department of Mineral and Energy's Solar Cooker Field Test programme, the National Training Board's Learnership Training System and the Eastern Cape Community Based Development Planning Project. The document itself does not point out the implicit gender focus in their assistance to the Department of Justice with legislative drafting in respect of harmonising traditional and Islamic law.

Irish Aid

Irish Aid said that all programmes were assessed for gender impact but also described a range of activities with a particularly strong gender focus, as follows:

- ◆ A large bursary support programme through the Tertiary Education Funding of South Africa, NGOs and some educational institutions. This support includes the requirement that 50% of bursars be women and that non-traditional fields be favoured;
- ◆ A three-month gender training course for the gender officer in the Department of Labour's Human Resource Development;
- ◆ A R255 000 study of women's role in water and sanitation as part of a larger Mvula project (The representative noted that this study was initiated by Irish Aid);
- ◆ Support to People Opposed to Women Abuse in Mamelodi; and
- ◆ The Lifeskills Awareness Programme in Eastern Cape schools.

Irish Aid also hopes in the near future to approve funding for the Gender Commission.

Japanese International Co-operation Agency

JICA said that they had extensive gender programmes in other countries but that in South Africa they had only gone as far as commissioning a country gender profile.

Netherlands

The Royal Netherlands Embassy provides assistance to the Office on the Status of Women and Commission on Gender Equality within the government sphere. It also provides assistance to a range of gender-related NGOs – Agisanang Domestic Abuse Prevention and Training (ADAPT), People Opposed to Women Abuse, Masimanyane, Womens Health Project, Umtapo and Women's Development Foundation.

New Zealand Overseas Development Agency

NZODA said they had given R61 275 to the Project for Reconciliation and Development in Port Elizabeth for a pilot gender awareness and life skills training programme in Eastern Cape schools.

In allocating money from the rurally-oriented Small Projects Fund NZODA require that 50% of project should be 'GAD-integrated or GAD-specific'.

Israel

Israel said that at least 50% of the more than one hundred South Africans who attend courses in Israel each year are women. The programmes include women's leadership, early childhood education and community health. Attendance at a few professional courses held inside South Africa were estimated also to have equal participation by women and men.

Norwegian Agency for Development Co-operation

Norad provides support to the African Gender Institute at the University of Cape Town. Our informant did not mention the technical and financial assistance to Statistics SA in the areas of time use and gender statistics more generally. The Norad annual report states that their South African co-operation focus from the first year included 'women's issues'.

Swedish International Development Agency

SIDA has a South African budget specifically allocated to gender. In 1998 this budget amounted to R13m. The representative expected the amount to increase to R20m in 1999. Baden *et al* reported SIDA's support for five gender-specific projects. By the time we did the research, the scope had increased considerably. Projects funded out of the gender budget include:

- ◆ Women's Empowerment Unit in parliament;
- ◆ Commission on Gender Equality;
- ◆ Women's Development Foundation;
- ◆ Women's National Coalition;
- ◆ ADAPT in Alexandra;
- ◆ Law, Race and Gender Unit at the University of Cape Town;
- ◆ Gender programme in the Community Law Centre at the University of Western Cape;
- ◆ Network on Women's Empowerment;
- ◆ Department of Justice activities around the 16 days on Violence Against Women;
- ◆ Statistics South Africa.

Swiss Development Corporation

Between 1995 and 1997 SDC spent approximately R14m in areas offering specific support to women. In addition to support for the pre- and post-Beijing process, SDC gender-oriented activities include:

- ◆ Bursaries for women from disadvantaged backgrounds for study at tertiary institutions;
- ◆ Support for research in gender issues, such as a survey on gender relations for the Commission on Gender Equality;
- ◆ Funding for NGOs which provide support to abused women;
- ◆ Support for Women's Day campaign and related activities.

In respect of other areas of funding, SDC policy requires that programmes and projects 'should not in any way promote or support gender discrimination or create a situation that might directly or indirectly compromise the situation of women socially, politically, environmentally and economically'.

UK Department for International Development

DfID has allocated 200 000GBP over two years to promote rights-based interventions and gender in particular. Close on 80 000GBP of this have been spent to date. In addition, DfID reported on an allocation of 6 000GBP over three years to the Commission on Gender Equality as well as a R20m programme with Soul City and the National Network on Violence against Women launched in January 1999.

US Agency for International Development

USAID said they supported organisations offering gender training for women in government and at local level. They also said they had women participation targets for activities such as training. Their representatives noted that all their activities are supposed to focus on issues of gender and disability but that, in money terms, this would translate into a small percentage of the overall budget. The representatives acknowledged that this was an area in which they needed to improve.

United Nations Children's Fund

Unicef tries to mainstream gender in all its programmes, is aware of weaknesses in this area, and hopes to address them in communication and advocacy work. Unicef also supports the following specifically gender-related activities:

- ◆ Gender education programmes, including funding of regional situation analyses of the girl child in the Northern and North-West provinces prepared by the National Institute for Public Interest Law and Research (NIPILAR) as well as gender-sensitive curriculum review, preparation of training materials and training of teachers as part of the Curriculum 2005 initiative.
- ◆ Gender training of men by the Gender Education and Training Network;
- ◆ The work of NIPILAR with parents groups in the Northern Province around early childhood development. (The funds for this are provided by contributions from the Norwegian Government and an US-based women's NGO as part of an African Girls' Education Initiative.)
- ◆ Preparation of training manuals on the Convention on All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) by NIPILAR; and
- ◆ Mainstreaming of gender into national statistics.

United Nations Development Agency

The UNDP representative estimated that between 10 and 15% of their budget is allocated for areas that incorporate both gender mainstreaming and the advancement of women. Specific projects include:

- ◆ A gender and media strategy and the Womensnet initiative, in partnership with the Commission on Gender Equality

- ◆ The Women's Budget project, with Idasa and parliament;
- ◆ Support for a focus on women in the People's Housing process with housings departments, CBOs, NGOs, tertiary institutions and the New Business Initiative
- ◆ Business for Tertiary Education with the United Nations Education Programme for South Africa (UNEPTSA) and government;
- ◆ Primary health care for women with Northern Province;
- ◆ SMME support through Ntsika, with 20% of support targeted at women;
- ◆ Women in Entrepreneurship Development with UNEPTSA;
- ◆ Capacity building for women local councillors with Women's Development Foundation;
- ◆ Gender mainstreaming at provincial level with the Office on the Status of Women;
- ◆ National Crime Prevention Strategy with United Nations Volunteers and the National Network on the Prevention of Violence against Women;
- ◆ Two multi-sectoral outreach centres for women victims of violence in Mpumalanga and Eastern Cape.

World Bank

The World Bank said they had provided a grant of US\$5 000 to NGOs for women's leadership. At least some of these funds have been used to send women leaders overseas. The representative said that the gender dimension and impact were also considered in the design of poverty targeting. He cited the example of the child maintenance grant. (He was presumably referring to the child support grant that has replaced the maintenance grant).

12 APPENDIX: TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR AN EVALUATION MISSION: GENDER INTEGRATION IN ODA PROJECTS AND PROGRAMMES

Note: These terms of reference were subsequently somewhat amended in the Inception note.

1. BACKGROUND

The Department of Finance (DoF), together with the support of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and other donors, is in the process of developing a Development Co-operation Report (DCR) to evaluate donor assistance in South Africa in the period 1994-99.

A key objective of the DCR is to offer a guideline for the alignment of future overseas development assistance (ODA) to the development priorities of the South African government. The DoF's Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) published in November 1998, outlines the reconstruction and development priorities of the South African government and is a key document to be used in compiling the DCR.

Phase I of the DCR was conducted by a team of local consultants with the assistance of an international expert and the support of UNDP. The Department of Finance, in consultation with the UNDP and other donors, has decided to extend this exercise to include an assessment of ODA on certain sectors, thematic areas and regions. More specifically, evaluations are required for the sectors of water and sanitation, health, education, labour and SMME development. Other key thematic areas that will also be assessed are democracy and governance, environment and capacity development.

Since the DCR will serve as a document that will inform, guide and align development assistance to the changing needs and priorities of the new democracy, Phase II will necessitate the more active participation of the donor community in South Africa. This is particularly important in a context in which the donors are developing new proposals and strategies for co-operation in the post-transitional period.

The overall objectives of the DCR are:

- ◆ To conduct an evaluation ODA to South Africa in the period 1994-99 and
- ◆ To offer recommendations as to how present and future ODA should be co-ordinated and aligned to the articulated needs and priorities of the South African government as reflected in the MTEF.
- ◆ To develop appropriate systems, mechanisms and tools to be used to conduct evaluations of ODA expenditure in South Africa on a regular basis

All donors express a commitment to gender-integrated programs. However, it is generally acknowledged that often both donors and recipients do not consider the gender implications of projects. In addition, very few projects are designed to target gender relations directly.

One of the objectives of the DCR is to explore how ODA programs and projects could be gender-integrated. It is with this background that these terms of reference for the gender evaluation has been developed.

2. OBJECTIVES

- 2.1 To evaluate the extent to which gender issues have been integrated into ODA programs and projects in the period 1994-99;
- 2.2 To develop tools and mechanisms to ensure gender-integrated ODA programs and projects in future, especially in the planning stages;
- 2.3 To develop tools and mechanisms for monitoring and evaluation of projects and programs in terms of gender integration.

3. OUTPUTS

The outputs of the evaluation mission are:

- 3.1 **An Inception Note** with proposed itinerary and methodology of the mission, to be delivered to DoF before the start of the mission proper.
- 3.2 **A Review Report** that will serve as a chapter in the overall DCR
- 3.3 **A Debriefing Note** (summary of the Review report) of the main findings

4. PROCESS

- 4.1 Review relevant literature
- 4.2 Meet with stakeholders
- 4.3 Overview of the gender policies, strategies and plans of action of both recipients and donors.
- 4.4 Formulate a workplan detailing the key sectors, projects and programs that the team has decided to explore.
- 4.5 Identify problem areas in terms of ODA support to gender projects/programs specifically, as well as in attempts to integrate gender into programs/projects, including the identification of ODA support gaps.
- 4.6 Assess the extent to which ODA support to gender issues is aligned to government priorities as described in the RDP, GEAR and the more recent MTEF, particularly in terms of poverty alleviation and job creation, where appropriate.
- 4.7 Assess the gender-integrated strategies, if any, adopted by the different government departments and agencies in ODA- supported projects, with a view to taking forward lessons learnt.
- 4.8 Assess the sustainability of the gender components of ODA programs/projects, as well as to direct gender-focussed projects, in terms of government's absorptive capacity as well as the capacity being built by ODA.
- 4.9 Outline a way forward for gender-integrated ODA in terms of strategic direction, post – 1999.

5. ACTIVITIES

The scope of work for the assignment will include, but not necessarily be limited to the following general tasks:

- 5.1 Meetings with all key stakeholders, including the various donors active in the sector, implementing agencies, project beneficiaries, affected government authorities and other interested parties. In particular:
 - 5.1.1 National Departments selected in 4.4 above
 - 5.1.2 Selected provincial Departments selected in 4.4 above
 - 5.1.3 Key NGOs either directly or indirectly involved in gender and development issues.
 - 5.1.4 The Commission on Gender Equity (CGE)
 - 5.1.5 The Office of the Status of Women (OSW)
 - 5.1.6 Key donors
- 5.2 An analysis of all ODA in the selected sectors, with specific emphasis on the following:
 - 5.2.1 **Review** – of all existing literature on gender integration in ODA, the MTEF, donor strategies and donor program evaluations.
 - 5.2.2 **Assess** - the type and extent of gender –integrated ODA projects/programs, exploring why gender-integration tools in project/program planning are not widely used and developing such tools where necessary
 - 5.2.3 **Output Reporting** - an analysis of ODA priority areas their coherence and complementarity to the government’s priorities and strategies in terms of gender relations. A comparison of actual and planned outputs for gender-integrated projects. The report should also analyse any unintended outcomes achieved and how these outcomes positively supported gender relations.
 - 5.2.4 **Sustainability Assessment** – an analysis of the extent to which ODA delivers continued benefits to the target groups in terms of gender issues. Assess the gender strategies, roles and priorities of donors and recipients.
 - 5.2.5 **Lessons Learnt** – from ODA to this sector in the period 1994-99, with conclusions for forward–looking strategies to be followed. Also, an analysis of experiences of general interest that may not have been described in the sections above.
 - 5.2.6 **Conclusions and Recommendations** – conclusions on evaluation findings and recommendations regarding future ODA support to gender issues.

In addition to 5.2 above:

- 5.3 Analyse the provincial distribution and impact of gender-related ODA in selected provinces e.g. Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, Mpumalanga and Northern Province, with a view to assessing the following:
 - 5.3.1 equitable distribution of ODA
 - 5.3.2 donor expertise matching provincial needs
 - 5.3.3 the extent to which donor assistance successfully fits into provincial gender objectives.
- 5.4 Co-ordinate with gender task teams that may have been set up by the donor agencies to incorporate their findings.

- 5.5 Co-ordinate with, assess and incorporate gender evaluations of donor assistance that may have been conducted by national departments, provincial and local government.
- 5.6 Evaluate to what extent capacity development and environmental concerns have been successfully integrated into all gender-related projects and programs, with a discussion of the lessons learnt and recommendations for future projects/programs. This will be done as a collaborative effort with the capacity development and environmental DCR teams.
- 5.7 Evaluate the efficacy of gender-related ODA.

6. STAFFING

- ◆ Team Leader who will co-ordinate all the sector studies and who shall be responsible for developing a final DCR
- ◆ Sector Consultant who will contribute a report based on this TOR, to be incorporated into the DCR. The sector consultant will:
 - be familiar with South Africa's gender priorities and debates;
 - have experience of evaluating gender-integrated ODA programs/projects;
 - be familiar with the gender in development debates;
 - have an adequate understanding of donor program procedures and requirements;
 - have strong analytical ability and excellent writing skills.

7. TIMING, DURATION AND KEY MILESTONES

This evaluation mission is scheduled for up to 45 working days.

- ◆ Up to a maximum of 4 working days after issuing of contract, an initial inception report detailing methodology and workplan will be expected from the consultants
- ◆ Consultants will be expected to attend the DCR Programme planning workshop involving all sector / thematic consultancy teams, to define common methodological approach, reporting formats and logistical arrangements.
- ◆ After five working weeks the Consultants are expected to present a Mid-consultancy report to DCR project team
- ◆ Towards the end of the assignment the consultants will present a Draft final report presented to principal stakeholders in sector for 'reality testing'.
- ◆ At the end of nine working weeks the consultants will present a Revised final report

8. REPORTING

Progress Reports will be submitted to the DoF on a weekly basis, no later than 09h00 on a Friday.

The Review Report will be submitted to the DoF no later than one week after the completion of the evaluation mission.

All documents shall be delivered in ten (10) copies to the DoF. Two (2) MS Word document files on DOS formatted disks will also be submitted. The DoF will send copies to the other involved donors.

9. INPUTS

The Department of Finance will appoint the mission team members and will provide them with the necessary background documents.

10. ATTACHMENTS

Format for an Inception Note, Debriefing Note

13 APPENDIX: QUESTIONS USED AS BASIS OF INTERVIEWS

Note: *With all questions, push for practical examples rather than theory and jargon.*

- ◆ Describe the project – from history when first initiated until now.
- ◆ What is the total budget for this project? How much was given over each of the last few years?
- ◆ How much of this money comes from government and how much from (which) donors?
- ◆ What is the breakdown of the donor portion of the budget i.e. what can it be spent on?
- ◆ Until when are donor funds committed, and how will the project be funded after that?
- ◆ What other types of non-financial assistance are donors giving e.g. technical assistance, materials?
- ◆ What are the advantages of working with donor money?
- ◆ What are the disadvantages/what have been the difficulties of working with donor money?
- ◆ With whom were partnerships built for project implementation, e.g. NGOs, consultants with terms of reference via a tender process; the department itself?
- ◆ How is gender built into this project?
- ◆ What are the successes? (If non-gender-specific answer, probe further about gender-specific)
- ◆ What are the problems? (If non-gender-specific answer, probe further about gender-specific)
- ◆ How are you monitoring the project? Give example of indicators. What are problems in monitoring?
- ◆ Do you have special tools which you use in respect of gender at any stages e.g. in planning, implementation, monitoring?
- ◆ Who promoted the gender perspective – government or donors? Are there any differences in approach in respect of gender between government, donors, and community in which implementing?
- ◆ How does the project/programme fit into what the agency is doing more broadly? How big a part of the overall activity of the agency is it?
- ◆ Does the agency have any (other) initiatives related to gender-based violence?
- ◆ Where else in the agency's activities is there a gender perspective?
- ◆ What (gender) training has staff had? Which and how many staff? Paid for by whom?
- ◆ How does this project/programme relate to poverty alleviation?
- ◆ How does this project/programme relate to job creation?

Ask for background documents.

For OSWs and gender desk people:

- ◆ How many people are in this unit? Full-time or part-time (or overtime)?

- ◆ Is there a separate budget allocated for your office/this work? If YES, what does it cover (e.g. salaries, transport, etc)
- ◆ Are you involved in management of your budget?
- ◆ Are you involved in budget preparation? How and when? Only for this unit, or for the department/government more broadly?
- ◆ What have been main activities of this unit? How are they funded?

For donors:

- ◆ In what ways are you ensuring gender integration in other projects and programmes? (Give practical examples) What difficulties are there in doing this?

14 APPENDIX: ATTENDANCE AT MEETING OF 18 FEBRUARY

Organisation	Representative
AUSAID	Amanda Gillett
Danish Embassy	Mapule Magoro
DFID-SA	Bridgette Dillon
European Union	François Dronnet
European Union	Jeanne Gould
French Embassy	Rhodas Patrick
GTZ	Barbara Haming
Department of Finance	Sharmala Naidoo
Irish Aid	Theresa McDonnell
JICA	Kazumi Larhed
Netherlands Embassy	Brechje Schwachofer
Swedish Embassy	Laurie Watson
Swiss Aid	Bonisiwe Obadina
USAID	Susan Fine
Presidents Office	Thando Makapena
IOD	Rajan Soni
IOD	Gary Moonsamy