

The London School of Economics and Political Science

**Practicing Gender: Gender and Development
Policy in South African Organisations**

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A thesis submitted to the Gender Institute of the London School
of Economics for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, London,
July 2012

Declaration

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Abstract

This is a thesis about the relationship between gender policy and practice in South Africa, and its effects. Gender is a concept widely used in development policy, but little attention has been paid to precisely how development agents use gender policy in their practice. As a result, we know little about the significance or meanings practitioners attribute to gender policy, or how development actors adapt, transform or manipulate gender policy in their everyday work. Gaps in knowledge about how gender policy is put into practice in specific contexts have led to gaps in knowledge about what effects gender policy has on the politics of gender. This brings about two aims for this study: (1) to map the relationship between gender and development policy and practice in South Africa, and (2) to explore the effects of gender policy on gender politics. Following a multisite approach, this study looks at gender policy as a collection of ‘contested narratives’ (Shore & Wright 1997) about gender. The findings point to a conflict between three different policy frames being drawn on by policy actors as they try to assert their own understanding of gender, define the ‘problem’ that exists and the policies that are needed to solve it. This conflict may diminish the potential for a collective social movement for gender issues in South Africa. However, practitioners are not powerless implementers of policy, but rather use gender policy strategically in their practice by adopting, transforming and manipulating policy frames in a range of different tactical manoeuvres to suit their own objectives. Identifying the tactical manoeuvres being used by development practitioners in South Africa contributes new understandings of the fragmented ways that an alternative gender politics is currently being advanced by practitioners in this context.

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Acknowledgements

This thesis would never have been written had it not been for the amazing support I have received along the way.

Firstly, I would like to thank those who agreed to participate in this study. There is incredible work currently being done in South Africa by those trying to address the negative impacts of gender inequalities on the lives of women and men. I hope this thesis plays a role in giving credit to the passion and commitment of the individuals who have made this their life's work. This thesis would also not have been possible without a doctoral scholarship from the London School of Economics, and the support for fieldwork I received from the Health Economics and HIV/AIDS Research Division (HEARD) at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa.

I am tremendously grateful to my supervisor Dr. Cathy Campbell whose academic talent I have always admired. It has been an amazing gift being able to work with her on this thesis. Her thoughtful critique of my work over the years has made me a much stronger scholar than I would have otherwise been, and it is difficult to express how grateful I am for her reliable support throughout this process. I would also like to thank my advisor Dr. Diane Perrons for her careful reading and constructive comments along the way, Dr. Ann Robertson for teaching me everything I know about Foucault, and Dr. Alan Whiteside for keeping my career on his radar.

Thank you to my PhD partner in crime Rochelle, whose radiant smile and warm hugs kept me going on a daily basis. I also would like to thank my PhD colleagues at the Gender Institute – especially Marina, Linda and Alessandro – whose sharp knowledge of gender theory constantly kept me on my toes. And a special thank you to Adrian, Franziska and Erica – a brilliant group of PhD students at the University of Toronto who suffered with me through two crucial years of social theory.

Thank you to my partner in life Seb, whose patience and love throughout this process was often the only thing keeping the tears at bay. To my younger sister Lynley, whose fearless approach to life encouraged me to go beyond my own perceived limitations. And to my parents: my father Doug who taught me to engage the world

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with devoted curiosity and my mother Linda whose unconditionally love was with me every step of the way. My only wish is that we could all live much closer together.

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my grandmothers Dorothy Pearl Merritt and Kathleen Ellis who are still very much alive in me. I have grown up in a much different world than these two incredibly intelligent women, which has provided me with choices far beyond becoming a teacher, a secretary, or a housewife. I like to think that in completing this thesis I've vindicated a small amount of the anger you both felt at the injustices of your gender.

Preface

What does it mean to ‘develop gender’? I find the absence of this question in the gender and development literature perplexing. Development as a concept has been extensively critiqued for its cultural imperialism (e.g. Escobar, 1995; Marglin, 2003) and for inferring that ‘developing’ countries need to reach a social and economic norm that has been defined by those already considered to be ‘developed’. Within this critical perspective, development policy is seen as fraught with assumptions about *who* needs to be ‘developed’. Feminist scholars have also put forward critiques of development and its homogenisation of the diversity of women’s oppression (e.g. Mohanty, 1984). However, the same critical eye is rarely put on the more specialised area of gender and development where a need to ‘develop’ gender is taken as complicit with a need to address gender inequalities in ‘developing’ countries (Marchand & Parpart, 1995). Gender is inscribed into international development policy with few questions being posed about who exactly gets to define ‘gender’ and who designs potential solutions to gender inequality. More attention needs to be paid to these assumptions within international gender policy and the effects these have on gender politics in particular contexts.

In an attempt to separate this inquiry of gender practice from the assumptions embedded in policy, I take both ‘development’ and ‘gender’ in this thesis as concepts that come to be known and taken as ‘truths’ within a historical, social and cultural context. So what do I mean when I refer to gender and development in this thesis? In referring to gender I am taking an overtly post-structural gender studies approach, which interrogates gender as attributes of masculinities and femininities defined with a particular social, cultural and historical context. I begin with the assumption that there is no ‘right’ way of defining gender, but that as a social category gender is historically influenced, context-specific and changeable. Drawing on the post-structural traditions in gender studies, most notably the work of Judith Butler, the male and female body are also understood in this thesis as a social construction, blurring the line between distinctions between gender and sex categories of meaning, which are frequently used to explain gender in the field of gender and development

(a discursive trend that I discuss at length in this thesis). Defining gender in this way opens up the possibility for exploring development practice that does not assume gender to be an oppositional construction of masculinity and femininity, or a social category based on the biological realities of male and female bodies.

Similarly when I talk about ‘development’ in this thesis, I am referring to a human occupation with the task of ‘improving’ the lives of specific populations. ‘Gender and development’ refers to a sub-section of the international development project that is focused on addressing gender inequalities and injustices faced by (equally problematic) socially constructed identity categories such as ‘men’, ‘women’, ‘gays’, ‘lesbians’ and ‘transgender’. Taking an explicitly post-structural approach, I make no claims to any of these categories as universally transferrable or understandable.

However, rather than putting all words to be problematised into scare quotes, I have used this convention only sparingly in the thesis when the context of a sentence or paragraph requires this type of clarification.

Gender and development is therefore understood in this thesis as a field of practice with its own professionals, networks, strategies and discourses. It is also understood as a way of thinking about the world that sees gender equality as a realistic and necessary objective. It is the specific ways of thinking about the world and the role of gender equality within it that are written into gender policy. In this way, I understand gender policy to be a living instrument used to organise gender in society with inherent assumptions about gender and how to bring about changes in gender inequalities. With this thesis, I am interested in accounting for the variety of assumptions made about who needs to be ‘developed’ and how, and the effect this has on gender relations as social structures of power in the lives of women and men.

Overview

This is a thesis about the relationship between gender policy and practice in South Africa, and its effects. Although often described as a linear process, the translation of policy into the practice of organisations is a messy negotiation that responds to the needs and desires of individual practitioners, the relationships between individuals, the culture of the organisation, bureaucratic procedures and, most certainly, social politics of all kinds. Within anthropology, scholars interested in the field of international development as an object of study have been developing a body of literature that explores the ‘mess’ of turning development policy into practice. This thesis draws on this literature to examine the relationship between gender policy and practice in South African development organisations through a multisite interpretive study. There are two main aims for the study. The first is to map the relationship between gender and development policy and practice in South Africa. This provides an account of how development agents are adopting, transforming and manipulating gender policy in their organisational practices. The second is to explore the effects of gender policy and practice on gender politics in South Africa. ‘Gender politics’ is used throughout this thesis to refer to the social and political space in which policy-makers, women’s activists, practitioners and academics are trying to address gender dynamics and improve the lives of women (and men). Exploring the effects of gender policy in practice on gender politics provides insight into how power is being shaped and resisted in efforts to address gender inequalities in South Africa.

In this thesis, gender politics is discussed as taking place at three main levels. Firstly, gender politics are talked about at a structural level where gender relations are defined by a social hierarchy that has been ‘formed in relation to perceived biological differences in reproductive organs (differences themselves that are historically-geographically constructed)’ (Hunter, 2010, p. 11). This social hierarchy in turn privileges certain ideas about what it means to be a man (i.e. masculinity) over others, and over femininities (Connell, 1987). The structural level has implications in any discussion of gender, and is extremely important to the gender policy and practice discussed in this thesis. Secondly, gender politics is discussed in

this thesis in the context of organisations and their activities. Organisations, including the development organisations focused on in this thesis, are social environments where behaviours and activities associated with masculinity are often more respected than their feminine counterparts and norms of the male-worker prevail (del Rosario, 1997). Development organisations are also subject to the shifting priorities of donors, where the focus on gender has not always been consistent or meant the same thing to all people (Baden & Goetz, 1997). Compounding the issues for organisations, funding for gender-focused activities has not always been a priority of international donors. The gender politics of organisations play a major role in this thesis because of the way in which both policy and practice are organisationally embedded social activities. Thirdly, gender politics are discussed in this thesis as occurring at the level of discourse: in the discussions taking place, the documents being written, and the activities undertaken in the creation of gender policy and its practice by development actors. Different definitions and narratives about gender are taken up within development policy and practice in order to legitimise development interventions (Cornwall, Harrison, & Whitehead, 2007). Exploring which gender discourses are being drawn on in mobilising development interventions in South Africa provides key insights into how gender politics are being either reaffirmed or challenged. While not an exhaustive list of the various aspects of gender politics that impact on policy and practice, this introduces several of the key themes that are touched on in reference to gender politics in South Africa throughout this thesis.

Gender politics in South Africa is an expansive topic embedded within South Africa's rich social history, which extends far beyond the project of 'development' for South Africa. It would be a monumental task for a thesis to capture this entire context. Therefore, the focus here is on the development industry that sees South Africa as a country in need of intervention. This encompasses the policies, institutions, actors and discourses that are intertwined within this project. While this thesis touches upon South Africa's recent history of apartheid and social unrest, the rich and complex social and cultural history of South Africa is not the main focus of

this thesis. Rather this is a thesis about the relationship between gender policy and its practice in development organisations as it has occurred in South Africa as a case study.

Summary of Chapters

Chapter one outlines the context of gender policy and its practice in development organisations in South Africa. The chapter details the characteristics of the ‘institutions’, ‘discourses’ and ‘actors’ that define this context, following Rosalind Eyben’s (2008) framework for policy processes. In referring to institutions, the chapter details the arrangements that guide the practice of gender and development in South Africa, including the institutional structure reflected in gender treaties and international conventions. The section on *discourses* includes a summary of how gender inequalities have been framed within the international development literature as important considerations for South Africa. In the section on *actors*, I outline the specifics of gender and development as a field of work in South Africa, the various types of organisations involved, and the types of funding being provided for gender interventions. At the end of this chapter I position myself within this environment by telling the story of how I came to first work in the field of gender and development in South Africa and how the initial objectives for this study were developed.

Chapter two explores the literature on the practice of gender policy within development organisations. Using the case example of gender mainstreaming policy, which has been widely discussed in the literature, I synthesise three main explanations for how gender policy is being adopted and rejected in organisational practice. I then turn to the anthropology literature to make the case for an anthropology of gender policy that explains how it is taken up in development practice, and outlines what this contributes to the current understanding of gender policy in practice. My argument is that anthropological perspectives on policy have provided critical insights into what is happening when policy is translated into development practice, although their ability to account for gender is limited. Based on my review of the literature I outline three research questions that arise from the literature and the gaps identified.

Following from the questions posed at the end of *Chapter two*, *Chapter three* outlines a theoretical framework for understanding the relationship between gender policy and practice, and its effects. In the first case, I explore two divergent theoretical frameworks that have been applied to policy and practice: (1) Norman Long's actor-oriented approach, and (2) governmentality, drawing on the work of Michel Foucault. I argue that governmentality approaches within the anthropology of policy field have drawn on a limited understanding of policy as an 'apparatus' for the control of populations, whereas actor-oriented approaches are better able to capture how development actors may also be acting outside of the controlling effects of policy. However, the actor-oriented approach is also limited in meeting the needs of a study of gender policy and practice because of how gender has been narrowly conceptualised as a set of culturally-defined social roles. Previous applications of the actor-oriented approach have not adequately accounted for the relationship between the practices of development agents and gender as a social relation that involves power. The end of this chapter is devoted to outlining how, despite its previous applications, actor-oriented approaches can be adapted to better explore gender and its politics.

This leads into *Chapter four*, which outlines my methodology for the study of the relationship between gender and development policy and practice in South Africa. I explain how this study answers the three research questions posed in *Chapter two* through: (1) an interpretive analysis of the frames being used in gender policy for South Africa (i.e. how gender has been diagnosed as a problem and the prescriptions for change offered); (2) a thematic analysis following Attride-Stirling (2001) of in-depth interviews with 32 development practitioners and a collection of organisational materials. I outline in this chapter how this multi-method approach is aligned with the theoretical frameworks presented in *Chapter three*. I take some time at the end of the chapter to reflect critically on how my position has informed the research carried out in this thesis.

In *Chapters five, six and seven* I present my findings.

Chapter five answers the first research question: *how has gender been framed as an issue for South African development in policy?* Drawing from a collection of policy documentation from South Africa's bilateral donors on gender issues, multinational non-governmental organisations (NGOs), the South African government and a collection of women's list serve postings, this chapter broadly maps the discursive frames that have been used to describe gender as a development issue for South Africa. Three specific policy frames for gender in South Africa are identified: (1) development instrumentalism, which sees gender as a path to development; (2) women's empowerment, which sees development as a means of improving the lives of women; and (3) social transformation, which understands gender as hierarchical social relations that are tackled through addressing power. In mapping these three frames, this chapter provides a picture of the conflicting discourses that compose the contested space of gender policy in South Africa, and the various actors involved in putting forward these discourses.

Chapter six answers the second research question: *how does gender policy operate in the practices of actors in South African development organisations?* The aim of this chapter is to identify the specific characteristics of how the gender policy frames identified in *chapter five* are being taken up in the practices of development actors. The overall findings of this thesis confirm that policy acts to constrain gender practice by limiting the scope of possible gender interventions and strategies. However, this chapter draws on examples from interviews with practitioners and from organisational materials to show how practitioners working within the sectors of education, HIV/AIDS and violence against women have developed a number of strategic tactics for overcoming the constraining effects of development policy. Rather than only constraint, the relationship between gender policy and practice in South Africa is also characterised by these tactics. The various tactics that have been observed in this study are summarised along with the objectives they serve for practitioners.

Chapter seven answers the third research question: *What are the effects of how gender policy operates in practice on gender politics?* This chapter presents findings

that gender politics in South Africa is largely characterised by categorical notions of gender that assume men and women to be natural opposites. I draw on three features of the relationship between gender policy and practice in South Africa identified in *chapters five* and *six* in order to show how these categorical notions of gender have constrained the ability of gender-related practice to search for alternatives. I then explore one form of development practice that does move beyond categorical notions of gender through focusing on personal understandings of gender and power relations. Practices that allow gender to be defined by programme participants themselves have challenged categorical notions of gender by allowing alternative forms of masculinity and femininity to be recognised and acknowledged. It is through these practices that development actors in South Africa have been advancing a new gender politics in spite of the constraining effects of development policy.

Chapter eight is a discussion of the findings in light of the theoretical and empirical contributions this study makes to the literature. Empirically, this thesis helps to improve current understandings of the ‘failures’ of gender policies in South Africa by exposing the ‘messy’ process of policy implementation and the strategic nature of practice. Drawing on the findings presented, I suggest that a more productive way of seeing policy is as a ‘resource’ for practitioners rather than as a set of guidelines or a framework of action. Theoretically, this thesis opens up space for a more extensive consideration of gender knowledge/power dynamics within the anthropology of development policy. This leads to a number of suggestions at the end of this chapter for further research in this area.

1. Gender & Development in South Africa

1.1. Introduction

This thesis examines gender and development policy and practice through the particular case of South Africa. It is only in the last 15 years that South Africa has emerged from a period of institutionalised racial division and violent protest during which it was cut off from the world's support as well as its intervention. With the end of the government system of apartheid in 1994, widespread international embargoes were lifted and international donors keen to be part of the formation of a 'new' country with a new constitution and new laws flooding the country. This recent history makes South Africa an ideal case study for exploring gender policy and practice within the field of international development for a number of reasons. The transition to a democratic government in 1996 led by Nelson Mandela brought the creation of a new constitution (one of the most recent and progressive constitutions in the world's history) and an influx of bilateral and multilateral funding to South Africa, marking the beginning of a period of international donor intervention that had not existed in the years previous. This coincided with a shift in international development thinking on gender during the 1990s from a focus on integrating women into development processes towards a focus on the ways in which development itself needed to change in order to address the specific needs and interests of women. South Africa therefore provided an ideal test case for rolling out these international ideas, complete with a woman's movement that had been actively involved in the anti-apartheid struggle, a new constitution and a democratic government committed to principles of equality, all of which provided a tremendous opportunity to break down the gender norms of the past and establish a new gender politics of equality and rights. Led by South African feminists and backed by international donors, strong government policies and government machinery on gender were established in South Africa throughout the late 1990s and early 2000s. In 2010, a major gap still remained between the 'progressive' gender policy developed by government and international donors, and the gender inequalities that

persisted in the lives of women. Women in South Africa are four times more likely to have HIV than men among certain age groups (Republic of South Africa, Ministry of Health, 2010), and rates of domestic and sexual violence are among the highest in the world. The history of apartheid is ever-present in the lives of women and men in South Africa, from the racial divisions that still exist to the systemic violence that plagues the country. This interacts with and magnifies inequalities between women and men, closing down options for those that do not fit easily within gender roles and contributing to violent consequences for gender transgressions. International donors continue to tackle these issues through a constant stream of new policies and frameworks. The combination of South Africa's history and the legacy of apartheid, 'strong' gender policy that has failed to tackle the widespread gender inequalities that negatively impact on women's health and quality of life, and a historically strong feminist movement makes it an ideal case for exploring the relationship between gender policy and its practice.

As a thesis interested in gender and development policy, it is first necessary to define what I mean by policy. Policy is a term often used to refer to an explicit statement or document produced by an organisation that outlines a 'purposive course of action or inaction followed by an actor or set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern' (Anderson, 2010, p. 6). However, as Eyben (2008) suggests, policy can also be implicit; a normative way of framing how the world should be (p.14). When I refer to gender policy in this thesis I am referring to both the *implicit* normative way of thinking about gender and the collection of *explicit* documents and statements that outline a 'purposive course of action' for addressing gender as 'a matter of concern'. This thesis is about the relationship between gender policy and practice rather than other policy processes such as agenda-setting or formulation. As such, the focus of analysis is not only what is written in gender policy documents, but also how it influences the gender practices of development agents. The aim of this first chapter is therefore to outline the context surrounding the relationship between gender policy and practice.

To understand the context surrounding policy processes, Rosalind Eyben (2008) suggests a framework composed of ‘institutions’, ‘discourses’ and ‘actors’. Eyben suggests that these three structures are able to capture the network of social processes that appear to be influencing policy internationally, and are not captured by other policy frameworks that see the implementation of policy as a linear process. For example, gender mainstreaming policy appears to have ‘failed’ if assessed as a linear process by its ability to accomplish its original implementation objectives, but has succeeded in other non-linear ways such as by creating new opportunities to subvert bureaucratic ways of working (Eyben, 2010). In this way, Eyben’s framework helps move beyond linear policy models to explore how policy implementation is as influenced by the values and strategic interests of practitioners as it is by organisational arrangements and the allocation of resources (Eyben, 2008, p. 14). The rest of the chapter is divided into the three sections of Eyben’s framework: institutions, discourses and actors. I discuss these three policy structures in relation to the development industry, with specific references to how gender has established itself as a development topic within the South African context.

Adopting the principle of self-reflexivity in social research, I also acknowledge that it is necessary to situate myself within these social structures in order to be transparent about how my own experiences have influenced my understanding of how gender policy is talked about and practiced in South Africa. I address this at the end of this chapter in recounting the story of how I was first introduced to the gender and development field in South Africa and how that experience led to the initial formulation of this research idea.

1.2. Institutions: The Field of Gender and Development Practice

Institutions refer to the structure of gender and development practice as outlined by international conventions, treaties, repeated practices and established frameworks. The details of the particular institutions involved in guiding the implementation or practice of gender policy in South Africa are therefore key to understanding the limitations and constraints it places on ‘practicing gender’ in this context. The institutions of gender and development can be seen as a map of a social ‘field’ in a

Bourdieuian sense of the word: a social location where the ‘rules of the game’ (Bourdieu, 1977) are defined for development practitioners by a set of gender-related institutional conventions, treaties, practices and frameworks.

I start this discussion of gender and development with an account of the institutionalisation of gender as a field of practice in South Africa. The field of gender within the development industry is an on-going project where competing voices have brought certain feminist ideas to the forefront while suppressing others. This first section accounts for some of these competing voices in the South African context. I then turn to the international conventions and agreements that have had a particular influence in South Africa and attempt to situate these within the institutionalisation of gender and development. The information included in this section is drawn from relevant international conventions and agreements, government reports on the development progress of South Africa, and the international and South African gender and development literature.

1.2.1. The Institutionalisation of Gender and Development

The introduction of gender as a topic of interest for development organisations at an international level is frequently discussed in the literature as originating during the 1970s with the Women in Development (WID) perspective popularised by the United Nations organisations. Consistent with Liberal feminist ideas about the integration of women into the economy on an equal scale, the WID perspective was centred on establishing greater attention to women in development policy and practice, and the integration of women into the development process (de Waal, 2006, p. 210). However, during the 1990s, a theoretical shift in thinking is said to have taken place within the World Bank and United Nations’ organisations responding to critiques by several feminist scholars at the international level (including Naila Kabeer, Caren Levy and Caroline Moser) that WID was attempting to integrate women into development structures that were not only male-dominated, but inherently patriarchal. Scholars who supported what was called a ‘Gender and Development’ or ‘GAD’ perspective called for the complete transformation of the development industry in order to place gender at the centre of the development

agenda (Jahan, 1995). The GAD perspective was framed by the scholars that supported this approach as a means of transforming development itself through the integration of a gender perspective (Beall, 1998).

The focus on gender rather than women has had a long and complex history in feminist theorising that is only touched upon by the story of its institutionalisation in international development practice. Feminist theorists have long critiqued the notion of women as a social category, pointing out its essentialist tendencies (the category draws strict boundaries about who is and is not a woman). Particularly important for post-colonial states such as South Africa, the risk of essentialism is that it can lead towards ethnic reductionism (Phillips, 2010), whereby what it means to be a woman in a particular context is overly universalised. African American feminists in particular have leveraged cutting critiques of the differences between women and the incoherence of women as a social category (Hooks, 1999). Replacing ‘women’ with ‘gender’ in gender theory and development practice was in many ways a means of addressing these feminist debates, offering a term that could move beyond women as a social category of focus while still addressing the unequal social relationship between men and women.

The emphasis on ‘gender’ was fully institutionalised by the development industry, particularly the U.N. system, with the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. GAD was presented at this U.N. conference as a means of stepping away from the Liberal feminist roots of WID that focused on economic development objectives for women and towards a framework that incorporated a critical perspective towards acknowledging and addressing underlying structural inequalities. Notably, the conference was the first time the new South African government had officially participated in an international women’s conference.

As part of its institutionalisation, the GAD perspective was operationalised at the conference through the introduction of gender mainstreaming as a policy within the conference’s signatory agreement. This agreement – the Beijing Platform for Action (BPA) – reads as follows:

...governments and other actors should promote an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective in all policies and programmes so that, before decisions are taken, an analysis is made of the effects on women and men, respectively.

Following Beijing, the United Nations developed organisational mechanisms for mainstreaming, which worked to transform gender into neat categories necessary for log frames, monitoring, and management systems in development organisations around the world. Throughout the 1990s, checklists were created that could be used to assess the level of gender mainstreaming in development organisations, which included items such as ensuring an equal balance of men and women in programme planning, assessing human resource policies to ensure they provided for equal treatment, developing gender policies, allocating finances to gender-related programmes, and offering staff training sessions.

Although the WID and GAD perspectives dominate the literature on the institutionalisation of gender within development organisations at an international level, there have been many other debates and discussions that have occurred within the field of gender and international development, many of which have also had an influence on gender practice in South Africa. Women, Environment and Development (WED) perspectives that focused specifically on women as the primary users and managers of environmental resources emerged during the early 1980s (Leach, 2008), as did Women and Development or 'WAD', which brought a stronger Marxist analysis to the WID perspective (Rathgeber, 1990). Particularly relevant for the South African context is the work of South African feminists including Amanda Gouws, Shireen Hassim, Desiree Lewis and Shamim Meer, which focused on African representations of 'gender', notions of citizenship, political representation and violence in relation to South Africa's history and sociocultural context. African feminist scholars have often critiqued the emphasis on women and gender by development institutions as 'state-controlled developmentalism that has helped to erode independent feminist initiatives in Africa' (Desiree Lewis, 2004). In other words, by reducing gender to checklists and tools, the specificity of gender within a South African context has largely been ignored by international donors and gender

has been allocated to the domain of external development experts familiar with prevalent frameworks for its analysis and implementation. Independent of the emphasis on GAD, Jane Bennett of the African Development Institute in Cape Town identifies four main debates that have been central to African feminism in the 21st century: debates around the meaning of the state; interaction with Northern feminisms; the existence of the 'women's movement' internationally; and the role of sexual rights in guaranteeing access to reproductive health and freedom from gender-based violence (Bennett, 2010). These debates are as relevant to gender practice in South Africa as are the international debates over gender versus women, the role of women in the environment and the relevance of a Marxist gender agenda.

This brief history of the gender and development field helps draw the contours of institutional thinking about gender policy and practice by outlining the various debates occurring among gender and development practitioners internationally and in South Africa. Key debates over whether women need to be included in development structures or development itself needs transformation, and about whether African concerns over citizenship and rights have been side-lined through the focus on functionalist checklists and tools help to shed light on what is currently being said within the field of gender and development in South Africa. The debates among gender and development professionals in South Africa therefore reflect what can be said about gender within this space. However, while these key debates provide an idea of what is being said (or not being said) about gender, it is the treaties and conventions dominating the field, summarised below, that draw clear boundaries around this institutional thinking.

1.2.2. International Gender Treaties and Conventions

International treaties and conventions provide the development industry with frameworks for the allocation of funds and collective organising around ideas that have been agreed on at the international level. At a local level, the signing of international or regional treaties by a national government can provide civil society with a mechanism for holding government accountable for their actions. As a result, civil society organisations often strategically design programmes or set advocacy

objectives that are based on international treaties and conventions with the intention of accessing available funds or impacting government decisions. Exploring which international treaties and conventions related to gender have been dominant in the South African development industry is therefore key in developing an understanding of how gender policy at an international level has impacted on gender-related practice in this context. In the text that follows, I look at three international agreements that dominated the South African development context at the time of this study: the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1979); the Beijing Platform of Action (BPA) adopted by the Fourth World Conference on Women (1995), and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (2000).

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW): CEDAW is relevant to gender policy and practice because of its broad mandate to tackle all forms of discrimination against women and therefore its ability to be leveraged by a broad range of development practitioners in proposals, project plans and evaluation measures. CEDAW was the first international UN convention focused entirely on women's rights and is the second most widely ratified after the Convention on the Right of the Child (Evatt, 2002). CEDAW covers a range of legal stipulations including the prohibition of sex discrimination and calls for affirmative actions (article 2 and 4); the right to a legal capacity identical to that of men, including equal rights to conclude contracts and administer property (article 15); gender equality in relation to marriage and family (article 16); and non-discrimination in employment and training (article 11 and 12). In South Africa CEDAW was ratified on the 18 October 2005 and brought into force in January 2006. Despite its use as a tool for advocacy by civil society organisations in this context, the ideas underlying CEDAW of addressing sexual harassment and gender-based stigmatisation had arisen previously within South Africa's trade union movements from the early 1980s (Bennett, 2010). The huge number of NGOs in the South African context that draw on CEDAW in advocating for better support for women facing violence and discrimination should therefore be seen as rising as much

from this history of local activism as from a global movement to decrease discrimination against women.

Beijing Platform for Action (BPA): Participation in the Beijing conference by South Africa strengthened the women's movement in the country both before the conference in bringing together NGOs and government for planning and the writing of a report, and after the conference with the ratification of the BPA (Myakayaka-Manzini, 2002). In the years following Beijing, South Africa would establish a process requiring each government department to make commitments to the BPA, and create a 'gender machinery' that included an Office of the Status of Women, Gender Focal Points in each government department, and a Commission for Gender Equality. However, the lack of sufficient financial support for the government's gender machinery has led to a number of NGOs citing their disapproval with the ways the BPA was implemented, and a general distrust of government commitment to gender-related social change (Rao & Kelleher, 2005). More broadly, this has contributed to a widespread rejection of the BPA's emphasis on gender mainstreaming in South African NGOs (Mannell, 2012).

Millennium Development Goals (MDGs): Similar to CEDAW, the MDGs are important for the context of gender policy and practice in South Africa for their international importance and the role they play in determining international donor priorities. The MDGs refer to eight development objectives that the 193 member states of the United Nations agreed to achieve by 2015. The third goal is the one most directly related to gender: to promote gender equality and empower women.¹ The table below outlines the specific measures that have been used to assess country-level progress against this goal, and South Africa's 2010 record.

¹ From www.undp.org/mdg/goal3.shtml. Retrieved August 2, 2011.

Table 1.2: South Africa's achievements against the MDGs (UNDP South Africa, 2010)

Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women	1994	2009	2015	Achievability
Proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments (%)	25	44	50	Likely
Ratio of female to male enrolments in tertiary education	0.86	1.26	1	Achieved
Ratio of female to male secondary enrolment	1.13	1.05	1	Achieved
Ratio of female to male primary enrolment	0.97	0.96	1	Likely
Share of women employed in the non-agricultural sector (% of total non-agricultural employment)	43	45	50	Likely

Faith among development policy-makers in the ability of the MDGs to bring about changes in gender inequalities has had tremendous influence over the number of gender interventions specifically funded to achieve MDG-related targets. On one hand this has been criticised as taking an instrumentalist view on gender issues (women are incorporated to improve programme outcomes rather than to address concerns for women's rights) (Palmary & Nunez, 2009). However, gender scholars such as Naila Kabeer (2005) argue that there are potential benefits to achieving the targets outlined under MDG Goal 3. For example, South Africa's dominant political party, the African National Congress (ANC), has taken a decision to ensure a 50% quota of women representatives in parliament. Largely as a result of this measure by the ANC, in 2008 women accounted for 33% of National parliament representation and 44.8% of representation in ministerial positions in 2008 (UNIFEM, 2008). However, other factors have contributed to the impact quotas have had on transformative change in parliamentary decision-making in South Africa, including the recruitment of women directly from the activist women's movement.

CEDAW, the BPA and the MDGs have each had an influence on gender and development policy and practice in South Africa. These three agreements have created space for the current form of gender as a field of practice for development organisations through focusing donor funds and priorities on particular areas of gender practice. However, they have also been critiqued by feminist scholars and

should be interpellated alongside the history of feminist activism in South Africa, local considerations of women's health and development, and the perceived potential for government action on gender equality.

1.3. Discourses: Gender inequality in post-apartheid South Africa

In turning to the second component of Eyben's framework for policy processes, it is necessary to start by saying that I use the Foucauldian understanding of discourse throughout this thesis: a set of 'practices that systematically form the object of which they speak' (Foucault, 1972, p. 49). Following this definition, discourses are seen as the socially constructed knowledge about the 'reality' of the world, including talk, texts and practices that shape reality. Gender discourses, the way gender is written about in policy or talked about by practitioners, are social practices that shape our understanding of what it means to be a 'man' or 'woman.' It is important to understand which discourses are circulating within gender policy in South Africa because of the role discourse plays in framing what it is possible to say, think and do about gender issues in this context. I will develop this notion of discourse and its relevance to my thesis in more detail in following chapters. Here, I summarise two discourses on gender as a development issue for post-apartheid South Africa that dominate the literature: HIV/AIDS and gender-based violence. I am not making a claim about the 'truth' of these as the most important gender issues facing South Africans, but rather trying to outline some of the ways in which scholars are discussing the need for gender interventions in this context.

1.3.1. Gender and HIV/AIDS

A great deal of attention has been paid to gender in the development literature related to HIV/AIDS, resulting from recognition of the 'feminisation' (Kabeer, 2003) of the pandemic in the southern African context. South Africa has one of the highest HIV prevalence rates per capita in the world with an estimated adult prevalence of 18.1% (UNAIDS, 2008). In 2008 women's HIV prevalence in South Africa was more than double that of men's in the 25-29 age range (15.7% for men and 32.7% for women). In the younger age range of 20-24 the difference is even more drastic; women are

four times more likely than men to have HIV (prevalence rates show 21.1% for women and 5.1% for men) (Republic of South Africa, Ministry of Health, 2010).

The factors cited in the HIV/AIDS literature for the increased vulnerability of women to HIV are in the first instance biological (women are physically more likely to contact the virus than men through penal-vaginal sexual intercourse), but this does not explain the differential in HIV prevalence between men and women in southern Africa versus the rest of the world. The higher rates of HIV prevalence among women across southern Africa is explained by development scholars as stemming from a range of social factors, including the high prevalence of gender-based violence (Andersson, Cockcroft, & Shea, 2008; Kalichman & Simbayl, 2004); differences in power between men and women in heterosexual relationships (Dunkle et al., 2004); economic and historical patterns that have brought about a reliance on sex for material benefits (Hunter, 2010); and the stigmatisation of the sexuality of women and young people (Campbell, Nair, & Maimane, 2006).

Tackling the social drivers of women's vulnerability to HIV through development interventions has become a primary source of funds for development organisations. Major pressure has been put on development organisations by donors to look for ways to address gender roles and inequalities. These efforts follow evidence that gender inequalities influence the ability of women to negotiate sex (Shefer et al., 2008), contribute to intimate partner violence (R. K. Jewkes, Dunkle, Nduna, & Shai, 2010) and shape access to and outcomes of HIV/AIDS treatment and care (Muula et al., 2007). In addition, health and development scholars have called attention to the fact that women are increasingly the ones shouldering the burden of care for those who are sick with AIDS (Akintola, 2006; Freeman & Nkomo, 2006) and NGOs have looked for solutions to address this, such as proactively training male caregivers.

1.3.2. Gender-based Violence

In a recent study of 1,686 men aged 18-49 years from the general population of the Eastern Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, 27.6% said they had forced a women to have sex with them against her will (R. Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell, & Dunkle, 2010). This

builds on evidence presented in the development literature over the past ten years of gender-based violence in South Africa occurring in the form of rape (R. Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002), intimate partner violence (R. Jewkes, 2002), homicide (Kim & Motsei, 2002), and sexual coercion (Wood & Jewkes, 1997). Reasons for the high rate of gender-based violence in South Africa is explained in the literature as the use of violence as a form of social control (Moffett, 2006); as a ‘crisis of masculinity’ (Reid & Walker, 2005); and as resulting from the historical legacy of apartheid as a system of oppression (Britton, 2006).

There is also a large body of research currently being undertaken by Kristin Dunkle, Rachel Jewkes and others to systematically connect forms of gender-based violence to higher rates of HIV transmission in the South African context. Dunkle and Jewkes (2007) suggest that social ideas of masculinity are the root cause of both sexual risk taking (increased HIV risk) and violence. This leads to interventions that combine HIV prevention with gender-based violence, for example Dunkle and Jewkes (2007) suggest that effective HIV prevention needs to be done with men in order to challenge ideas that construct women as sexual conquests and legitimate the use of violence (p.173). However, tackling the high-levels of gender-based violence in South Africa is seldom proposed as an end in itself for development interventions. Health and development scholars have focused on addressing gender-based violence as a means of tackling HIV prevention, but this is rarely connected to a need to address women’s rights to safety, security and non-violence in the HIV/AIDS literature.

The discourses that dominate the development literature on the need for interventions for HIV/AIDS and gender-based violence are not mutually exclusive. Interventions related to violence have been connected to HIV/AIDS in the development literature as a means of justifying the spending of development money on violence against women. And although the term ‘gender-based violence’ is readily used, it is specifically violence against women that is being referred to in the literature. This focus on violence against women has marginalised some of the other forms of gender-based violence being perpetuated in South Africa, for example violence

against gays and lesbians (Mkhize, Bennett, & Moletsane, 2010; Reid & Dirisuweit, 2002).

In contrast to the way these two dominant discourses of HIV and GBV are presented in the literature, South Africa is also often written about as a case example for gender equality in relation to other development issues. For example, South Africa scores fifth in the world for the representation of women in parliament (UNIFEM, 2010) following the decision by the ANC to ensure a 50% quota of women representatives in parliament. Law enforcement in South Africa has also made efforts towards gender parity with women accounting for 29% of the South African police force (UNIFEM 2008). Among adults age 20-39, women show higher literacy rates than men (92% and 90.3% respectively, in 2009) as well as higher levels of secondary school completion (Statistics South Africa, 2010), in contrast to several other countries in the region. These statistics are most frequently cited in the literature as an example of what can happen when gender interventions succeed. In this discourse, South Africa has become a case example for the accomplishments of the gender and development field, in stark contrast to discourses of HIV/AIDS and gender-based violence where the need for change and intervention is exclusively mentioned. This points to the specific way gender and development discourses have been framed as either development successes (e.g. the proportion of women in parliament) or development failures (e.g. gender-based violence) for South Africa.

1.4. Actors: Gender and Development Organisations

In referring to the actors in the gender and development field, I am referring to the various organisations and individuals with mandates, objectives, deliverables or job descriptions that relate to gender and development policy issues. The divisions between these various actors are not always clearly defined, but rather different individuals and organisations often take on multiple roles as practitioners, donors, activists, network members and participants in the development of policy. While there is crossover between these multiple roles, in this section I outline some of the organisational and individual actor positions that are most relevant to the practice of gender and development policy in South Africa, namely: practitioners, non-

governmental organisations (NGOs), funding organisations, and the women's movement. I detail what each of these positions looks like specifically within the South African context.

1.4.1. Development practitioners

As a thesis focused on policy and practice, practitioners provide a key focus of the study and its analysis. Development practitioners carry out a number of different roles related to gender. Gender can be seen as something that is everyone's responsibility within an organisation, an approach that has been critiqued as leaving a gap in responsibility for gender (since gender is everyone's responsibility, no one is specifically accountable for gender-related objectives) (Tiessen, 2007). Alternatively, gender may be the focus of one individual's role, frequently referred to as gender-focal points, an organisational strategy that has equally been critiqued for isolating gender concerns to one part of an organisation (Wallace, 1998). Other organisations have implemented a combination of these two strategies where gender-focal points are placed in decentralised departments and also located within a specialised team, which is seen as a means of ensuring both top-down policy support and bottom-up policy operationalisation (Moser & Moser, 2005). However, this type of structure is only seen within large organisations with significant numbers of staff. In smaller NGOs and community-based organisations (CBOs), practitioners are often tasked with multiple responsibilities and gender is combined with other development areas such as advocacy, health, AIDS or education.

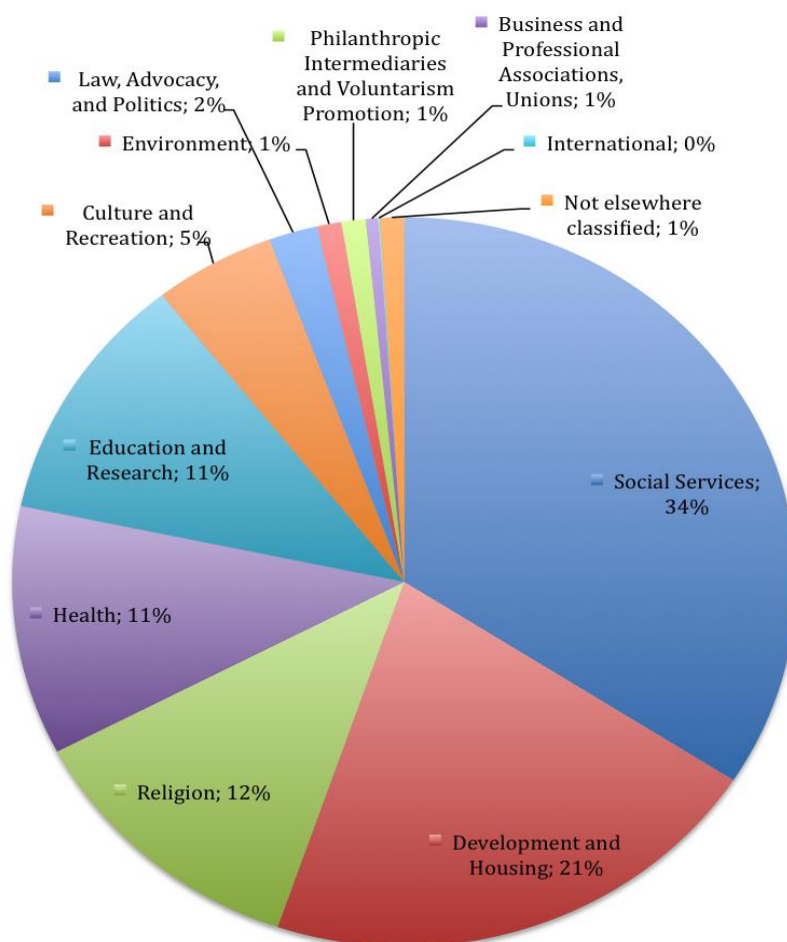
1.4.2. Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)

Development practitioners practice gender policy not as individuals, but within development organisations. These organisations can also be seen as key actors because of the influence an organisation has on the practice of an individual through its mandate, structures and organisational culture. While there are a wide-range of different types of organisations responsible for implementing gender policy in South Africa, the majority of implementing organisations can be categorised as non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The World Bank defines non-governmental

organisations as ‘private organisations that pursue activities to relieve suffering, promote interests of the poor, protect the environment, provide basic social services, or undertake community development’ (World Bank, 2002).

Turning specifically to the South African context, under South African legal structures (NPO Act 71 of 1997) the equivalent of the NGO category is Voluntary Associations (small organisations, often community-focused, that do not report budgets publically), Trusts, and Section 21 organisations (not-for-profit companies or associations that do report budgets publically). In 2010/11, there were 76,175 registered non-profit organisations (NPOs) in South Africa, 95% of which were voluntary organisations under the government’s categories. Gender is not an area of NPO practice according to the South African Department of Social Development categorisation scheme. Rather, gender is taken up within other areas of NPO practice including law, social services, development and housing, and health, making the actual number of organisations carrying out gender-related interventions in South Africa at one particular moment in time difficult to measure.

Chart 1.1: South African NPOs operating in 2010/11 by sector



According to an independent database for development organisations in South Africa (www.prodder.org.za²), there are approximately 78 organisations (including NGOs, community-based organisations and faith-based organisations) in South Africa currently listing gender as one of their programme areas, 2% of the total organisations registered in the database. Gender-focused organisations therefore appear to make up only a small number of the organisations working in development in South Africa. They exist within a field where advocacy and politics, environment, and religion are the dominant development sectors.

² Prodder claims to be the most comprehensive directory of NGOs and development organisations in South Africa with a total of 3,889 organisations in its database as of August 2011.

1.4.3. Funding organisations

NGOs often receive funds in order to carry out their work from a variety of sources. This includes multilateral and bilateral Official Development Assistance (ODA) and funding from multinational NGOs. The amount of funding provided to gender interventions in South Africa from multilateral ODA is limited. In the first instance because the majority of multilateral development assistance is allocated to ‘low-income’ states while South Africa is considered by the World Bank to be a ‘middle income’ state. Secondly there is no UNIFEM presence in South Africa, meaning that gender-related funding is primarily managed under the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and largely restricted to achieving the Millennium Development Goals outlined previously. In the remainder of this section I summarise the two other types of funding sources most relevant for gender and development practice in South Africa: multinational NGOs and bilateral donors (i.e. funding from national development aid organisations and institutions).

Multinational NGOs: Large multinational NGOs, CARE International and Oxfam in particular, provide large amounts of money to local organisational partners to carry out gender interventions in South Africa. CARE International reported spending \$USD263 million on programme activities across the African continent in 2010. Broadly, CARE focuses on providing support for community development projects. Gender-related funding provided by CARE in South Africa has focused on empowering women through ‘local economic development’ and ‘voluntary savings and loans projects’; and strengthening civil society ‘to deal with gender and rights issues’.³ Oxfam is an international advocacy and humanitarian organisation that provided \$USD275.1 million to charitable projects in 2010/11. Ten percent of this amount (\$USD27.5 million) was allocated to ‘equity’ projects under which much of Oxfam’s gender activities sit. Oxfam emphasis in funding gender interventions in South Africa is on gender-based violence and women’s political and economic leadership, whereas for CARE economic development for women and women’s

³ Cited from: <http://www.care.org/careswork/countryprofiles/96.asp>, Retrieved 4 July 2012

rights represent key priorities. There is some overlap between these strategic priorities. Broadly, much of the funding for gender interventions from these multinational donor organisations is targeted at addressing women's economic empowerment, women's political leadership, and gender-based violence.

Bilateral organisations: A major source of funding for gender-related interventions in South Africa comes from bilateral organisations. The table below summarises the top ten bilateral donors to gender projects in South Africa in terms of the amount of money dispersed.

Table 1.3: Amount in \$USD of committed/ disbursed for gender policy objectives in South Africa by the top ten bilateral donors (based on OECD figures, 2009)⁴

Top bilateral donors to South African gender objectives in 2009		Commitments (\$USD)	Disbursements (\$USD)
1	UK DFID	\$38,486,200	\$27,934,500
2	Germany DEG	\$20,304,300	\$20,304,300
3	Germany BMZ	\$52,799,200	\$15,555,900
4	Netherlands MFA	\$6,105,300	\$8,656,200
5	Finland MFA	\$6,500,300	\$8,200,100
6	Ireland DFA	\$6,696,500	\$6,696,500
7	France MAE	\$6,493,400	\$5,793,900
8	Belgium DGCD	\$5,163,200	\$4,815,200
9	Sweden Sida	\$9,382,200	\$4,510,600
10	Canada CIDA	\$3,207,000	\$4,002,800

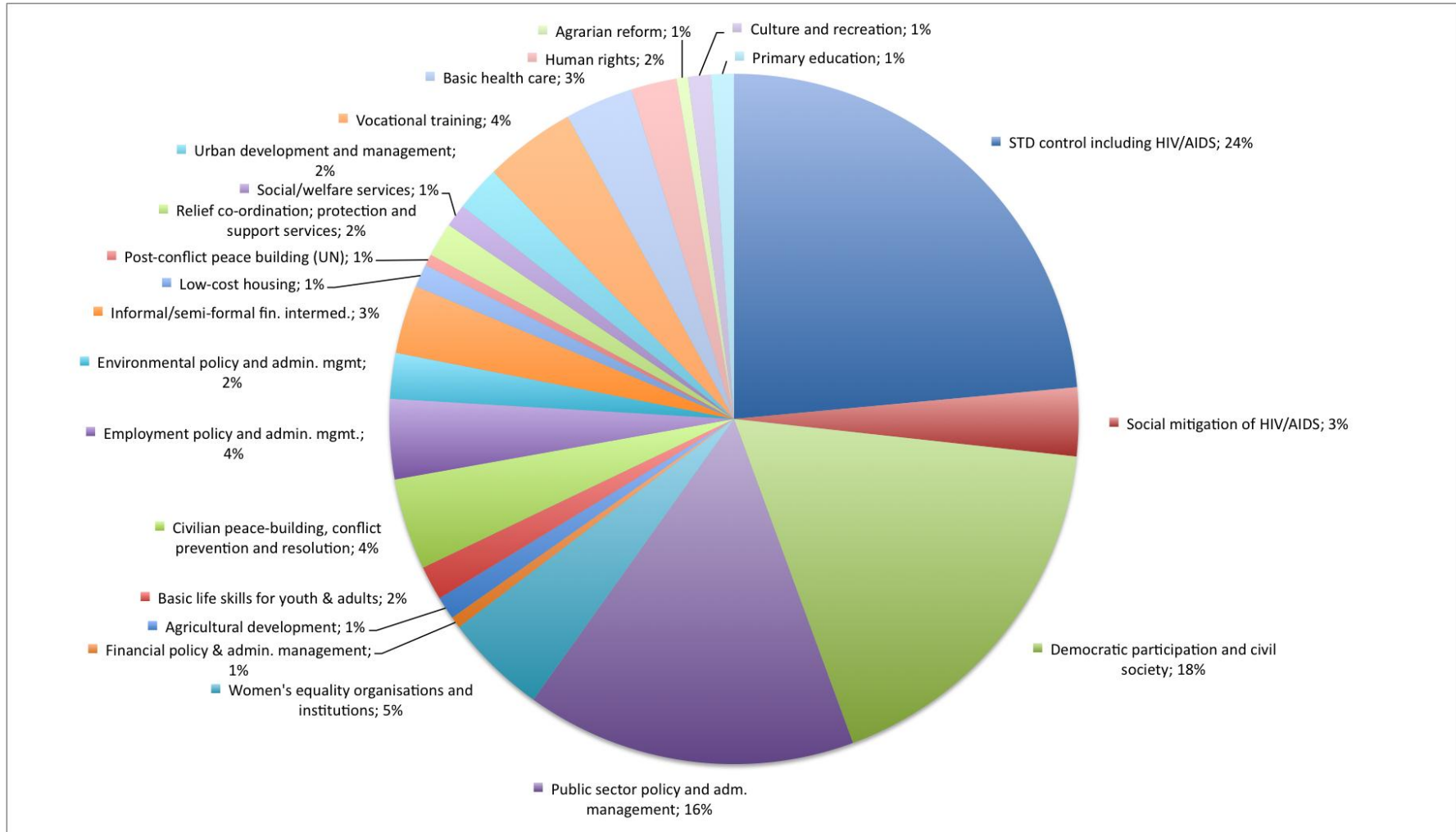
While the ODA funding summarised in Table 1.3 may be officially allocated to South Africa, only a small percentage (21 percent) actually goes to South African development organisations. The majority is allocated to international NGOs (often originating in the donor country) to carry out work in South Africa (32 percent) and the public sector (29 percent).

Equally important in this picture of bilateral funding is the types of gender projects South African NGOs are being funded for, presented in Chart 1.2. The relationship

⁴ <http://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DatasetCode=CRSNEW#>

between international development donors and the organisations they fund is a ‘gift relationship’ meaning that it is far easier for donors to promote policies that may have little relevance to the context for which they are intended (Eyben, 2008). The relationship between funding organisations and gender practice in South Africa needs to be interpreted through this dynamic. Bilateral donors may design policies that have more appeal to the national population to which they are accountable than for the recipient population. Power in the relationship is largely in the hands of the donor organisation to determine what the intervention should look like and how it should be carried out. Larger sums of money give donors even greater ability to influence organisational priorities and implementation practices. While funding structures do not provide the entire picture of the dynamics affecting the gender and development field in South Africa, they do offer a portion of the picture about which types of interventions are put into practice.

Chart 1.2: Distribution of ODA funding from the top ten bilateral donors for gender policy objectives to South African NGOs, by funding purpose



Women's organisations and institutions represent 5 percent of funding from bilateral donors in South Africa, and organisations with gender programmes are also being funded to carry out other priorities that may include gender considerations, including the social mitigation of HIV/AIDS (3 percent), human rights (2 percent), and democratic participation and civil society (18 percent).

1.4.4. South African Women's Movement

While the actors involved in the gender and development field are often discussed as foreign experts and international donors working to implement development policy and bring about transformative change in 'developing' countries, this is far too simple a model for most contexts. This is especially true for South Africa where actors involved in the women's movement have played a strong historical role in ensuring that gender was part of the South African constitution and the national policy-making process post-apartheid. The large-scale legal reforms that took place after the end of apartheid have created a 'women-friendly legislation' and 'one of the most advanced National Machineryes for Women in the World' (Gouws, 2005, p. 1). This context and history is important in understanding the mandates and objectives of several organisational and individual actors involved in practicing gender policy in South Africa today.

Consistent across the literature that discusses the South African women's movement, there is recognition that the movement was both cohesive and active in the years leading up to the end of apartheid. Women political activists playing a key role in the struggle for democracy in South Africa and were actively involved in the negotiation process that took place in the transition from apartheid to democracy through groups such as the ANC Women's League. Gay Seidman (1993) explains women's organising in South Africa as arising paradoxically from the apartheid state policies of creating segregated black townships as a means of promoting urbanisation, which increased black women's participation in the labour force and the mobilisation of women in community groups and labour unions. Seidman claims that the involvement of women in this specific form of urbanisation provided South Africa with a unique post-liberation situation, where the demands of the urban popular

movement were stronger than calls for a return to traditional rural domestic roles, which had taken precedence in post-liberation Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

The ways in which gender was undermined in the face of racial concerns is often highlighted in the literature about the South African women's movement. During the struggle against apartheid many women's groups, including the ANC Women's League, placed gender equality on the backburner in order to maintain a unified call for liberation. Gender may well have remained a side issue in national building efforts had it not been for a few key factors. Cheryl McEwan (2000) explains that gender was brought to the forefront in the 1990s in South Africa as a result of: one, a gender critique that had been developing within women of the ANC through the 1980s and the influence this had on intellectual discussions about the differential impact of apartheid on men and women; two, the potential a new constitution held for bringing women's concerns to the table and the activities of ANC women's activists that ensured women were equal participants in the negotiations; and three, the experience of women who had been exiled in Mozambique and Zimbabwe and had returned to South Africa armed with an awareness of how gender issues had been sidelined in the post-liberation period in these two countries. These factors contributed to a commitment by South African women activists involved in the civil society movement of the 1990s to ensuring that gender equality was established as a key part of the new constitution and that 'mechanisms for mainstreaming gender equality' were put in place (Meer, 2005).

The gender components of the South African constitution of 1996 represented a major accomplishment for those involved in the women's movement. The constitution (Act 108) guarantees equal and inalienable rights to men and women and instructs the government and civil society to uphold the values of equality. The constitution specifically stipulates the creation of the Commission for Gender Equality 'to promote respect for gender equality' and its 'protection, development and attainment' (1996, ss.187). While the Commission on Gender Equality and government machinery for gender in South Africa represent a major change by the actors involved in fighting for women's rights, today the movement in South Africa

is fragmented with little coordination between women's organisations. The blame for this is often put on the absorption of talented women activists into government positions with the launch of the ANC into power in 1994 (111 women became parliamentarians in 1994), thus creating a 'vacuum' at the grassroots level (Geisler, 2000, p. 624). In its current state, the women's movement in South Africa is therefore not a clear network of organisations working towards women's rights, but rather a few scattered organisations and a disbanded collection of individual activists working for government and in development organisations.

1.5. Concluding Thoughts on Institutions, Discourses and Actors

This chapter has outlined the social structures that influence gender and development policy and practice in South Africa including: the structure of institutional thinking and legal agreements/ conventions; the range of discourses that are being drawn on in order to identify the need for gender interventions in South Africa; the actors that are involved in the process of implementation including practitioners, NGOs, funders, and the women's movement. In this way, Rosalind Eyben's framework has been helpful in outlining the context for gender and development policy and practice in South Africa not as a relationship between well-guided international policy and challenging national barriers, but as a complex network of actors, institutions and discourses that influence the social space where policy and practice meet.

This chapter highlights some of the ways in which policy processes are highly complex, but it also helps to draw the boundaries of this thesis. While several different actors may be involved in influencing the relationship between gender and development policy and practice, organisation-based practitioners are most directly involved in deciding what actual practice looks like. This study therefore starts with these individuals as its main focus. It follows an actor-oriented approach (Eyben, 2010; Mosse, 2004) in assuming that these practitioners are not simply doing what they are told by donors about how gender policies should be implemented or what interventions should look like. Rather they are drawing from a variety of discourses available to them through cultural and organisational interfaces (Long, 2001). In this way, development practitioners can be seen as knowledge brokers (Lewis & Mosse,

2006): social actors that develop different strategies for gender interventions based on their personal experiences, the organisational context in which they are situated, and their personal beliefs and values.

The strategies chosen by these development practitioners are greatly influenced by international institutions and discourses of development. The triad of influential agreements made up of CEDAW, the BPA and the MDGs influence as a whole or in part many of the gender policies developed by development donors. They therefore often act as a framework for the allocation of donor funding, which limits the types of development interventions that receive money and support. However, they also provide development practitioners with a set of internationally-established tools that can be drawn on in negotiations for funding, to lobby governments, or as a means of combining efforts with other development actors working in health, education, governance, etc.

The influence of discourse on gender practice is less obvious, but may be even more persuasive, in defining the context for practice than concrete international frameworks. If we draw on Gill Seidel's definition of discourse as 'ways of thinking which may overlap and reinforce each other and close off other possible ways of thinking' (Shore & Wright, 1997, p. 18) then discursive frames that emphasise HIV/AIDS and gender-based violence as issues that are relevant for South Africa's 'development' help define what it is even possible to think about these issues. The everyday practices of development agents should be seen as embedded within these discourses as they recruit participants for programmes, debate programme strategies with colleagues, justify activities to donors, and report on intervention outcomes. Discourses, as well as the institutions that frame them and social actors that give them life through speech and writing, form a complex web of possibilities (and limitations) for the practice of gender policy. This study of the gender practices of development actors in South Africa takes place against this rich tapestry of discourses, institutions and actors.

1.6. Research Zygotes: Developing a Research Question

Now that the context of gender and development policy and practice in South Africa has been laid out, it is necessary to situate myself within it as a doctoral research student. I came to study gender in development organisations from an experience working with a non-governmental organisation (NGO) in South Africa from June to September 2008 as a student intern. For these four months I worked with an HIV/AIDS organisation in Johannesburg whose mandate is to strengthen the capacity of small community-based organisations across the southern African region. According to the stipulations of the student funding I had received from the Canadian government, I was to assist the organisation in building their capacity in gender mainstreaming.

This stipulation was consistent with the call made in the Beijing Platform for Action (BPA) for development organisations to examine, as a matter of course, how they may unintentionally be perpetuating or neglecting gender inequalities in their organisational structures and practices, and to make plans for how they might improve the situation. At a practical organisational level, gender mainstreaming involved considering the gender implications of organisational structures and practices across all aspects of an organisation including programme design, implementation, budgeting, evaluation and human resources. NGOs used a range of different strategies to accomplish this ‘mainstreaming’ process, some of which were considered more valuable than others, but tended to include hiring more women staff, staff training on gender issues, reporting data separately for men and women, budgeting for gender-related activities, and specifically targeting women in programmes and projects (Tiessen, 2007). The work I had been asked to do for the organisation in Johannesburg was to assess the extent to which gender-related activities such as these had been implemented and whether or not this was sufficient for gender to be ‘mainstreamed’ throughout the organisation.

Since I had little previous experience or training in gender at the time, I primarily collected data for the organisation about their gender activities and how these measured against the ‘best-practices’ of gender mainstreaming in the field. I talked to

staff members of the organisation, staff members of the small community organisations receiving support by the organisation, government officials, and experts in the field in four countries including South Africa, Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia. With each of these people I talked about many things: international donors and their funding requirements, traditional gender roles in communities as a barrier to addressing equality, the impact of gender inequality on AIDS, the role of community leaders in decision-making, the need to address physical and sexual abuse, and of course gender mainstreaming.

Through the process of talking about gender with organisational and government staff I realised it was what practitioners were actually doing rather than what they 'should' be doing that interested me. It was clear that those individuals in top strategic positions of large NGOs and governments were really good at talking about gender in a way that reflected policy frameworks. They talked about the importance of rights-based frameworks, the need to consider strategic gender needs, and the importance of integrating all staff into the process of mainstreaming. They talked about the need for measurement of gender outcomes and the equal involvement of men and women in programme planning. In these ways, they echoed exactly what I was reading in the literature on gender mainstreaming, namely that gender needed to be quantified in order to measure success, that women needed to be empowered in order to participate, and that it was everyone's responsibility in an organisation rather than one individual's responsibility to ensure gender was being considered.

However, a shift was discernible between the talk of top strategic NGO officials, and 'less important' individuals working directly with communities and for smaller organisations. Not only did they practice gender in ways that did not fit within the literature or with policy, they considered gender concerns to be about something different. All of a sudden the questions I was asking did not seem as relevant. These individuals were often not familiar with the terminology of gender mainstreaming, gender was frequently associated with women's rights rather than power relations between men and women, and some individuals talked much more about resistance to notions of gender equality in southern Africa than they did about 'strategic gender

needs' or 'gender audits'. At the same time, these practitioners had a very intimate understanding of gender issues in the communities they worked with, knowledge and experience that was not being captured by the questions I had developed from policy and its preconceived ideas about what gender mainstreaming should look like.

This realisation that development practitioners implementing gender interventions needed to have their voices heard and legitimated by international policy-makers was the inspiration behind this thesis. My experience raised a number of critical questions that has not been taken up by the gender literature. Do practitioners deliberately ignore the priorities and recommendations outlined in gender policy? Is a lack of gender awareness or gender resistance really behind the absence of transformative social change for women or are there barriers to change embedded within the policy process itself? What role does international policy play in the ability of practitioners to identify and implement the strategies they think work best for individuals and communities? How do the assumptions made within international gender policy about 'gender' and 'development' impact on the practices of development agents? What is actually happening when gender policy is being practiced in a context as politically, socially and culturally complex as South Africa? It was against this background that this thesis was conceptualised.

The next chapter of this thesis looks at the existing literature on the link between gender policy and its practice. Gender mainstreaming plays an important role in this literature, as the basis for the current discussion and debate occurring between gender and development scholars about how gender policy should be put into practice. However, this is not a thesis only about gender mainstreaming policy, but the process of practicing broader gender policies in development organisations. This wider lens has allowed me to move beyond my personal experience with gender mainstreaming frameworks – a policy that has largely been rejected by development organisations and gender activists in South Africa – to look at the variety of ways in which gender is actually being practiced by development organisations in South Africa.

2. Literature Review: Explaining gender policy and practice

2.1. Introduction

The results of the African Women's Progress Report reveal that, overall, South Africa scores high on ratification of international and regional agreements, and on policy development and legal frameworks. However, its performance on implementation is weak – demonstrating a lack of 'directed' resources in some instances and poor institutional capacity, especially in enforcement and monitoring. In this – despite some differences – South Africa demonstrates similar patterns to other African countries.

(African Gender and Development Index, 2006, p. vii)

As the quote above tells us, 'good' gender policy does not always get implemented into the practice of development organisations. Major gaps remain in the implementation of gender policy in South Africa despite the country's high score on policy development. Interrogating this gap, this chapter explores the academic and peer-reviewed literature on policy and practice in international development in order to situate my study within the existing literature. I draw on the particular case of the 'failure' of gender mainstreaming policy as representative of the debates occurring among gender scholars about what prevents 'good' gender policy from being implemented into organisational practice.

This chapter has three aims: first, to synthesize the literature on the practice of gender policy by development organisations and the reasons provided for the 'failures' of gender policy to alter current gender politics; second, to point to the strengths of an anthropological approach to policy for understanding the practice of policy; and third to highlight the gaps that remain in this approach. My argument is that anthropological approaches to the practice of policy allowed for a deeper analysis of policy processes than is currently offered in the gender policy literature and stand to improve current understandings of how gender policy operates in practice, however, anthropological studies of gender practice to date have failed to account for the gendered nature of development practice itself. At the end of this

chapter, I outline the research goals and more specific research questions that follow from the gaps identified in the literature.

2.2. Linking policy to practice

There is a broad and well-developed body of literature on the role of social policy in developing country contexts. However, my interest in this thesis is on how gender policy operates in development practice in South Africa. On one hand, this narrows my focus to gender policy produced within the field of international development or for the purposes of social ‘development’ in South Africa. Secondly, this leaves aside the expansive work being done on how social policies are established and the political ideologies that guide various aspects of their development, focusing instead on the literature that attempts to explain how development policy functions in organisational practice more specifically.

The majority of the literature on the practice of development policy can be separated into two distinct camps reflecting divisions in the international development literature more broadly: studies of development policy as *progress*, and neo-Marxists studies. *Progress* scholars see development organisations as part of a global effort to fight poverty. In this perspective, policy is seen as a plan of attack or a ‘statement of intent’ (Kirkpatrick, Clarke, & Polidano, 2002); a broad strategy for how the standard of living can be raised and modern forms of ‘progress’ can be achieved. This is the dominant assumption guiding the field of policy administration led by scholars such as Harold D. Laswell (1977) and James Midgley (1995) who see development goals as only being met through ‘effective social policies that address pressing social problems and social needs’ (Midgley, 1995, p. 63). These *progress* frames of policy processes assume that good development policy followed by effective implementation will bring about the predetermined form of social change for which it was intended even though they may understand the policy process itself as politically complex (see Grindle & Thomas, 1991; Juma & Clark, 1995; Thomas & Grindle, 1990). Within dominant models of policy processes, policy is understood as a linear process of ‘problem identification/ agenda-setting, formulation of solutions, implementation and monitoring/evaluation’ (see Hill 1997). Paraphrasing

Eyben (2008), the question defining the policy process therefore becomes ‘how do we make and implement good policy that effectively addresses social problems?’ (p. 9).

Exemplifying the *progress* paradigm in the field of gender and development are a host of annual progress reports produced by international development institutions, such as UN Women and the African Gender and Development Index, cited at the beginning of this chapter. UN Women, continuing in the tradition of UNIFEM, produces annual reports on the status of the world’s women that rank individual country progress on measures such as the presence of laws that discriminate against women, the number of women in parliamentary positions, and equality between men and women in employment. The assumption underlying these measures is that if the legal framework and/or policy is in place to provide support, women will progress to a social status equal to that of men, consistent with a *progress* paradigm of policy.

The second camp of policy scholarship takes an approach to the analysis of policy and practice associated with neo-Marxist or dependency theory schools of development. Development is seen here as a field of practice intended to promote global capitalism in ways that maintain control by current global powers over the world’s resources. Development policy thereby acts as a form of regulatory power (Navarro, 1983), maintaining social control over ‘developing’ country populations (Escobar, 1995), and promoting Western forms of capitalism (Offe, 1984). The argument advanced by the work of Vincent Navarro, for example, is that this emphasis on capitalist or neoliberal models of social policy can have severe impacts on social systems and bring about very real consequences for the populations they target, such as higher levels of infant mortality and lower life expectancy (Navarro et al., 2006). Another frequently cited example of the duplicity of the development agenda is that of structural adjustment policies put in place as part of a condition of World Bank and IMF loans during the 1980s and 90s, which required countries to radically reduce government expenditures and privatise state enterprises while paradoxically requiring substantial state intervention to carry out these reforms (Kay, 1993). This perspective challenges the assumption of development policy as

progress towards addressing development ‘problems’ by suggesting that development policy itself *is* the problem. However, the assumption that policy becomes effective practice through a neat linear process is still evident in the neo-Marxist/ dependency approach to policy. While development policy is seen here as bringing about negative outcomes for the populations being targeted rather than as a ‘good’ policy bringing about ‘good’ development outcomes, the idea that development policy leads to predefined social changes remains unquestioned.

More recently, development policy scholars drawing from post-structural and anthropological traditions have started to develop a body of literature that challenges both the *progress* and dependency schools of thought on policy practice by highlighting the complexity of policy processes and the challenges of defining key terms such as ‘policy’, ‘practice’ and ‘development’. For example, Wedel, Shore, Feldman & Lathrop (2005) argue that new approaches to studying policy are needed in order to capture the ways in which ‘policies connect disparate actors in complex power and resource relations and play a pervasive, though indirect, role in shaping society’ (p. 31). In contrast to both *progress* and neo-Marxist perspectives, these scholars do not see the implementation of policy as directly able to bring about predefined social changes. Rather, it is viewed as part of a complex network of relationships and power that determine what policy looks like in the first place and then transform it through practice. From within this perspective, Janine Wedel (2001) has shown how problems in development policy in Eastern Europe are not only the result of errors in planning and implementation but stem largely from complex relationships between donors and recipients and the legacy of colonial rule. Similar findings about the interpretive nature of policy practice, the flexibility of frameworks, and the ways in which policy is often transformed to meet local needs and expectations arise from studies of development policy in Indonesia (Li, 2007), Lesotho (Ferguson, 1990), and India (Mosse, 2004). This thesis falls within this third body of literature, which I delve into in detail later in this chapter with a discussion of how anthropological approaches can serve to broaden understandings of the practice of policy in development organisations.

2.3. Explaining gender policy ‘failures’

Turning to the literature concerned with the practice of gender-specific policies in development organisations, the majority of development scholars write about gender policy processes from a *progress* paradigm of policy. This trend is evident in the focus by scholars on why gender policy has ‘failed’ to be implemented into development organisations. Consistent with the *progress* view, gender scholars have identified several reasons for the ‘failure’ of policy to be implemented implying a linear form of progress from international gender policies designed to bring about social change to their successful implementation. Three prevalent explanations for the ‘failure’ of gender policy dominate the literature: one, there is resistance to gender-related social change within organisations; two, the feminist agenda is being de-politicised in policy and therefore lacks power to affect real social change; three, the policy that is being developed is inappropriate for local contexts. In this section I engage with these three explanations for gender policy ‘failures’ and the solutions proposed for dealing with the challenge of implementing gender policy. I accomplish this by focusing on the case of gender mainstreaming policy. Gender mainstreaming policy has been the main focus of the key debates and discussions taking place about policy in practice among gender scholars since the 1990s. Before delving into the three explanations for the failure of this policy, I provide a brief history of gender mainstreaming below.

2.3.1. The case of gender mainstreaming

Over the last 15 years, gender mainstreaming policy has dominated the global discussion about how development organisations should consider gender implications in their structures and practices. The UN’s Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) defines gender 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’ (ECOSOC, 1997, p. 12). Since the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, a substantial body of literature has been developed on the implementation of gender

mainstreaming policy in development organisations following the ECOSOC definition.

This body of literature ranges from analyses of the gender mainstreaming efforts of multilateral and bilateral donor organisations (Howard, 2002; Jahan, 1995; Kardam, 1991; Moser & Moser, 2005; Razavi & Miller, 1995), to multi-organisational reviews of gender mainstreaming from particular country or countries (Fonjong, 2001; Tiessen, 2007; Wendoh & Wallace, 2005), to a substantial collection of theoretical literature exploring how to make gender mainstreaming work for development organisations (Jahan, 1995; Kabeer, 2003; Levy, 1996; Moser, 1993; Rao & Kelleher, 2003, 2005). Across the literature there is one common question: why does gender mainstreaming policy ‘fail’ in practice?

This question supposedly stems from a perceived gap between gender mainstreaming policy and gender mainstreaming practice. The Beijing Platform for Action in 1995 provided a binding definition and policy framework for gender mainstreaming, which led to the development of numerous tools and materials, workshops and trainings about gender mainstreaming to help facilitate mainstreaming practice. However, over fifteen years later, major gaps existed in implementing gender mainstreaming within organisations (Moser & Moser, 2005). In the book, *Gender Planning and Development: Theory, Practice & Training*, Caroline Moser refers to the issue of translating policy into gender mainstreaming practice as the ‘most important problem facing planning practitioners’ (Moser, 1993, p. 9).

2.3.2. *Resistance to social change in organisations*

The first of the three explanations in the literature for gender policy’s lack of implementation in development organisations is a recurring emphasis on the gendered nature of organisations. In the book *Everywhere/ Nowhere: Gender Mainstreaming in Development Agencies* (2007), Rebecca Tiessen sums up this perspective in arguing that problems with implementing gender mainstreaming policy in NGOs arise from resistance by the organisations themselves. Drawing on interviews with 20 staff members from a diverse range of NGOs in Malawi, Tiessen

claims that ‘a key reason for gender mainstreaming’s limited success is the organisational culture within development agencies’ that have been tasked with rolling it out (2007, p. 173). Studies on the gendered nature of organisations have focused on the dominance of masculine norms for leadership and management skills, the division of labour between men and women, and the role of organisations in perpetuating gender inequalities, among other gender issues (Ely, Scully, Foldy, Foldy, & Scully, 2003).

The argument put forward is that the presence of gender inequalities in organisational spaces reflects inequalities in the broader cultural and social environment outside of these organisations. For Rao, Kelleher and Stuart (1997) the problem of gender inequality in development organisations is rooted in their ‘institutional arrangements’ (p. 1), by which they mean the ‘collection of values, history, culture and practices that form the unquestioned, “normal” way of working in organisations’ (p. 2). Institutional arrangements ‘function to limit choice [for women]’ (Goetz, 1997, p. 5) meaning that organisations existing within these institution frameworks cannot be gender-neutral: they belong within the structures of power that both create and perpetuate women’s disadvantage in relation to men (Goetz, 1997). This leads to a ‘masculinist organisational culture’ that defines the ‘normal’ ways of working within development organisations (Tiessen, 2007). As a consequence gender is not perceived as an important consideration in organisations, which shapes gendered activities within the organisation. This ultimately impacts on the distribution of resources to those individuals or communities the organisation is trying to help.

Rao and Kelleher (2003) claim that the majority of development work ignores the role development organisations play in reinforcing gender inequalities. They argue that development practitioners incorrectly perceive organisations as gender-neutral spaces; work that challenges gendered power relations is therefore seen as something organisations do rather than something that should be imbedded within organisations themselves (Tiessen 2007). According to key scholars in gender and development studies, the fact that development organisations are gendered spaces but are rarely

seen as such by practitioners and development scholars alike propose major challenges for addressing power relations in organisational environments. Assuming that organisations are gender neutral fails to acknowledge the impact of masculinist culture on organisational environments (Goetz, 2001, 1997; Mukhopadhyay, Steehouwer, & Wong, 2006; Rao, Keller, & Stuart, 1997). This in turn negatively influences the ability of organisations to bring about gender-equitable outcomes (Rao et al., 1997).

Gender mainstreaming was developed to directly address this resistance to social change by organisations. It was seen as a means of addressing the unequal distribution of development resources through having the staff of development organisations consider the implications for men and women of external programmes and projects, internal management structures, and policies. As a result of this objective, the primary strategy embedded within gender mainstreaming approaches was to implement universal staff training in order to raise awareness about various gender implications for internal structures and external programmes.

Recommendations around training in the gender mainstreaming literature, what it should address, and how it can be accomplished, focus on *sensitising* individuals to issues of gender inequality (Coats, 2008; Moser & Moser, 2005; Tiessen, 2005; Wendoh & Wallace, 2005). Gareth Coats (2008) calls for broad-based gender sensitisation for HIV and AIDS interventions, and Moser and Moser (2005) call for training in terms of attitudinal change in order to address ‘resistance and negative attitudes towards gender issues (p. 17). ‘Effective’ staff training is the primary solution suggested in the gender literature to the problem of resistance to mainstreaming gender in development organisations.

2.3.3. *The de-politicisation of gender and development*

While the intention of gender mainstreaming is transformation, it has been chewed up and spit out by development bureaucracies in forms that feminists would barely recognise. (Rao, 2006, p. 64)

Another school of thought on why implementing gender mainstreaming policy has been a challenge is that of de-politicisation: the concern that gender mainstreaming

policy has separated gender in development from a political feminist agenda.

Southern participants of the Beijing Conference in 1995 were some of the first to raise this concern with warnings that gender mainstreaming as a practice would risk replacing a focus on women's programmes and funding with a more generic and less politicised focus on gender (Baden & Goetz, 1997). While the GAD agenda and gender mainstreaming went ahead despite these concerns, it was not long before other feminist development scholars began to see gender mainstreaming policy as part of the problem rather than the solution: 'Rather than gender mainstreaming leading to transformed development, 'gender' has itself been transformed – as a field of research and action, it has been depoliticised' (Porter & Sweetman, 2005, p. 3).

Several scholars have delivered succinct critiques of the ways in which the institutional processes underlying gender mainstreaming policy may be problematic. Baden and Goetz (1997) warn that the over-bureaucratisation of gender has a tendency to strip away political content and reduce it to a set of needs or gaps, which are amenable to administrative decisions about the allocation of resources. Similarly Ines Smyth (2007) discusses the ways in which gender mainstreaming has led to a decline in resources that address women's social disadvantage, and has made it easier to put the complexities of male and female experiences at a distance by turning them into neat categories necessary for log frames, monitoring tools and management systems. Feminist activists in the field of gender and development have also become increasingly concerned that a focus on gender has contributed to a decline in resources and support for women's organisations and projects.

In short, these scholars argue that the reason for gender mainstreaming's lack of effective implementation stems from its lack of politics. Addressing gender inequality in organisations is political because it involves disrupting mechanisms of power. A de-political policy therefore has little hope of changing gender inequalities. As Rao and Keller argue: 'All approaches to bringing about gender equality must have a political component. This is because gender relations exist within a force field of power relations, and power is used to maintain existing privilege' (2005, p. 59). The organisational change processes of gender mainstreaming do not go far enough

in developing the confrontational platform these scholars see as needed to address hard-set structural power imbalances between men and women that exist at all levels of institutional and organisational life. As Goetz (1997) says: ‘the social relations embedded in social institutions and development organisations cannot be changed just by getting a structural blueprint right – in the end, it is a matter of political struggle’ (p. 28).

Scholars outside of the gender field have also raised the de-politicising effects of policy as part of a critique of international development more broadly. In the critiques offered by Ferguson (1990) and Li (2007), it is not only the potential to transform gender relations that is at stake when development processes are rendered technical, but ‘potentially explosive political questions about rights, entitlements, how one should live and who should decide’ (Li, 2002, p.2: quoted in Mosse & Lewis, 2006a, p.12). Through the processes of rendering social issues into technical problems suitable for international development, the inherent politics of these issues are integrated into what Ferguson terms the ‘depoliticising machine’ of development. ‘Institutional practices render policy a process of rational design unshaped by politics’ (Lewis & Mosse, 2006, p. 12). Policy helps to bring about this de-politicisation of social issues, making development interventions possible but ineffective in achieving social change.

Palmary and Nunez (2009) argue that ignoring the political necessity of confrontational approaches to gender may not only be ineffective, but stands to produce and solidify existing inequalities. They argue that the de-politicisation of gender through gender mainstreaming policy may essentially be a means of making gender equality more palatable to development circles and NGO environments. The consequence of this is that gender mainstreaming policy makes development practitioners feel as if they are addressing gender inequalities, while in fact they are ignoring the underlying structural inequalities that are at play. The danger, says Palmary and Nunez (2009), is this pacifies important calls for women’s rights and equality.

Faced with what they see as the de-politicisation of the feminist agenda within gender mainstreaming, several scholars (Rao & Kelleher, 2005; Ravindran & Kelkar-Khambete, 2008; Smyth, 2007) point to the promise of rights-based approaches. A rights-based approach refers to linking human rights principles outlined in the UN Declaration of Human Rights with development practice, and is seen as a promising addition to gender mainstreaming efforts (Powell, 2005; Smyth, 2007) in part for its ability to support the case for gender equality on intrinsic rather than instrumental (i.e. economic) grounds (Kabeer, 2003). Rights-based approaches are perceived as a means of ensuring that the needs of individuals are tied to a political agenda, thus strengthening the claim of individuals to resources (Rao & Kelleher, 2005, p. 62).

The notion of empowerment has also been taken up in the push for re-politicisation of gender mainstreaming. Naila Kabeer (2003), one of the strongest advocates of the empowerment approach for gender equality, sees empowerment as the mechanism of improving gender equality through providing increased choices for women.

Empowerment has been discussed as a key component of the gender mainstreaming process because of the potential of empowerment approaches to ensure that women have the power to define the development agenda (Moser & Moser, 2005, p. 12).

Porter and Sweetman (2005) even refer to empowerment as the 'litmus test' of successful gender mainstreaming (p. 4). For Smyth (2007), both rights-based language and the interest in ideas of empowerment are promising means of addressing the limitations of gender mainstreaming (p.586).

However, despite the hopes some scholars have placed on empowerment as the solution to gender mainstreaming's de-politicisation, empowerment itself is a contested concept within development practice. In a special issue of the journal *Development* in 2010, Andrea Cornwall discusses the de-politicisation of empowerment itself, and how the term has been taken up within development in non-political, individualist, and instrumental ways (Cornwall & Anyidoho, 2010). The notion of 'empowerment' advocated by Kabeer as a mechanism for ensuring gender equality is not a singular notion, but rather a term that has been taken up in very different ways by civil society, women's activists, government bureaucrats, and

indigenous communities. For instance, rather than a pillar of gender equality, many feminists perceive current versions of empowerment as having succumbed to a neo-Liberal agenda of individualism and instrumentalism (Cornwall & Anyidoho, 2010). Patricia McFadden (2010) argues that empowerment belongs to a research gaze that identifies only women of colour as needing intervention, failing to acknowledge the ways in which all women everywhere in the world can potentially be 'empowered'. In reference to gender policy, Vivienne Taylor (2010) argues that empowerment itself has become rhetoric, undermining what women themselves have and can achieve. These critiques of empowerment within neo-Liberal development practices and related policy discourses demonstrate that rather than using the term 'empowerment' blindly, it is important to be clear about just what kind of empowerment we are talking about within the policy and practice of gender and development.

2.3.4. Gender policy as context-inappropriate

In addition to the challenges presented by gendered organisational environments and the separation of gender mainstreaming policy from its political underpinnings, scholars have written of an active resistance or rejection of calls for gender equality and women's rights (Rao & Kelleher, 2005) that has prevented the implementation of gender mainstreaming. Caroline and Annalise Moser's (2005) review of gender mainstreaming progress in 14 international development institutions and organisations highlight the role of cultural resistance to gender mainstreaming policy. As Angela Hadjipateras (1997) notes in her review of implementing a gender policy in the development organisation ACORD: 'discussions held as part of the research revealed fears about and, in some cases, outright hostility to the gender policy, on the part of both staff and community members' (p. 32). Through her review of multiple organisations across Malawi, Tiessen argues that there is 'enormous social resistance to gender equality because it is understood as something that is countercultural' (2007, p. 40) and that gender is perceived as a foreign concept forced on Malawians.

Tiessen (2007) discusses how, in her interviews with NGO staff in Malawi, the assumption that power had to be taken away from men and given to women is bound

to create resistance. Hadjipateras (1997) also explains hostility as an inevitable process of trying to address gender inequalities; in other words, it is a conflict in a zero-sum game between those that are seeking increased power (women) and those in fear of losing their power (men). The implication is that cultural arguments are being used as mechanisms for holding onto current imbalances of power and should be rejected as such.

However, dismissing the argument that gender is culturally inappropriate may run the risk of having calls for gender equality rejected by organisations (Mannell, 2010). Concerns have been raised by African NGOs that what gender equality means in local contexts is poorly understood by international development donors (Wendoh & Wallace, 2005). Senorina Wendoh and Tina Wallace argue that assumptions by donor agencies that they have the same interpretation of gender as a community or NGO may be problematic: ‘donor-led insistence on including a gender element, without due regard for local perspectives, skills or analysis, results in NGOs masquerading as gender-sensitive at best, and becoming resistant, mistrustful, and sceptical at worst’ (2005, p. 74).

Gender scholars taking a more anthropological direction suggest that the ways in which gender mainstreaming (and its foundation on gender equality) has been conceptualised may need to be revised for particular contexts. For example, L. Amede Obiora (2004) critically engages with the use of rights-based approaches to gender mainstreaming. She poses challenging questions around the legitimacy of critiques of how equality has been conceptualised within gender mainstreaming policy, particular those coming from rural women. In Obiora’s own words, one of the questions that is not being asked is: ‘What do the reactions of the rural women denote about the complexities of gender as an empirical and analytical category?’ (p. 652). Obiora sees gender mainstreaming policy as participating in a form of cultural imperialism, and resistance as potentially holding answers to its lack of success.

An empirical example from the anthropological literature that illustrates how gender mainstreaming may be culturally inappropriate is Prudence Woodford-Berger’s (2004) comparison between Swedish development policy and gender identity in

Ghana, in which she shows that the Swedish model of gender mainstreaming may not be flexible enough to address the multiple understandings of gender within Ghanaian culture. Specifically, she argues that the Swedish gender framework is inappropriate in capturing the complexities of female-ness, the instability of gender identity, and the nature gender alliances in this context. The inability of Swedish frameworks to capture these cultural nuances makes the frameworks largely irrelevant to this particular context, which suggests that a universal approach to gender mainstreaming may be overly simplistic for a wide range of cultures and situations.

Similarly, Elina Oinas and Signe Arnfred (2009) point out that the practices of attributing names to groups or behaviours in an African context can be quite different from the identity politics of the North. ‘The very ideas of ‘gender’ and man/woman binaries may be different; gender categories may be neither male nor female, and female same-sex intimacies may be non-lesbian’ (p. 154). Oinas and Arnfred (2009) argue for a contextualised study of African sexualities, one that is rooted in a historical and post-colonial framework in order to acknowledge the role of the political in sexuality. This provides a critical lens on particular African generalities that are often seen as in opposition to gender mainstreaming activities; ‘tradition’ for example, which Oinas and Arnfred (2009) argue needs to be understood in the context of a longing for cultural pride and resistance to imperialist domination that can underpin talk of human and sexual rights.

Different solutions are suggested in the literature depending on the diagnosis provided for why this cultural resistance to gender mainstreaming policy exists. Those scholars that see cultural resistance to gender mainstreaming policy as part of a resilience of masculinist cultural norms often suggest more gender sensitisation training. In contrast those that see the issue stemming from the way in which gender has been conceptualised within gender mainstreaming policy in the first place suggest that the gender concept itself may need to be tailored to meet the specific needs of different ‘mainstreams’ (Woodford-Berger, 2004).

The specific case of gender mainstreaming explored through the literature above provides a number of insights from scholars about how gender policy is being practiced. It tells us that the presence of a ‘masculinist’ culture within an organisation can present a major roadblock to the implementation of gender policy, and not recognising the gendered nature of organisations can be a major barrier in overcoming this. It also tells us that the way gender is conceptualised in development frameworks needs to be critically analysed for its potential to address the specific needs of target populations. The literature points to the ‘failure’ of gender mainstreaming as a means of establishing ‘lessons’ for the implementation of gender policy in the future, but little is said in the literature about what actually happens when policy is implemented. Beyond gender mainstreaming’s ‘failures’, what are the changes that do take place or the individual strategies that are used in attempts to turn gender policy into practice?

2.3.5. *Identifying the gaps*

As outlined above, the case of gender mainstreaming policy points to three main explanations for why gender policy does not get turned into organisational practice. The first sees the problem as stemming from organisations and unrecognised harmful gender norms embedded in their structures and practices. The second perceives the problem as the institutional processes of international development that turn political agendas into de-politicised technical practices suitable for interventions. The third identifies the broader cultural environment as the root of the problem, in terms of either a harmful masculinist culture or cultural specificity requiring tailored development solutions. Each of these explanations and the solutions suggested to resolve the issue of the lack of gender policy implementation takes the linearity of the policy process as a given. The assumption that policy that is broad enough to meet a context’s specific needs, political enough to target social inequalities, and that sensitises individuals to dominant masculine norms, will ultimately be implemented is consistent with the *progress* paradigm of development policy outlined above. But what if this assumption is not the case?

In the pilot study I carried out for this thesis to explore organisational perceptions of gender mainstreaming policy in South Africa, I found that the relationship between ‘good’ policy and implementation was far more complex than that suggested by the gender mainstreaming literature. In my pilot study, gender mainstreaming was not being implemented in organisations that otherwise adhered to the principles of creating gender-sensitive organisational environments and interventions (Mannell, 2011). In fact, gender mainstreaming was generally not happening in South Africa despite widespread familiarity with the policy. Gender practitioners gave a host of reasons for why gender mainstreaming policy had failed to be implemented in their organisation, including interpersonal disputes, changes in job positions, a lack of support from management, the prioritisation of diversity policy over gender policy, and fatigue with the administrative bureaucracy gender mainstreaming seemed to require.

The reasons given by practitioners for the lack of gender mainstreaming policy implementation did not reflect those provided in the literature; the gendered nature of the organisation, the absence of a political agenda, or a disconnect between gender and the local culture/ social context were rarely mentioned. The technical nature of gender mainstreaming was raised in interviews, but not as a critique of the policy as much as a critique of the way it had been carried out by certain training organisations. In talking about the lack of gender policy implementation, practitioners highlight administrative issues with policy or organisational politics surrounding the policy process. In contrast, debates in the literature focus on the transformation of gender policy or the transformation of the recipient, but leave the linearity of the policy process itself as a given. There appears to be a fundamental gap between what practitioners say are the problems with practicing gender mainstreaming policy and the literature on the topic.

Eyben (2008) points to a possible explanation for this gap in her work on pursuing a feminist agenda in international development organisations. According to Eyben, seeing policy as something handed down from government or international institutions to implementing agencies or organisations does not capture the

complexities of the policy process. She suggests that policy and the process of creating it is something far more complex than this linear relationship suggests. As Mosse and Lewis state: 'International policy regimes do not simply arrive, but are produced by intermediary actors, frontline workers (middle managers, bureaucrats, clinicians, technicians, NGO staff, health workers or engineers) who translate global policy into their own ambitions, interests and values' (Mosse & Lewis, 2005, p. 20). This suggests that policy is not produced in its final form by an overarching authority, but rather the production of policy belongs to a continuous process where actors at each stage shape it to suit their own needs.

Returning to the gender mainstreaming example, assuming that policy is defined by government or institutions and then passed along to agencies and organisations for implementation has led to the suggestion of particular solutions for the absence of gender mainstreaming implementation. A solution of providing organisational training in order to 'sensitise' staff to the nature of gender dynamics assumes that the lessons learned from this type of training will then be carried into the organisational practices of staff members. It does not consider the possibility that the problem may be something other than attitudinal; rather 'it assumes that once sexist attitudes are changed, resistance will vanish' (Goetz, 1997, p. 4). The same assumption is made by scholars that suggest the problem lies in gender mainstreaming policy and its lack of flexibility in addressing context-specific notions of gender. While the problem here is identified as the policy itself rather than the implementing organisation, the idea that a flexible policy will bring about the right kinds of change goes unquestioned. How one defines policy in this way has implications for what solutions are proposed for improving gender practice.

The risk in assuming gender policy processes are linear is that policy successes that do not fit within the originally planned policy objectives may go unrecognised. As Eyben (2010) shows, feminists that are up against resistance to gender policy often use different strategies or tactics to bring forward a transformative gender agenda, for example leveraging the discursive ambiguity presented by the global economic crisis to raise the potential of gender equality to instrumentally serve economic goals.

Organisational actors that see policy processes as linear risk ignoring alternative solutions: ‘A concept of a top-down linear policy implementation can seriously constrain an imaginative search for more appropriate understandings of the context and possible responses to that context’ (Eyben, 2010, p. 55). This suggests that less focus needs to be put on why gender policy is not being taken up by organisations, and more attentions paid to what is actually happening in the space between policy and practice. In order to explore the specifics of this space in South Africa and remain open to different strategies that may be being put in place, the first of two aims for this study is to *map the relationship between gender and development policy and practice* in this context. The second aim is outlined at the end of section 2.4 below.

2.4. The anthropology of policy in practice

The anthropology of policy offers a potential means of addressing the first aim of this research. New insights into the practice of development policy by individuals in organisations is being offered by a growing body of literature that focuses on how development policy is produced within a contextual process made up of the practices of individual actors. Practices in this case refer specifically to the everyday activities of individuals involved in implementing policy: i.e. writing reports, attending meetings with stakeholders, negotiating strategic positions, attending to organisational and inter-personal conflicts, attending trainings, etc. The anthropology of development policy examines these detailed practices as a means of understanding how policy is taken up, transformed, worked and re-worked in the everyday activities of the implementers. As Mosse and Lewis (2005) state: ‘by showing how systems of relationships that are internal to organisations or epistemic communities become externalised as global policy or country development strategies, ethnography reconfigures scale. International development policy is framed by personal histories, individual passions, and bureaucratic strategies’ (p.17).

This body of work has made some important contributions to the understanding of how policy is practiced within development institutions, which could also contribute a better understanding of the complex challenges that impact on gender and

development policy and practice in South Africa. Scholars working in the anthropology of development policy have been able to show how knowledge about development ideas is produced and ‘localised’ through World Bank processes (Goldman, 2001), how the process of stakeholder inclusion is often defined more through existing relationships than an ideal representation of stakeholder groups (Wedel, 2001), and that policy discourses plays a significant role in the expression of individual values (Cornwall, 2009). The ‘localisation’ of development ideas, processes of stakeholder inclusion and the role of policy discourses in the expression of individual values are all critically important components of the gender policy process that are interrogated through this type of anthropological approach.

Within the anthropology of development literature a small number of studies speak specifically to gender policy and tell us more specifically what is happening within gender interventions. For example a study by Benedetta Rossi (2006) looks at an intervention influenced by GAD policies aimed at giving a group of women in a Nigerian community control over a rehabilitated parcel of land in order to produce an independent women-controlled source of food. An ethnography of the intervention reveals that the project agent never mentioned the gendered nature of the programme and its objective to transfer power from the men in the community to the women. Rather the project agent framed the transfer of land as shifting of property from one pocket (the men in the family) to another (the women). Rossi uses this example in part to argue that rather than operating exclusively as external intervention agents, project staff members often shift their position to fit with personal relationships, kinship, local politics, social obligations and resource exchanges. Rossi’s description of further project negotiations tells how the women argued that they needed a relatively expensive type of fencing in order to make the plots work, and she interprets this as evidence of how development resources focused on bringing about changes in gender inequalities in community projects can be manipulated by both men and women in communities to suit their practical needs. This study points to the ways in which the failure of a gender intervention may have very little to do with resistance from the targeted population (in this case the community) to gender

transformation. Rather, the policy was negotiated and transformed through the process of implementation by the various actors involved.

Another example is in Ceylayne Heaton Shrestha's (2006) study of a gender awareness training session in a remote village of Nepal. Drawing from field notes, Shrestha describes a process of women and men identifying the various tasks they engage in over the course of a day, associating a period of time for each task, which are then totalled at the end as evidence that women work more hours than men. In the description provided, Shrestha carefully details the interruptions to the training by lunchtime and a rainstorm, as well as a general lack of interest by the participants in the outcome of the training session. Shrestha's analysis highlights how the training can be seen as an 'arena for the ongoing, and contested, crafting of benefactor identities' (p.196-197). In other words, the participants in the training are involved in a process of shaping a particular identity as a development participant through their involvement and acceptance of the notion that work should be shared equally between men and women.

These studies demonstrate the specific ways in which an anthropology of gender policy would contribute to new understandings of the relationship between gender policy and practice. By examining the specifics of development policy implementation through project interventions they highlight how the actors involved in implementation are part of a complex process of negotiation with the community or individuals that are being targeted. This adds valuable insight into the 'failures' of gender mainstreaming discussed in the gender and development literature, and highlights how what has been considered a 'failure' of policy could benefit from asking a new set of questions around how gender policy is being practiced by organisations. What types of conversations are happening at the negotiation table? How are gender principles being used or not used in order to create 'buy-in' among groups and communities? How is gender policy operating on the 'ground'? What are the relationships that define its 'success' or 'failure'?

Anthropological perspectives on gender policy in practice can help answer many of these questions and further develop our understanding of the direct and indirect links

between policy and practice in specific contexts. The real value of an anthropological approach to gender policy is in re-defining policy as a network of relationships and then offering a means of examining how this network operates in practice. The issues facing the implementation of policy are no longer constrained to an analysis of either inadequate policy or inadequate implementation as with the gender mainstreaming literature, but are open to whatever events may actually be taking place in practice. This also opens up opportunities to recognise potential solutions by focusing on what practitioners are actually doing to overcome the challenges they may be facing.

However, to what extent can lessons learned about development policy in practice be applied specifically to gender policy? Turning a critical eye to the studies cited above by Rossi (2006) and Shrestha (2006) for example, gender is used as a policy or programme descriptive. The gendered nature of the development process is not fully considered in either study. These are ethnographies of gender policies as they are practiced within development interventions, but the findings that come out of these studies, while certainly interesting and important to our understanding of policy in practice, could arise from any development project. Can lessons learned from other types of development projects be applied to gender interventions? My argument is no, they cannot, which I develop in more detail in section 2.5. Gender interventions have the very particular objective of addressing gender as a social relation. The theoretical principle underpinning this thesis and the work of post-structural gender scholars is that gender relations are maintained by a form of power that is circulatory, unstable and productive (Butler, 1990). Since power is implicated in gender relations, the 'management' or practice of gender by development practitioners must also be understood as a political process. Put differently, gender politics are implicated in all aspects of gender and development practice from international management tasks to external relations with individuals and communities, and this needs to be taken into consideration in any study of gender policy and practice. The limitations of previous anthropological studies of gender policy and practice in fully accounting for gender politics are outlined below. The need to consider the power implications of the relationship between gender policy

and practice brings about the second aim for this research: *to explore the effects of gender policy and practice on gender politics in South Africa.*

2.5. Limitations of anthropology for analysing gender policy and practice

Providing a full account of gender politics in development practice necessitates a different approach to the practice of policy than that offered by the anthropology of development policy for one principle reason – the gendered nature of development itself. Gender and development scholars have convincingly argued that the development field needs to be stripped of its male centric, heteronormative assumptions in order to be able to effectively address gender politics (Goetz, 1997; Jahan, 1995; Kabeer, 1994; Moser, 1993). According to these scholars, development practice needs to look critically at the role gender politics play in the development paradigms and funding policies that make up the field of development itself and not just the culture or social norms where development interventions are located. I outline this literature in more detail below in order to point to the limitations of the anthropological approach exemplified by Rossi (2006) and Shrestha (2006) for understanding gender policy and practice.

Prominent scholars from within the gender and development field have argued that development policy is exporting western stereotypes of women as ‘caregivers’ and ‘homemakers’ thus ignoring the potential (and necessity) for women to contribute to development objectives (Tinker, 1976). This in turn ignores the adverse impact on women when their needs are left out of development planning processes (Boserup, 1970), and the ways that women’s unpaid labour is taken for granted as part of development practice while incentives for development participation are given primarily to men (Rogers, 1980). Naila Kabeer has persuasively argued that development paradigms have been based on economic models of households that assume that household members have shared interests. These do not account for empirical evidence suggesting that in contrast men often monopolise assets, food, prestigious goods and leisure time. Rather than considering how women’s needs may or may not be encompassed within household-based models, development economists have generally avoided the challenge of addressing gender concerns

through simply pretending that gender inequalities do not exist (Kabeer, 1994). In addition, the ways in which poverty measures have been constructed mask the ways in which women experience poverty differently from men, leading to development interventions that ‘ignore the gender-specific disadvantages women face’ (ibid. p. xv). More recently, scholars have explored the ways in which heteronormativity of the development field serves to govern individual’s sexual lives and pathologise sexual deviance in ways that negatively impact on access to citizenship and increase struggles for basic livelihoods (Lind, 2010).

The United Nations Decade for Women (1976-85) played an important role in highlighting the gendered nature of international development in terms of the exclusion of women from social and economic development research and policy (Moser, 1993). Development policy began to shift its focus from women as the targets for family-centred, reproductive interventions towards an emphasis on the ‘productive role of women’ in the development of low-income countries (ibid. p. 2). However, the majority of gender and development scholars recognise the inclusion of women into existing development processes as having failed to address the underlying nature of gender inequality (Marchand & Parpart, 1995). Feminists have ‘demanded not simply gender parity or gender balance in representation, but a total transformation of the development agenda from a gender perspective, elaborating a feminist vision of alternative development’ (Jahan, 1995, p. 8).

What these critiques from gender scholars and feminist activists bring to light is that recognising that development itself is a gendered field of practice necessitates recognition of gender inequality as much more than just social norms that need to be challenged through development interventions. It requires a re-visioning of development itself in order to address the ways in which studies of policy and practice have privileged a masculinist view of development and have often acted to reaffirm traditional relations of power. The study of gender policy and practice in development organisations should not be seen as existing outside of this re-visioning process, but part of it since it belongs to the network of development mechanisms,

frameworks, paradigms and tools. These need to be analysed for their gendered assumptions as part of any study of how gender policies are put into practice.

Referring back to the studies from the anthropology of development practice by Benedetta Rossi and Celayne Heaton Shrestha, we can see how neither study adequately considers the way in which the field of development is gendered. Shrestha's study of a development project in Nepal interrogates how NGO discourses create distinctions between 'beneficiaries and benefactors; developpees and developers; the educated, urbane, professional develops and the rural, "conservative" beneficiaries' (p. 196). Shrestha considers the ways in which gender sensitive behaviour and discourse on the part of development agents is a means of furthering divisions between 'modern' development agents and 'non-modern', gender-insensitive beneficiaries. However, Shrestha does not consider how gender inequalities may be implicated in these distinctions of development discourse. For example, how are discourses of the 'rural, conservative development beneficiary' entangled with notions of women in developing countries as 'uneducated' and under the decision-making of their husbands?

Rossi's study has similar limitations in situating the development project under study within certain gender objectives, but not going far enough in the analysis to provide a full account of the gendered nature of the development practices taking place. Rossi begins by outlining the purview by the project team that the redistribution of land to women would be 'revolutionary' with regard to improving women's status and empowerment, and then pinpoints specific ways that the project failed to achieve these aims throughout her analysis. For example, Rossi mentions how the failure of the project agent to mention the 'gendered nature' of the project marginalised the question of 'women's empowerment' for the village landowners (who were selling their land to the women). In her final remarks Rossi concludes that the reticence of the project agent to attempt to explain the gendered nature of the project 'suggests that he is aware of the irrelevance of certain criteria to local actors' (p.46), which Rossi uses to support her point that development agents must be seen as conscious agents in how they choose to reproduce development narratives. However, Rossi's

analysis separates the project agent from the gendered nature of the environment in which he is situated in order to make her argument. The gender inequalities that persist within the village under study remain intervention targets rather than gendered social norms that can influence how the project is implemented. As a result the study fails to fully account for the impact this positioning of the project outside of its gendered objectives (as a transfer of property from ‘one pocket to another’) may have had on the women involved. As evidence of the tactics used by development recipients, Rossi mentions the women’s lack of initial interest in the project, their reluctant purchase of the land followed by its lack of use a year later, and the strategic manipulating by the women to gain additional resources from the project, but none of these so called ‘tactics’ are connected to how the women perceive the project in the context of the gender inequalities that persist in their daily lives. Why would these women choose to fully engage in a project that had no ability to transform existing relations within the village that give men the ownership of land and use women as free labour? In failing to consider the gendered nature of the choice made by the development agent, Rossi’s study also fails to account for the impact strategic choices made by development practitioners can have on project outcomes. In these ways, failure to account for the gendered nature of the field of development in the studies by Rossi and Shrestha point to the need for better integration between the ethnography of development policy and the feminist critique of development practice.

2.6. Research questions

At the beginning of this chapter, I wrote about how ‘good’ policy is often not put into practice. In this chapter I have outlined various models for how policy is transformed into practice and then looked at the explanations arising from the gender policy literature for why current gender policy in the form of gender mainstreaming has ‘failed’. The purpose of doing this was to highlight the different ways in which the conceptualisation of policy as a linear means of achieving development ‘progress’ can lead to limited ideas about policy ‘failure’ and the solutions needed to help it succeed. The need for a non-linear perspective on gender policy in practice

brings about the first aim of this research: *to map the relationship between gender and development policy and practice in South Africa*. In achieving this aim, I hope to contribute a more nuanced view of gender policy and a detailed exploration of how development practitioners are either adopting or not adopting these policies in their organisational practices.

This thesis is situated between the literature on gender policy in development organisations and the anthropology of development policy literature, and I have explored in this chapter how these two literatures might be better connected. I have shown how the anthropology of policy stands to make an important contribution to the gender policy literature by opening up the possibility of capturing the various ways in which gender inequalities are being challenged by practitioners (rather than assuming we know what these strategies should look like), as suggested in the work of Eyben (2008) on setting a feminist agenda for development. An anthropological approach would also improve the understanding of the practices involved in implementing gender policy. However, I have raised a number of potential issues with a traditional anthropological approach to gender policy through a critical analysis of the gender assumptions made in relevant studies by Benedetta Rossi and Celayne Heaton Shrestha in 2006. In doing this, I do not intend to suggest that these studies are somehow inadequate within their chosen discipline, but that the anthropological study of development policy itself may not be able to fully take into account the gender politics of practice. By not accounting for gender politics, an investigation of the relationship between gender policy and practice is limited in its ability to acknowledge how development efforts to transform gender relations involve challenging gendered relations of power, not just implementing project tasks or addressing the needs of women. In order to address this limitation of the anthropology of development policy literature, the second aim of this study is: *to explore the effects of gender policy and practice on gender politics in South Africa*.

A key objective of this thesis is to contribute to the literature on how social policy operates in the practice of development organisations by exploring the potential for a gender studies approach to the study of gender and development policy. Rather than

discarding the valuable scholarship arising from the gender and development field, my aim is to draw some of its key insights about the gendered nature of development in order to develop an approach to exploring how gender policy operates in practice and the effects this has on gender politics.

Based on the literature presented in this chapter and the research aims outlined above, this study seeks to address the following specific research questions:

1. How has gender been framed as an issue for South African development in policy?
2. How does gender policy operate in the practices of actors in South African development organisations?
3. What are the effects of how gender policy operates in practice on gender politics?

These three questions form the basis of the study's methodology, which will be outlined in detail in *chapter four*. However, before delving into the research methodology, in the next chapter I develop the theoretical framework for this study.

3. A theoretical approach to gender policy and practice

3.1. Introduction

The previous chapter outlined and critiqued the academic literature on the practice of gender policy in development organisations and suggested that much could be learned from an anthropological approach to the study of gender policy. A number of issues emerged from the literature review. First, assumptions about the linearity of the policy process overlook an assessment of what practitioners are actually doing in practice to address gender equality. Two, anthropological approaches to development policy are beginning to reveal important insights into how policy is taken up within the everyday organisational practices of development practitioners. Third, that international development has been and continues to be a gendered field of practice that often marginalises gender concerns. With the best of intentions, much of the research coming out of the gender and development literature is concerned with identifying the reasons for ‘failures’ of gender policy and trying to propose solutions to remedy the situation. There are valuable insights arising from organisational reviews about the gendered nature of organisational environments within development, however, by taking the policy process as a given, solutions around improving practice have often been narrowly focused on providing training or changing policy prescriptions.

In the previous chapter I suggested that more needs to be known about how gender policy is being practiced outside of linear understandings of policy processes and that the anthropology of policy provides a means of approaching this investigation. I begin this chapter by examining two theoretical frameworks that underpin the anthropology of policy literature: one, governmentality drawing on Michel Foucault, and two, actor-oriented theoretical approaches following the work of Norman Long. My argument is that governmentality approaches to the anthropology of policy focus on policy as an ‘apparatus’ for the control of populations whereas actor-oriented approaches are better able to capture the specific nature of gender practice undertaken by development agents, and then link this to discourse and power

dynamics. However, the actor-oriented approach has adopted a limited understanding of gender relations that does not help meet the aims of this study. For instance, previous applications of the actor-oriented approach (including those by Long himself) have not adequately accounted for the relationship between the practices of development agents and gendered structures of power. The end of this chapter is devoted to outlining how, despite its previous applications, actor-oriented approaches can be used to explore gender and its politics. The final section of the chapter is devoted to developing a gender-appropriate theoretical framework based on actor-oriented approaches.

3.2. Theoretical frameworks on policy and practice

In selecting theoretical frameworks appropriate for the study of gender policy and practice in development organisations, three key characteristics were taken into consideration, which have arisen from the literature. Firstly, the framework needs to conceptualise the policy process as a complex network of relationships rather than a linear process. As a first step, this turns away from the vast majority of literature on policy implementation that draws on *progress* models of policy, notably the theoretical models suggested by the large international development institutions of the World Bank and United Nations, which see development as a progressive movement towards economically and socially ‘modern’ societies. I equally discard models arising from neo-Marxist political economy schools of thought, which see development as part of a capitalist project to accumulate wealth in the hands of the world’s elite, following the argument laid out in my review of the literature that both of these theoretical paradigms take up policy as a linear process, and fail to capture the non-linear influences development policy has on practice.

Secondly, the framework needs to allow for an analysis of the practices of development agents in order to leverage the value this type of analysis can bring to understanding the heterogeneous ‘mess’ of practicing gender policy. As shown in my review of the literature, by examining specifically how development policy is being implemented we can investigate the ways in which development actors are involved in complex processes of negotiation and compromise between the demands of

donors, colleagues, other organisations and the community or individuals that are being served. In order to capture this, the theoretical framework needs to include a focus on the practices of the individual – the micro-level – rather than providing a theory of exclusively macro- or meso-level development policy practices, as has been the focus of the majority of the gender policy literature.

Thirdly, the framework needs to provide the potential for different voices or perspectives to be considered as legitimate in order to allow for the recognition of alternative ways in which individuals may be practising gender policy. This is consistent with the post-structuralist project of excluding essentialised notions of the social world in order to surface alternative perspectives or subjugated ways of knowing, and fits with my own personal epistemology. Following these criteria, two specific frameworks were chosen, which have been used by others to understand the practice of policy in development organisations: actor-oriented approaches and governmentality. As I outline in this section, both approaches have their advantages as well as their drawbacks in being able to explain the various social processes that define the relationship between policy and practice.

3.2.1. Governmentality

The notion of governmentality, or the ‘conduct of conduct’ (Foucault, 1991), introduced in a now infamous lecture given during Foucault’s later career, was developed as a means of explaining the ‘problematic of government’ (Foucault, 1991), specifically the ‘apparatus’ of how government operates as a mechanism of control over populations. As such it is useful in explaining policy as part of this apparatus, and has been used by scholars as a theoretical framework for exploring how development operates as a system of social control aimed at maintaining the wellbeing of populations (Ferguson, 1990; Gould, 2005; Le Meur, 2006; Li, 2007; Shore & Wright, 1997). Rather than focusing on the negative power of a dominating global governance system, governmentality explores the positive or productive aspects of power, which recruits advocates and gains legitimacy through defining what it means to be a ‘free’ and at the same time a ‘governable’ subject. In other

words, it looks not only at how governance operates but how individuals themselves become governable subjects.

Studies that have used governmentality as a framework for understanding the practice of development policy have focused on how policy's productive power 'defines a possible field of action', which both produces and justifies the needs for development intervention (Ferguson, 1990). Development policy then takes the problem as it has been defined and 'renders it technical' (Li, 2007) through the development of tools and frameworks required to carry out the intervention. In this way, development policy is shown to be a self-necessitating process that identifies social phenomenon as 'problematic' and then creates technical solutions to deal with them. Drawing from the insights of these studies, governmentality could provide valuable insight into the specific ways that gender policy has defined gender inequality as a problem and the solutions that are being proposed, and has indeed been used in this way to look at gender mainstreaming in the European context (Woehl, 2008).

As a result of the Foucauldian notion of power underlying it and the theoretical work of Foucauldian scholars (primarily that of Nicolas Rose 1996, Graham Burchell 1996, and Colin Gordon 1991), governmentality is able to fulfil the criteria outlined for an appropriate theoretical framework at the beginning of this chapter in terms of framing the policy process as a network of relationships, allowing for a focus on micro-practices, and providing the potential to surface subjugated knowledges. While the concept of governmentality was fairly undeveloped by Foucault as a theoretical framework, it has since been developed by others as a lens for understanding the adoption of neoliberal governance as a global standard (Ferguson, 2002; Rose, 1996). Within this literature Rose (1996) outlines the operation of governmentality in a way that illustrates its application to policy as a network of relationships – what Rose terms 'complexes':

The strategies of regulation that have made up our modern experience of "power" are thus assembled into complexes that connect up forces and institutions deemed "political" with apparatuses that shape and manage individual and collective conduct

in relation to norms and objectives but yet are constituted as "non-political". Each complex is an assemblage of diverse components - persons, forms of knowledge, technical procedures and modes of judgment and sanction (P. 37).

The 'complexes' of power talked about by Rose allows us to see the ways in which policy is not a linear process of outlining specific actions to address a social issue and then implementing them. Rather, in applying Rose's framework we can see how 'complexes' of power connect political systems of governance to what appear to be non-political individual practices. Within this framework, the practices of development agents reproduce the political 'desires' of the broader structures of power. In his study of the development field in Lesotho, Ferguson (1990) has used governmentality in this way to show how the structures of power that operate through 'development' also act as a 'depoliticising machine' for contentious issues of poverty, economic independence and social equality.

Governmentality is used as a framework for interrogating policy as a producer of dominant discourses, national identities and as a political technology in a collection of papers published as a book by Cris Shore and Susan Wright (1997). Studies in this volume look at how the discourses of policy documents have the power to define what is politically 'sayable' in HIV/AIDS policy (Seidel & Vidal, 1997) and marginalise possible alternatives. The power of policy texts to define extends to drawing the boundaries of patient bodies in medical contexts (Ploug Hansen, 1997), or what it means to be a 'real' citizen in countries such as Sweden (Rabo, 1997) and Canada (Mackey, 1997). In this way, policy is understood as a political process that defines and produces particular subjectivities. For example, a study by Gould uses governmentality to explore 'how aid contributes to the maintenance of a regime of global inequality' highlights the ways in which 'local' actors internalise aid-related disciplines prompting them to then take responsibility for the success of interventions (Gould, 2005). Tanya Li (2007) and Benedetti Rossi (2006) make a similar point in drawing attention to the ways in which development interventions construct development 'subjects' through drawing clear separations between development practitioners and development recipients.

Within this focus on the subject, however, development scholars have taken up governmentality broadly as a means of understanding development policy as a mechanism of control and governance. While this is consistent with Foucault's project of analysing how individuals are turned into certain kinds of subjects at particular point in history, it also tends to remove the subject itself from the analysis. While governmentality includes space for looking at the practices of individual practitioners, it analyses these practices as evidence of the ability of policy to manage and control practitioners through technologies of power. This often glosses over the strategic rationale for practitioners' decisions, and the social relations, personal values, or organisational cultures that act as influencing factors, concealing 'the contingent networks of practice, the diversity of actors, brokers, perspectives and interests behind universal policy models' (Mosse & Lewis, 2005, p. 14). As David Mosse puts it: governmentality 'can be at once too precise about the effects, and too vague about the location, of ordering power – exactly which relations are governmentalised?' (2005, p. 14).

The concern of this characteristic of a governmentality framework for this thesis is that with a governmentality study of the practice of gender policy the focus of the investigation would necessarily become the structural effects of gender policy rather than the strategic practices of policy implementers. The practices of individual agents, groups or networks that may be subverting dominant policy regimes, although potentially acknowledged within such a framework, also run a risk of being completely ignored. As a project interested in how gender policy operates in the practices of individuals in organisational environments, the focus needs to be turned towards the individual actors themselves and how these actors both reproduce and resist the power mechanisms and discourses of the dominant policy regimes.

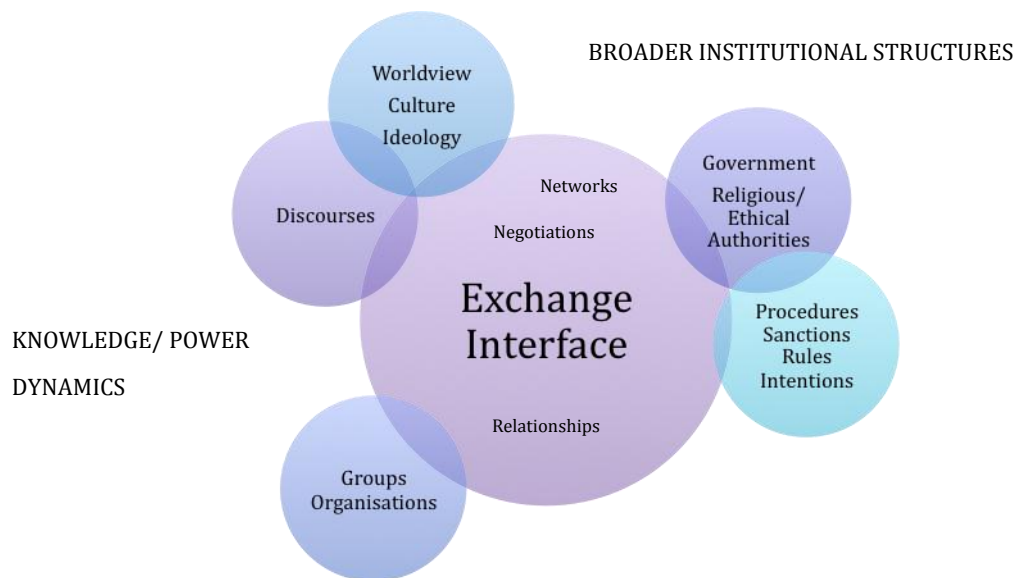
3.2.2. Actor-oriented approaches

Actor-oriented approaches overcome many of the limitations of governmentality. Through the analysis of case studies of rural development interventions, Norman Long and colleagues (Arce & Long, 2000; Long, 2001; Long & Long, 1992) have developed the actor-oriented approach as a conceptual framework oriented towards

exploring the interface between ‘external’ field agents and ‘local’ rural populations within the policy implementation process. The framework is specifically ‘actor-oriented’ because of its emphasis on the multiple and socially constructed meanings that various individuals bring to development projects and the ways in which these are produced and negotiated in practice. Long outlines three ‘guiding principles’ of an actor-oriented approach: ‘agency and social actors; the notion of multiple realities and arenas where different lifeworlds and discourses meet; and the idea of interface encounters in terms of discontinuities of interests, values, knowledge and power, and structural hegemony’ (N. Long & Ploeg, 1989: quoted in Sardan, 2005, p. 13).

The Figure below is an illustration of the various factors influencing development practice as described in Long’s paper for UNESCO (1999).

Figure 3.1: An illustration of Norman Long’s framework for an actor-oriented approach to development



In this illustration, the ‘exchange interface’ or ‘interface encounter’ between external field agents and local populations is placed at the centre of the analysis. Power dynamics and broader institutional structures act as surrounding influences, with more tangible and closer influences closer to the centre including discourses; government and religious authorities; the procedures, sanctions or rules that are often

dictated by government or religious authorities; constituencies or groups that actors may belong to; and actor's worldviews, cultural perspective and ideology. While this Figure represents a simplified version of the description provided by Long of the various factors influencing interface encounters, it highlights the role of these encounters at the centre of his analysis. Adapting the 'interface encounter' to the focus is this thesis on policy and practice, Long's framework provides a means of exploring how international and national gender policy discourses interface with the practices of development actors in their relationships and negotiations with other staff members, programme recipients, staff from partner NGOs, and the social and cultural environment in which they work.

Theoretically, actor-oriented approaches fulfil each of the criteria outlined above for a framework on how policy is practiced in development organisations. The framework takes a socially constructionist perspective and explicitly points to the ways in which policy is not a linear process, but rather part of the 'multiplicity of constructed and emergent realities' that make up social reality (Long, 2001, p. 2). Policy implementation is understood within actor-oriented approaches as an 'ongoing, social constructed and negotiated process, not simply the execution of an already-specified plan of action with expected outcomes' (Long & Long, 1992, p. 35). Within this process of negotiation, Long's framework provides a means of analysing policy as a set of discourses that reflect the particular worldview of the policy makers. This is able to capture the way that certain discourses dominate over others in policy texts, for example the dominance of medical representations of gender over rights-based representations in policy (Seidel, 1993).

Actor-oriented frameworks explicitly focus on micro-level practices through locating individuals in the 'lifeworlds in which they manage their everyday affairs' (Long, 2001, p. 24). Long suggests that an actor-oriented approach needs to be theoretically concerned with:

...the way in which different social actors manage and interpret new elements in their lifeworlds, and an analysis of how particular groups or individuals attempt to create space for themselves in order to pursue their own "projects" that may run

parallel to, or perhaps challenge, government programmes or the interests of other intervening parties. (Long, 2001, p. 24)

This draws attention to how practitioners often act as ‘brokers’ (Lewis & Mosse, 2006) between the theoretical positions being put forward through policy and the social/ cultural/ political environments in which they live and work. It also highlights how practitioners are not simply ‘extension agents’ but individuals with their own concerns, values and interests, all of which play a role in influencing the actions involved in policy practice:

Recognising that, within the limits of the information and resources they have and the uncertainties they face, individual and social groups are “knowledgeable” and “capable”; that is, they devise ways of solving, or if possible avoiding, “problematic situations”, and thus actively engage in constructing their own social worlds, even if this means being “active accomplices” to their own subordination. (Long, 2001, p. 24)

The emphasis of actor-oriented approaches on putting development actors at the centre of the policy implementation process also helps an actor-oriented framework to surface alternative perspectives or unforeseen events. By drawing on specific case studies of individual practices, there is potential for actions or ideas to arise that do not belong to previous assumptions about how interventions should be carried out or why they fail to succeed. In this way, actor-oriented approaches are easily aligned with an epistemological focus within gender studies on knowledge derived from lived experiences as a means of challenging preconceived social categories. Individual’s experiences of their daily lives has provided a means for gender theorists to investigate social phenomena that fall outside of gender differentiated categories or heteronormative ‘realities’. Actor-oriented approaches similarly focus on the ‘lifeworlds’ of individual actors as a means of understanding the ways in which policy is negotiated and socially constructed in daily practice. This meets the criteria for an appropriate theoretical framework outlined at the beginning of this chapter by creating the space necessary for different voices, perspectives and social experiences to be recognised and legitimised within an analysis of development practices.

However, while the central role of the development actor in actor-oriented approaches may be its greatest advantage, the analysis of gender politics – the gendered structures of power that are implicated at both a global and local level – is notably absent in Long's framework. Here I agree with Gledhill (1994) when he states that, 'actor-oriented approaches may help us break out of the structuralist-functional strait-jacket, but they also imprison us in a new one' (p.134). Much like the critique that has been made by gender scholars of international development as a field that ignores the gender implications of its practice, actor-oriented approaches adopt the same form of gender neutrality. I see this as stemming directly from the location of actor-oriented approaches within the field of rural development, which has resulted in the tendency to mirror the same absences of the development field in general.

As shown in Figure 3.1 above, actor-oriented approaches do incorporate broader relations of power as influential factors in interface encounters. However, throughout his work Long's consideration of the 'broader contexts of power' fails to consider gender as part of this broader context. As Hebinck, den Ouden and Verschoor (2001) recognise, Long frequently refers to 'cultural repertoires and social networks to show how social actors embed their actions, the strategies they devise and the choices they make about the social world in a social and cultural environment' (p. 6). Long himself has suggested that an actor-oriented approach needs to be theoretically concerned with 'an attempt to show how these organisational, strategic, and interpretive processes can influence (and themselves be influenced by) the broader context of power and social action' (Long, 2001, p. 24). However there is a persistent and notable absence of any analysis of gender politics in Long's analyses of rural development (1977), modernity (Arce & Long, 2000), and in the analyses of his followers (see the volume edited by Hebinck & Verschoor, 2001).

This absence of analysis of gender politics is most recognisable in a collection edited by Long in 1984 entitled: *Family and Work in Rural Societies: Perspectives on non-wage labour*. The volume focuses on the character and significance of non-wage labour (domestic and agricultural) in rural societies, and Long's introduction to the

edited volume mentions the obvious connections between non-wage labour, the division of labour between men and women (where men are more frequently associated with paid labour and women with non-paid), and the undervalued nature of unpaid domestic labour produced by women. However, in emphasising the household as a central unit of rural development, Long locates women as the wives of men in rural societies drawing on a binary notion of a household composed of one man and one woman with a shared livelihood objective, and fails to consider the roles, desires and experiences women may have outside of these conjugal arrangements. The division of labour is highlighted in the volume as a persistent inequality without any questioning of the reasons for this division and the non-value put on women's work. Equally, the social structures that marginalise women to domestic unpaid roles are not critiqued for the impact these have on women's lives, on their ability to choose different social roles, and on opportunities that may exist beyond the household. This ends up reifying the division of labour throughout the volume rather than challenging it or presenting alternatives. In the end, this is a book about the impacts of capitalist modes of production on rural existence, which ignores the impacts on women's health, happiness, and share in the distribution of resources beyond their roles as wives within a household unit.

This absence of gender politics persists throughout Long's description of the actor-oriented approach. Gender is most frequently described within Long's conceptual framework as a 'cultural' phenomenon that reproduces the division of labour between men and women, rather than a structural inequality that is deeply embedded within how knowledge about the social world is created and the institutionalised mechanisms that maintain these gender inequalities. So while Long sees 'markets, state institutions, technology, and ecology' as 'boundary markers that become targets for negotiation, reconsideration, sabotage and/ or change' (2001, p.63) for development actors, gender differences are relegated to cultural phenomena which Long emphasises need to be understood through the study of how 'specific actors deal with the problematic situations they encounter' (p. 57). In this way, the focus on authenticating the actor perspective in Long's approach essentially erases the social

structural mechanisms by which the gendered structures of power are produced and reproduced. The consequence of this is that while an actor-oriented analysis is able to recognise that there are gender inequalities within the cultural environment surrounding development actors and interface encounters, there is no ability to explain why this is the case or how change might occur (as is apparent in Long's analysis of non-wage labour discussed previously). While this absence of gender analysis is perhaps not a shortcoming of the work of Norman Long alone but the field of rural development at large, it does point to the necessity of adapting actor-oriented approaches in order to better account for gender politics within interface encounters.

As mentioned previously, in many ways Long's actor-oriented approach is well suited for the study of gender policy and practice. It is closely aligned with an epistemological focus on lived experience as the source of knowledge about the social world and a non-linear view of policy processes that see policy as contributing to heterogeneous rather than homogeneous social outcomes. However, as a result of the absence of a gender politics, actor-oriented approaches leave certain critical questions unanswerable for this thesis. For example: How have development practitioners negotiated differences between international gender policy and South African masculinities and femininities? How have practitioners used gender policies to address the intersections between gender and race or class? How do gendered relations of power impact on the interface between gender policy and its practice by development agents? In order to do these questions justice in this thesis, it is necessary to outline how actor-oriented approaches can be used to analyse the gender politics of the interface between gender policy and its practice.

3.3. A theory of gender for actor-oriented approaches

The remainder of this chapter is committed to exploring how a power relations analysis of gender can be better integrated into the actor-oriented approach in order to draw on its many strengths and tailor it to the specific needs of a study of the relationship between gender policy and practice. Drawing from the overview of actor-oriented approaches as they have been suggested by Long, and the critique of

international development summarised in the gender and development literature in *chapter two*, I suggest two main additions to the actor-oriented approach for this study. These additions draw on the description and illustration of interface encounters provided as Figure 3.1, which can be seen as composed of two levels that need to be ‘gendered’: one, an inner circle of the interface encounter and its proximate influences including discourses, culture and ideology; and two, an outer circle that situates the interface encounter within broader institutional and knowledge/power influences. I propose that this gendering of the interface encounter and its surrounding influences can be accomplished through: (1) shifting away from binary notions of gender to consider the heterogeneity of gender experience within the interface encounter and its proximate influences, and (2) integrating a gendered understanding of broader knowledge/ power dynamics. In proposing these particular additions, I am taking a particular theoretical position on gender – one that is consistent with the post-structural perspective adopted in this thesis. Below I outline what my suggestions add to the actor-oriented approach and summarise the contribution this makes to the study of gender policy and practice.

3.3.1. Considering heterogeneous gender categories

We experience gender in multiple ways, which are not considered in the interface encounters that rest at the heart of Long’s actor-oriented approach or by the problematic reliance within Long’s empirical work on a binary classification of men and women. As outlined in the critique of Long’s edited volume on rural development, an emphasis on women’s labour as supporting the livelihood needs of the rural household does not provide for any analysis of women’s lives outside of the household unit. It masks the ways in which women’s (and men’s) experiences, needs and desires often do not fit within the constraints of household dynamics or the preconceived social norms that dictate women’s roles within it. Long and colleagues analyse interface encounters for the cultural norms held about the differences between men and women by, for example, development agents and rural farmers. However, this fails to account for the way in which both rural farmers and development agents almost never reflect the idealised gender norms of their culture,

but are multiply positioned by differences amongst women and amongst men, and the way that gender is experienced through other social experiences of race, age, ability and/or social status.

The classification of men and women into separate binary groups with differential needs and experiences within empirical applications of the actor-oriented approach is a prime example of what gender scholar Raewyn Connell refers to as ‘categorical thinking’ (Connell, 1987). Connell and others have critiqued the ways that health, education, employment and policy from European-derived cultures have frequently assumed a binary classification of men’s and women’s bodies where masculinity and femininity are held as natural opposites (Connell, 2011). This binarism of the social body is not reflected in human biology (Fausto-Sterling, 2000), and is unable to grasp the gender differences that exist within gender categories. For example, it excludes consideration of differences that may exist between hegemonic and subordinate masculinities (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Connell, 1987), between individuals with different access to wealth and resources, or between individuals of different ‘racial identities’. An important critique to categorical thinking about gender arises from the work of Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991) who argued that the lived experiences of individuals often sits at the intersection of multiple identities and social inequalities. Crenshaw first introduced the notion of intersectionality as a means of *thinking across* gender, race and class categories in order to move beyond a gender analysis of social inequalities (Yuval-Davis, 2006). With this in mind, an important consideration for development policy and practice becomes its ability to recognise the multiple ways that gender is constituted across different social dynamics (including race and class), within gender categories (e.g. hegemonic and subordinate masculinities), and across time and space.

Accounting for the multiple ways we experience gender provides a means of moving beyond the binary classification of men’s and women’s bodies in Long’s actor-oriented approach, and developing a gendered approach to this analysis of the interface between gender policy and its practice by development actors. Rather than requiring a complete rethinking of the actor-oriented approach however, the binary

construction of gender within the actor-oriented approach is a conceptual limitation that is easily overcome within Long's existing theoretical framework. Long's emphasis on the heterogeneous nature of social life within the actor-oriented approach provides a means of considering the diversity of experience, even if Long himself did not include gender as part of this heterogeneity. As Long states in outlining the actor-oriented approach:

I am interested, that is, in analysing the heterogeneous social and discursive practices enacted and interpreted by social actors in the making and remaking of their lives and those of others. (Long, 2001, p. 49)

Including gender as a 'heterogeneous social and discursive practice' would be consistent with the way gender scholars have recognised gender as a social phenomenon constituted across different social dynamics, both within gender categories and across time and space. Long defines heterogeneity as 'the generation and co-existence of multiple social forms within the same context or same scenario of problem-solving, which offer alternative solutions to similar problems' (2001, p. 51). This definition of heterogeneity provides a means of understanding gender not as a single binary categorisation of men and women's bodies, but as a heterogeneous social form. It also allows gender to be understood as central to the social and discursive practices that make up the interface encounter rather than, as in Long's empirical studies, a cultural phenomenon that may be a source of conflict within such encounters.

This opens up the possibilities for using an actor-oriented approach to understand the interface between gender policy and its practice by development agents in South Africa. By taking gender as a heterogeneous social and discursive practice within the interface encounters between policy and practice (and not as a cultural phenomenon as in Long's conceptual framework), the discursive gender practices embedded within policy can be identified. An example of one such discourse is the binary classification of gender as men's and women's bodies (discussed previously). The discourses within a policy framework can then be analysed for the constraints or new possibilities for other gender discourses in the interface with practice. For example, a

dominant classification of gender as binary within policy paradigms may constrain the possibilities for forms of masculinity and femininity that do not fit within this binary to be recognised within practice. Taking gender as a heterogeneous social practice that varies across time and space equally allows for an exploration of how masculinities and femininities have been defined and changed through the legacy of apartheid in South Africa. The extent to which gender policy and the practice of development agents recognises the role of history in constructing South African femininities and masculinities thus becomes a point for possible investigation.

3.3.2. Integrating gender into knowledge and power dynamics

Long's attention to authenticating the actor perspective in actor-oriented approaches leaves the approach open to the critique that it ignores the social structural mechanisms by which gender inequalities are produced and reproduced. Long himself has recognised and refuted the critique that actor-oriented approaches ignore the social structures of power:

Although the word 'interface' tends to convey the image of some kind of two-sided articulation of face-to-face confrontation, social interface situations are more complex and multiple in nature, containing within them many different interests, relationships and modes of rationality and power. While the analysis focuses on points of confrontation and social difference, it must situate these within broader institutional and knowledge/ power domains. (Long, 2001, p. 66)

For Long, interface encounters must be situated within the broader knowledge/power domains as illustrated in Figure 3.1 earlier in this chapter. However, since gender is seen by Long as existing within cultural phenomenon, it is not located among these broader knowledge/power dynamics. In examples of the broader domains of power/knowledge relevant for interface encounters, Long makes references to economic inequalities and market rationalities, in other words to how Liberal forms of knowledge about the market can reproduce existing forms of power between the global North and South. Gender needs to be incorporated into the power/knowledge domains of Long's actor-oriented approach in order to make it a useful framework for understanding gender policy and practice.

Within gender studies, the work of Judith Butler provides a means of understanding how gender can and should be integrated into these surrounding social structures. Drawing on Foucault's mutually constitutive notions of power/knowledge (Foucault, 1989), Judith Butler (1990) argues that our knowledge of the biological categories of men and women is socially constructed and inscribed onto the physical body rather than inherently drawn from it. In other words, dichotomous categories of male and female do not have an underlying reality or logic that can be held onto or known, but are socially produced through relations of power. Our knowledge of men and women as a social category is therefore connected to the power to define sexed categories and binary experience. For Butler, this social production of sexed categories is produced and maintained via the power of a heteronormative construction of society. It is the heteronormative ideal of men and women as distinct and complementary, present in our knowledge of binary sex categories as well as a wide range of other social gender norms, that reproduces current relations of power. This has implications for homosexual identity politics in explaining the reasons for a constant fight against a heteronormative ideal, but it also has implications for heterosexual identities in explaining the drive for conformity to complementary heteronormative ideals: homosexual/ heterosexual, masculinity/ femininity, and men/women with their inherently 'oppositional' social roles, 'different' sexual desires and 'different' emotional needs. This is not just an issue to be taken up in queer politics, but has broad implications for all individuals in defining themselves in relation to their physical body and in searching for a partner that then 'balances them out' or 'complements' their needs and desires.

This has several implications for analysing the power/knowledge component of the interface encounter between gender policy and practice. As Long states in the previous quote, the interface needs to be situated within power/knowledge domains. These power/knowledge domains include gendered power/knowledge (i.e. the role of gendered knowledge in maintaining the power dynamics of heteronormative complementarities of masculine/feminine, man/woman, heterosexual/homosexual) as much as they include the dynamics of the global political economy considered by

Long. In other words, the work of Butler shows us that knowledge about both gender and sex plays a role in maintaining gender politics that position men as more powerful than women by defining forms of masculinity and femininity, or categories of male and female that support these gender politics, insisting on masculinity-femininity/ men-women as complementary categories. This has implications for analysing the interface between policy and practice because of the role both policy and practice can play in confirming a categorical notion of gender categories as complementary and distinct.

However, while Butler is helpful in theorising the way that gender power/knowledge maintain complementary notions of the masculine-feminine or male-female, her arguments are less helpful in theorising how these forms of power/knowledge are being challenged. In contrast, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) provide a useful account of the tendency for masculinities to change over time and mentions their own hope that masculinities that do not reproduce gender hierarchies might one day become hegemonic (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Several studies explore how masculinities have indeed shifted and changed within South Africa (for example Morrell 1998; Hunter 2011). In Hunter's (2011) account, 'isoka masculinity' or the celebration of multiple partners for men but not for women is not a fixed gender norm but rather resulted in part from the promotion of male-led 'traditional' institutions by colonial authorities. The influence of colonialism on forms of masculinity in Hunter's study shows us that masculinity is not a fixed ideal but a social category that is influenced by social/ historical events or phenomenon.

Building on this example, another study of the changing nature of masculinities by Demetriou (2001) points to how changes in masculinities can also challenge not just reproduce forms of masculinity. As an example, Demetriou discusses how non-hegemonic masculinities (specifically gay masculinities) have come to influence and change hegemonic forms of masculinity through a 'hybrid' adoption of gay signifiers (e.g. men wearing earrings or dressiness) into heterosexual cultural norms. These studies help to theorise the power/knowledge component of interface encounters not only as creating and maintaining gender hierarchies, but also the ways these

power/knowledge dynamics are being altered and adjusted, as evident in empirical studies of masculinities.

Analysing the effects of the interface encounter between gender policy and practice in light of the gender politics theorised by Butler and Connell allows for new questions to be asked about such encounters: In what ways is policy acting to confirm or maintain current forms of masculinity/ femininity in its relationship with practice? Does development practice reaffirm or transform the masculinities/ femininities found in gender policy? What space is being created for new forms of masculinity or femininity to arise? In the interface between policy and development practitioners, forms of knowledge that reaffirm gender politics in a particular context – for example by positioning men as heads of the household or the perpetrators of violence (or by challenging these ideas through creating space for new forms of masculinity or femininity) – may either be affirmed in development practice or transformed and challenged. In this way, situating the interface encounter within gendered forms of power/knowledge dynamics provides a useful tool for exploring how gender politics shape and define various aspects of gender policy and the practice of development actors.

3.4. Contribution to the study of gender policy and practice

Summarising the argument I make in this chapter, Long's actor-oriented approach provides a helpful means of analysing the relationship between gender policy and practice in South Africa as an interface encounter. This provides a means of connecting the micro-level practices of development agents involved in implementing gender interventions to the macro-level discourses of gender policy at an international and national level. In sections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2, I have outlined two ways in which this interface encounter and its surrounding power/knowledge dynamics need to be gendered for this study: (1) through considering the heterogeneity of gender experience, including the multiple forms of masculinity and femininity and the ways these intersect with other social inequalities including race and class; and (2) integrating a conceptualisation of how power/knowledge dynamics

construct ideas about gender that create and maintain a hierarchal form of gender relations.

This theoretical framework helps to achieve both aims of this thesis. It addresses the first aim of *mapping the relationship between gender and development policy and practice in South Africa* by providing a theoretical tool in Long's interface encounter for studying the relationship itself. Taking policy and practice as an interface encounter allows for an analysis of how development actors are either adopting or not adopting gender policy discourses within their practice or in the networks and relationships that exist between practitioners. It provides the opportunity for the analysis to focus on the specific nature of not just policy or just practice, but the relationship between the two.

The second aim of *exploring the effects of gender policy and practice on gender politics* is addressed through drawing on the two gender-specific suggested changes to Long's framework. Adding gender knowledge/power dynamics to the analysis of the interface encounter between gender policy and practice helps to pinpoint whether categorical notions of gender are present in the South African context and whether these are acting to reproduce existing power relations (e.g. masculinity as dominant and femininity as subservient). The notion of heterogeneity provides a complementary tool for analysing gender practice in light of the alternative possibilities that may exist for gender experience. Rather than assuming that only one type of gendered experience is possible, the concept of heterogeneity provides a means of considering whether the interface between gender policy and practice contains opportunities for alternative gender experiences to arise (for example, through opening up the possibilities for alternative masculinities or femininities that are not based on domination of the masculine form).

In order to provide a more concrete example, it is helpful to outline how I draw on the theoretical framework in the analysis of data presented in *chapters five, six and seven*, which address the research questions posed at the end of *chapter two*.

Responding to the first question of how gender has been framed as an issue for South African development in international policy, in *chapter five* I trace the different

discursive frames of thinking that are being drawn on in gender policy for the development field in South Africa. This maps the policy component of the interface encounter between gender policy and practice in South Africa, providing an outline of relevant policy frames, which are then drawn on in subsequent chapters. Responding to the second question of how gender policy operates in the practices of actors in South African development organisations, in *chapter six* I explore the interface between gender policy frames and the practices being carried out by development actors as they try to obtain buy-in of communities and individuals for gendered social change, debate positions on how to tackle gender concerns with others in the field, and seek out opportunities for gender transformation. This looks at the interface between gender policy and practice from the practice perspective, describing the specifics of how gender policy is being used by practitioners to achieve their objectives. Responding to the third question of the effects of how gender policy operates in practice on gender politics, in *chapter seven* I explore three specific characteristics of the interface between gender policy and practice in order to draw conclusions about whether this relationship supports the recognition of gender identities that challenge rather than confirm categorical notions of gender. This draws on characteristics of the interface encounter identified in *chapters five and six*, and analyses these characteristics in context of the power/knowledge dynamics that constitute South Africa's gender politics. In the following chapter, I explain the methodology that was used to arrive at the findings presented in *chapters five, six and seven*.

4. The study

4.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodology and research design for the study of gender policy and practice in this thesis. I start by discussing three epistemological principles that guide the study and how they are aligned with the theoretical framework presented in *chapter three*. I then introduce the research design, followed by two sections on data collection and analysis respectively. The data were collected using a combination of qualitative interviews, policy documentation, the collection of relevant website content and list serve postings, researcher participation in the research environment, and the recording of a research journal. The data were then analysed through an interpretive policy frame analysis of relevant policy documents, website materials and list serve postings, and a thematic network analysis of the interview data and organisational materials related to the gender practices of development actors. The final section of the chapter is committed to exploring my own experience of the research process, reflecting critically on how my position has informed the various components of this research study.

4.1.1. Studying policy and practice

The methodology of this study can be identified as a *multisite interpretive study of gender and development policy and practice in South Africa*. Previous studies of policy in development organisations have drawn largely on ethnography as a data collection tool (see Long (1977, 1984, 2001), Mosse (2004), Lewis (2010), and Ferguson (1990)). This study deviates from the single site ethnographic approach to policy in development used by Long and others, and takes a multisite approach to the study of policy following Shore and Wright (1997; 2011). According to Shore and Wright (1997), the advantage of a multisite approach over single site ethnographies for a study of policy is the ability to ‘trace policy connections between different organisational and everyday worlds even where actors in different sites do not know each other or share a moral universe’ (ibid., p.14). A multisite approach provides a means of accounting for the ‘multi-layered, multi-ethnic, highly diverse and often

contentious groups that now characterise human existence’ (Lecompte, 2002, p. 287). For this thesis, a multisite approach allows the study of gender policy and practice to be fully disentangled from the linear assumptions and progressive expectations of policy (one of the major limitations of previous studies of gender policy processes mentioned in *chapter two*), and remain open to the gender practices that may be occurring entirely outside of specific policy prescriptions or funding channels.

Policies are defined in the approach outlined by Shore and Wright not as documents or government statements but rather ‘contested narratives which define the problems of the present in such a way as to either condemn or condone the past, and project one viable pathway to its resolution’ (Shore & Wright, 2011, p. 13). These various narratives become objects of analysis because of how policy is able to create ‘links between agents, institutions, technologies and discourses and brings all these diverse elements into alignment’ (ibid. p. 11). Within this definition, both the policy written by international and national stakeholders and the practice of gender interventions by development actors are taken as part and parcel of gender policy processes. This takes a broad conception of those involved in policy-making to include the ‘governed as well as the governors’ (ibid, p.12); development practitioners are involved in their own process of interpreting and reshaping gender policy in order to put it into practice. In this way development practitioners also belong to the range of people and organisations involved in producing and reproducing the contested narratives of policy.

Drawing from Shore and Wright’s multisite approach, this study of gender and development policy in South Africa draws on a series of smaller sites where policy narratives are being presented and contested, in order to ‘open windows onto larger processes of political transformation’ (Shore & Wright, 2011, p. 12). A ‘site’ is used here to refer not to geographic but rather organisational locations where different policy objectives and strategies may be used. The sites selected for this study include bilateral donors to gender in South Africa, the Commission for Gender Equality (CGE), the women’s movement in South Africa, and 26 South African development

organisations. While some of these research sites were selected in advance, many of the specific sites were selected through tracing networks and connections between gender interventions, areas of practice (the AIDS sector or organisations working with men, for example), and relationships between practitioners and organisations, donors and with other practitioners. The site selection and methods designed for this study were also informed by my involvement as a research consultant in a gender project in South Africa at the same time as data collection was taking place. I provide more details of the specific data collection procedures in section 4.3.

4.1.2. Epistemology

Epistemology refers to the study of the origin of knowledge, how knowledge is constructed, where it resides, and essentially how we come to know what we know (Hofer & Pintrich, 2002). By outlining the epistemologies that support this thesis I hope to provide greater clarity around the assumptions I am making about social knowledge and what needs to be investigated in order to come to a better understanding of the relationship between gender policy and practice in South Africa. This helps to explain the rationale behind the study's design. Three epistemological notions define this thesis and its methodology. Firstly, the study draws on an interpretivist epistemology in putting emphasis on human interpretation and subjective meaning (Yanow, 2000, 2007). Secondly, the interpretation of meaning is accomplished via social actors drawing on available discourses, each of which acts as a claim to 'truth' about the social world (Foucault, 2002). Lastly, gender politics are about power, which plays a role in producing and maintaining current gender relations consistent with a post-structuralist epistemology.

The interpretive epistemology in this thesis involves taking the meaning of social subjects as a viable source of knowledge about the social world. From an interpretivist perspective, the social world is characterised by the 'possibilities of multiple interpretations' (Yanow, 2000, p. 5). The aim of an interpretivist study is therefore to capture the various interpretations that are being assigned to a particular social object – in this case, gender. In drawing on an interpretive approach for this study, I am emphasising the need to understand the interpretation of gender policy by

the social actors involved in gender and development practice in South Africa. The focus in this methodology is therefore on ‘actor-oriented’ understandings of the social world, alluding to the actor-oriented approaches and insights from Long summarised in *Chapter three*. This entails paying attention to the practices being used by development actors and the meanings they attribute to gender policy as a viable and important means of theorising the relationship between gender policy and practice in development organisations. This has methodological implications for the selection of development actors as research subjects (section 4.3.2), and for the thematic analysis of the interview data (section 4.4.2).

While understanding the meaning produced by social agents is a central aim of this study’s methodology, meaning is also understood as situated within a set of discourses or ‘truth claims’ about the social world. As stated in the preface to this thesis, a post-structural perspective assumes that ‘truth’ cannot be known or understood. Rather, truth is defined through its relationship to power following Foucault’s conceptualisation of knowledge as a series of truth-claims made according to the forms of power circulating at a particular time and location. The epistemological foundation of power/knowledge, or the way that we can observe this relationship is through discourse. Discourses are the particular truth-claims made about social phenomenon through language as well as through social practice or behaviour. So while physical actions and objects exist, how we come to know these objects is through discourse (Hall, 1997). Gregory Feldman (2011) suggests that studying the discourses that enable, organise and integrate disparate policy practices provides a means of capturing the non-observable, ‘amorphous character’ of policy domains (p. 33). This means that the meaning attributed to gender policy by development actors is not found through asking direct questions such as ‘what does policy mean to you?’, but rather through connecting the discourses found in policy to those found in practice, taking particular note of how these discourses are being used and whether they are being adopted or resisted. This methodological interest in policy discourses (also referred to in this thesis as discursive policy frames) is taken up in the analysis of policy documents outlined in section 4.4.1, and in the analysis

of gender practices arising from the interviews and organisational materials outlined in section 4.4.2.

As a means of identifying the meaning of gender produced through the forms of power circulating at a particular time and location, discourses also provide a means of analysing the effects of gender policy and practice on gender politics (one of the central aims of the study). As outlined in *chapter three*, power/ knowledge plays a role in producing and maintaining a discourse of gender as a binary of men/ women, masculine/ feminine. Identifying how this discourse is being drawn on by development actors in their daily practices provides a means of understanding how these actors may in turn be reproducing existing gender norms and inequalities. For example by drawing on binary notions of gender, development actors may be reproducing understandings of men and women as complementary in ways that maintain rather than challenge gender inequalities. In contrast, resistance to the dominance of categorical gender discourses may be evident in alternative discourses being used by development actors, for example those that open up opportunities for the recognition of different forms of masculinity and femininity beyond complementary social categories. This allows, for example, the recognition of masculinities that are not based on dominance over a feminine counterpart through development practice. Identifying the discourses that are dominant within gender policy and how development actors may be resisting this dominance has important implications for the final stages of the thematic analysis outlined in section 4.4.2.

4.2. Research design

Research design refers to the specific details of how the research study has been carried out. In this section I outline the details of how the data were collected and analysed in order to address the three research questions posed at the end of *chapter two*. The data collection and data analysis for this study has been designed specifically to address these questions, as shown in Table 4.1 below:

Table 4.1: Research questions, data collection and data analysis

Research question	Data Collection	Data Analysis
1. How has gender been framed as an issue for South African development in policy?	Collection of gender policy documents including: official policy documents of bilateral donors and multinational INGOs, official South African government policy documents, organisational materials, and gender-focused list serve postings.	Interpretive policy analysis (Yanow 2000)
2. How does gender policy operate in the practices of actors in South African development organisations?	In-depth interviews with 32 development practitioners Collection of organisational materials (training and promotional brochures and documents)	Thematic network analysis (Attride-Stirling 2001)
3. What are the effects of how gender policy operates in practice on gender politics?	Gender-focused list serve postings	

4.2.1. Initial plans and alterations

In order to try and answer the research questions above, I travelled to South Africa in September 2010 under the sponsorship of the Health Economics and HIV/AIDS Research Division (HEARD) at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) to begin my doctoral study. Originally, I had planned to study one particular policy – gender mainstreaming – and explore how it was being implemented through the practice of development organisations in South Africa. The study originally proposed to UKZN was to investigate the practice of gender mainstreaming policy through: (1) a survey of development organisations in the country, and (2) in-depth interviews with gender practitioners in order to identify the discourses being used in the practice of mainstreaming gender. The first step in the research process was to carry out the survey in order to assess which organisations had gone through a process of gender mainstreaming (i.e. to what extent it was being taken up in the practice of development organisations), and to then use the survey results to select interview participants.

The survey was distributed through two online list serves that are circulated among gender organisations in South Africa: GAIN and NGO Pulse. Initial results of the survey showed that gender practitioners appeared not to be carrying out gender mainstreaming. Only 13 of 51 respondents to this survey about gender mainstreaming had actually undertaken a gender mainstreaming process. This finding was further confirmed through three pilot interviews carried out with practitioners: the executive director of a capacity-building organisation, the gender coordinator of a Christian development organisation, and an independent gender consultant. By all three practitioners, gender mainstreaming was identified as problematic. As a study interested in the practice of gender mainstreaming policy, the absence of its practice meant that the focus of the study had to change. However, the limited amount of gender mainstreaming practice provided an opportunity to further explore why this policy had not been adopted in South Africa and how this related to other gender policies being suggested by donors.

Against this background, I reoriented my study to examine the field of gender policy related to development in South Africa and the various competing gender policy discourses that make up this contested political space. As a first step towards this I broadened my policy analysis to include a range of different types of policy sites: bilateral donors to gender in South Africa, the Commission for Gender Equality (CGE), and the women's movement in South Africa. The interviews with South African development organisations were also considered part of these policy sites and my interview guide was adapted accordingly. This was intended to help overcome the limitations of a focus on gender mainstreaming by first identifying the various ways in which gender and gender equality were being defined for the field of development in South Africa.

4.3. Data collection

Data collection is used here to refer to the process of obtaining information about the practice of gender policy in a systematic way that is consistent with the study's overall epistemology. In following the data collection principles of multisite study outlined by Shore & Wright (1997), the focus is on capturing 'webs and relations

between actors, institutions and discourses across time and space' (p. 14) or what Shore and Wright refer to more specifically as 'policy communities'. This requires the collection of data at multiple locations in order to account for 'the interactions (and disjunctures) between different sites and levels in the policy process' (ibid., p.14). In identifying what data could be relevant, Shore and Wright (2011) suggest asking the question: 'what is the range of organisations and categories of people that could become involved in any process of contestation over the policy in question?' (p.11) The data collected for the study of gender policy in South Africa therefore needed to be multi-tiered (collected from different levels of the policy process (international, national and local) and draw on multiple sites (differently located organisations and social actors). Following these principles of data collection, three distinct techniques were used for data collection in this study (included in the study's timeline in Table 4.2 below).

1. Collection of relevant policy documents pertaining to gender and development in South Africa, including relevant website context, and list serve postings from two gender networks circulated among the South African gender and development community (AWID and GAIN);
2. Interviews with 32 gender practitioners working in 26 development organisations in two phases: Phase 1 from October to December 2010, and Phase 2 from May to June 2011;
3. Collection of supporting materials (organisational pamphlets, training manuals and brochures)

While these three data collection techniques are described as separate in the description provided in sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2, they were overlapping and mutually supportive of one another in practice.

Table 4.2: Research study timeline

	2010												2011												2012						
	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March	April	May	June	July				
Draft Chapter 1				■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■																				
FIRST YEAR REVIEW	■																														
Draft Chapter 2	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■																				
UPGRADE											■																				
Draft Chapter 3												■	■	■																	
Draft Chapter 4				■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■																				
IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS							■	■	■	■	■	■		■	■																
SUPPORTING MATERIALS							■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■										
POLICY DOCUMENTS																		■	■	■	■	■									
Draft Chapter 5												■	■	■	■																
DATA ANALYSIS												■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■										
Draft Chapter 6, 7 & 8																		■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■					
Writing-up/ editing																						■	■	■	■	■	■				
SUBMIT																											■				

4.3.1. Gender and development policy documents

Relevant gender and development policy documents were identified through considering which organisations would be involved in contestation over gender policy in South Africa (following Shore and Wright (2011) cited previously). This consideration was made at three levels: international, national and local. The identification of the key policy actors at each of these levels reflects the mapping of the field of gender and development in South Africa outlined in *chapter one* of this thesis. At the international level, bilateral donors provide the most significant amount of funding to development organisations in order to carry out gender interventions in South Africa. The top ten bilateral donors are therefore all considered to be key stakeholders in the development of gender and development policy for South Africa with financial allocations in 2009 ranging between \$USD 4 million (Canada) and \$USD 27.9 million (United Kingdom). Large multinational NGOs also represent key stakeholders in this context with CARE International reporting spending of \$USD 263 million across the entire African continent in 2010, and Oxfam with a global spend of \$275.1 million in 2010/ 2011. At the national level, South Africa has two government gender-related machineries: the Ministry of Women, Children and People with Disability (MWCPD) (which replaced the Office on the Status of Women (OSW)) and the Commission on Gender Equality (CGE). At a local level, a number of women's groups in South Africa are involved in sharing information and suggesting platforms for action or collaboration through two women-focused email-based list serves (AWID and GAIN). Postings to these list serves provide an indication of the types of discourses being used in discussing gender policy at the local level.

The documents selected as data for analysis were chosen based on the following criteria:

Table 4.3: Inclusion criteria for policy documentation

Inclusion criteria
Documents of bilateral or multinational funding organisations to gender programmes in South Africa <i>Specifications: See Table 4.4</i>
Covers the time period of this study (2009-2011) <i>Exceptions: Not all bilateral donors had publically accessible policy documents for this time period. In these cases additional recent supporting evidence was included (e.g. through brochures, project summaries) along with previous policy documents</i>
Gender-specific policy documents <i>Exceptions: Official policy documents were selected for all bilateral donors with the exception of the Netherlands and Belgium, where these were unavailable. In these cases relevant website materials were drawn on.</i>
Gender documents for the South African MWCPD and CGE <i>Specifications: Annual reports for 2010-2011 provided the data for these organisations.</i>

Using these criteria, 14 policy documents were selected for the international and national level (see Table 4.4 below). Website content for donors and organisations at all levels was used when needed in support of the various policy documents. At the international level, special attention was paid to the UK's Department for International Development as South Africa's largest donor on gender and development issues. This involved making contact with the gender policy specialist located at DFID South Africa and putting in a request for gender relevant policy documents produced by DFID since 1996. Ten additional documents were added to the selection as a result of this process (included in red in Table 4.4).

Table 4.4: Selected policy documents

Authoring organisation	Name of Document/ Source
United Kingdom Department for International Development (DFID)	<p><i>DFID UK, Gender Equality Action Plan 2007-2010, DFID Practice Paper (February 2007)</i></p> <p><i>DFID UK, Gender Equality Action Plan 2007-2009: Making faster progress to gender equality, February 2007</i></p> <p><i>DFID Gender Equality Action Plan: Africa Division 2009-2012</i></p> <p><i>DFID Gender Equality Action Plan: First progress report 2007/2008</i></p> <p><i>DFID Gender Equality Action Plan: First progress report 2008/2009</i></p> <p><i>DFID Gender Equality Action Plan: Third progress report 2009/2010</i></p> <p><i>Thornton, Albertyn, Bertelsmann-Scott, Vaillant & Vickery (2010), DFID's Southern Africa country programme, Evaluation Report 2004-2009, April 2010</i></p> <p><i>PowerPoint Presentation: DFID South Africa gender operational plan 2011- 2015 with references (shared 11/16/2011)</i></p> <p><i>PowerPoint Presentation: Annex 2, DFID South Africa gender operational plan with references (shared 11/16/2011)</i></p> <p><i>Information note: Addressing gender-based violence in South Africa, DFID South Africa, Pretoria (shared 11/16/2011)</i></p> <p><i>Informational brochure: A new strategic vision for women and girls: stopping poverty before it starts, DFID UK, London, 2011</i></p>
Germany (BMZ) Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development	<p><i>Development Policy Action Plan on Gender 2009 – 2012</i></p>
Germany (DEG) KfW Entwicklungsbank	<p><i>The Gender Strategy of KfW Entwicklungsbank: Gender equality is a key topic in the fight against poverty (2011)</i></p>

Authoring organisation	Name of Document/ Source
<p>Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs</p>	<p>Website: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands (English version), Retrieved 15 February 2012, Available at: http://www.minbuza.nl/en/key-topics/development-cooperation/dutch-development-policy/millennium-development-goals-mdgs/dutch-aim-for-mdg-3</p> <p>Website: AWID, Interview with Robert Dijksterhuis, Head of Gender Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, Retrieved 19 April 2012, Available at: http://awid.org/Library/The-Centrality-of-Investing-in-Women-s-Rights-Organisations-and-Leadership-The-Launch-of-the-Dutch-FLOW-Fund</p>
<p>Finland Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland</p>	<p><i>Women and Gender Equality in Finnish Development Cooperation</i> (02/21/2011), Retrieved 19 April 2012, Available at: http://formin.finland.fi/public/default.aspx?contentid=213505&nodeid=34605&contentlan=2&culture=en-US</p> <p><i>Strategy and Action Plan for Promoting Gender Equality in Finland's Policy for Developing Countries 2003-2007</i></p>
<p>Ireland Irish AID</p>	<p><i>Gender Equality Policy</i> (2004)</p> <p>Murray, Swaine & Doody. <i>Gender Equality Policy: Review Report Executive Summary</i>. (2010)</p>
<p>France Ministère des affaires étrangères et européennes</p>	<p><i>French Strategy for Gender Equality</i> (2010)</p>
<p>Belgium</p>	<p>Website: Kingdom of Belgium Foreign Trade and Development Cooperation, Retrieved 15 February 2012, http://diplomatie.belgium.be</p>
<p>Sweden Swedish International Development Agency (Sida)</p>	<p><i>On Equal Footing: Policy for gender equality and the rights and role of women in Sweden's international development cooperation 2010-2015</i></p>
<p>Canada Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA)</p>	<p><i>Gender Equality 2010-2013</i></p>
<p>South Africa Ministry of Women, Children and People with Disabilities (MWCPD)</p>	<p>MWCPD Annual report 2010-2011</p>

Authoring organisation	Name of Document/ Source
South Africa Commission of Gender Equality (CGE)	CGE Annual report 2010-2011
CARE International	Website: www.care.org , Retrieved 17 April 2012
OXFAM International	Programme Insights: <i>Policy, Advocacy, and Programming on the Africa Woman's Protocol: Overview of Oxfam GB's support to women's rights organisations and government stakeholders in Southern Africa</i> . Oxfam GB, Oxford, UK (February 2008) Website: Oxfam, Retrieved 25 February 2012, www.oxfam.org.uk

Local level list serve postings to two gender email list serves produced by the Association for Women's Rights in Development (based in Canada with a focus on southern Africa) and the Association of Progressive Communications (based in Cape Town) were collected over a one-year period from October 17, 2010 until October 16, 2011. A total of 458 postings were collected.

4.3.2. Interviews with gender practitioners

As outlined in the research study timeline included as Table 4.2, 32 interviews with gender practitioners occurred over two separate time periods. The initial 20 interviews covered the greater metropolitan areas of Durban (including Pietermaritzburg) and Johannesburg. The subsequent 12 interviews included Cape Town and its surrounding areas. The purpose of the interviews was to identify and explore the types of gender interventions, strategies and practices being used by development practitioners in South Africa. The interviews followed a semi-structured thematic guide drawing on a series of questions about the practice-based experience of carrying out gender interventions. I often raised challenging perspectives garnered from other interviews or my participant observations in interviews in order to encourage debate and provoke different competing discourses being used by practitioners. As a result of this approach, the topic guide (a thematically organised list of potential questions for the interviews) was an evolving piece that changed over the course of the data collection period (a version of the final

topic guide is included as Appendix 1). I made journal entries after each interview to take account of any observations from the organisational or interview environment, first impressions, or insights. Rather than trying to remain objective in the research process, the journals follow the advice of Walkerdine (1997), utilising the researcher's subjectivity 'as a feature of the research process' (p. 59). The journals therefore provided a means of positioning myself in relation to the participants' perspectives on the successes and challenges they had experienced in implementing gender policy. Details of how the journals were used in this way are provided in section 4.5. An example from these journal entries is included in Appendix 4.

Interview Sampling: Interview participants were selected using a combination of purposive and snowball sampling techniques. An initial sample of development practitioners were selected based on the organisations they worked for. Relevant organisations for the initial sample were identified through an independent directory of development organisations in South Africa: www.prodder.org.za. This database was searched for all organisations that listed 'gender' as one of their core activities. This process generated 78 organisations. The following inclusion/ exclusion criteria were then applied to this initial list of organisations:

Table 4.5: Inclusion/ exclusion criteria for interview participants

Inclusion criteria	Exclusion criteria
Organisation funded through international development donors	Research or academic organisations focused on gender but that do not have gender interventions/ programmes
Organisation has one or more programmes focused on objectives related to 'gender' or 'women'	
Head office located in South Africa	

The final list contained 46 organisations. A request was made to each of these organisations by phone for an interview with one of their staff members. As a result of this process 22 interviews were carried out. This initial group of interviewees was then asked for contacts in other development organisations that were conducting gender-related programmes or initiatives. This technique was used in order to leverage the natural network of gender practitioners working within development

organisations in South Africa, and therefore to identify those who had already existing relationships in order to trace the connections between organisations and differences between ‘different lifeworlds’ as suggested by Shore and Wright (1997). At this stage, additional interview participants were also purposively selected in order to ensure a wide range of different types of gender-related programmes and activities, and different perspectives/ discourses about these activities were considered. This involved stratifying participants across different organisational types (i.e. advocacy, legal, community-based, community-focused, health, governance, media, men’s involvement, LGBT, and creative arts); different organisational hierarchies (i.e. executive director, management, field workers); gender; age; cultural, religious and racial affiliation, and location (urban/ rural, province). The total number of individual interviewed was 32. The final list of these 32 interview participants and their relevant demographics is outlined in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: Relevant demographics of research participants

	Organisation type	Position	Location of interview	Gender identity	Age	Cultural/ religious/ group identities (if and as mentioned)
1	Advocacy	Executive Director	Johannesburg centre	Woman	30-40	Black African
2	Legal	Executive Director	Pietermaritzburg	Woman	40-50	
3	Drama for Development	Executive Director	Berea	Man	40-50	
4	Community-based	Executive Director	Essenwood	Woman	30-40	Xhosa
5	Medical NGO	Programmes Manager	Mount Edgecombe	Woman	30-40	
6	Community-focused	Co-Director	Durban centre	Woman	30-40	Zulu
7	Community-focused	Programme Lead	Durban centre	Woman	30-40	Zulu
8	Community-focused	Co-Director	Durban centre	Woman	40-50	

	Organisation type	Position	Location of interview	Gender identity	Age	Cultural/religious/group identities (if and as mentioned)
9	Education & Development	Researcher	Glenwood	Woman	30-40	
10	Health & Development	Director	Durban centre	Woman	40-50	
11	Health & Development	Programme Lead	Durban centre	Man	30-40	
12	Microfinance	Executive Director	Pietermaritzburg	Man	40-50	Afrikaans
13	Faith-based organisation	Gender & HIV Manager	Pietermaritzburg	Woman	30-40	
14	Advocacy	Gender & Women's Rights Programme Manager	Johannesburg centre	Woman	30-40	
15	Technology & Development	Programme Lead	Johannesburg centre	Woman	20-30	Northern Sotho/ Rasta
16	Gender-based violence/ HIV	Counsellor Supervisor	Johannesburg centre	Woman	30-40	Jewish
17	Gender-based violence/ HIV	Programme Director	Johannesburg centre	Woman	30-40	Pedi
18	Legal	Researcher & Policy Analyst	Johannesburg centre	Woman	40-50	
19	Men's organisation	Field worker	Johannesburg centre	Man	20-30	
20	Gender-based violence	Programme Lead	Glenwood	Woman	30-40	
21	Gender-based violence/ HIV	Advocacy	Via phone (Johannesburg)	Woman	20-30	
22	Women's Support services	Executive Director	Bloubergstrand	Woman	30-40	Afrikaans
23	Rural women's project	Executive Director	Stellenbosch	Woman	40-50	

	Organisation type	Position	Location of interview	Gender identity	Age	Cultural/religious/group identities (if and as mentioned)
24	Gender-based violence	Crisis Supervisor	Manenberg	Woman	20-30	
25	Research	Gender Researcher	Westville	Man	20-30	
26		Independent Consultant	Glenwood	Woman	40-50	
27	Men's organisation	International Programmes Coordinator	Durban centre	Man	30-40	
28	Research	Gender (men/masculinities) researcher	Westville	Man	20-30	
29	Gender identity/ Intersex	Advocacy Manager	Manenburg	Man	30-40	Trans-gender man
30	Drama & Development	Programmes Manager	Pinelands	Woman	30-40	
31	Organisational Development	Country Director	Cape Town centre	Woman	40-50	
32	Communication	Country Director	Rondebosch	Woman	40-50	

Data Preparation: All interviews were audio-taped with the permission of the informant and later transcribed by two different professional transcribers based in South Africa. I then reassessed the transcriptions by listening to the interviews a second time while reading the transcripts in order to ensure the accuracy of the text. Ethical clearance for the interviews was provided by the University of KwaZulu-Natal. The letter of ethical approval is included as Appendix 6.

Organisational materials produced for gender interventions in South Africa were collected in order to supplement the interview data. These were collected both within the context of the interviews (materials were provided to me by interview participants) and in support of the interviews (I searched for additional materials to

make sense of a particular point made or a programme described within the interviews). The materials collected primarily included organisational pamphlets, training manuals and brochures.

4.4. Data analysis

Two primary forms of data analysis were used for this study as outlined in Table 4.1: interpretive policy analysis and thematic network analysis. The interpretive policy analysis outlined by Dvora Yanow (2000) was selected as the analytical method for gender policy because of its usefulness in identifying the discursive frames being used for gender across different policy texts and the ‘communities of meaning’ that exist between policy actors. Yanow (2000) uses the term ‘communities of meaning’ to refer to the way in which ‘cognitive, linguistic and cultural practices reinforce each other, to the point to which shared sense is more common than not, and policy-relevant groups become “interpretive communities” sharing thought, speech, practice and their meanings’ (p. 10). Analysing the communities of meaning within gender policy provides a means of understanding how different policy positions are often similar to one another, with policy actors often drawing on one another or on a common set of discourses to identify policy problems and design possible solutions. According to Yanow’s method, these communities of meaning can then be broken down into the various discourses being drawn on by each community. In this way, Yanow’s method provides a valuable analytical tool for specifically outlining the various discourses and communities of meaning that define the interface encounter (referring back to the theoretical framework from *chapter three*) between gender policy and practice in South Africa.

While Yanow’s interpretive policy analysis is valuable in capturing the meanings and discourses attributed to gender in the South African context, making sense of the wide variety of different gender practices being drawn on by development actors requires a more systematic approach which is able to identify similarities or themes for the variety of practices being carried out and map connections between these themes in meaningful ways. Attride-Stirling’s (2001) method of thematic network analysis was selected for this purpose because of its systematic approach to

identifying themes and analysing these themes as networks. The network component of Attride-Stirling's method allows for the various activities of development agents to be analysed not just as practice themes but as networks of gender practice. This provides an important analytical tool for interrogating gender policy from a practice perspective and identifying the various discourses, policy frames and intervention activities that make up gender practice networks in South Africa. In providing the practice perspective, this analysis complements the interpretive policy analysis and completes the picture of the interface encounter between gender policy and practice in South Africa.

In the text that follows, I outline these analytical techniques and detail how they were carried out to answer the research questions posed at the end of *chapter two*. My objective in outlining the approach taken to the analysis of the gender policy and practice is not to follow or prescribe a particular method of doing this analysis. Rather I hope to be as clear as possible about how I went about my analysis and my particular position in all phases of the analysis in order to contribute to an overall self-reflexive research project.

4.4.1. Interpretive analysis of gender policy

As previously mentioned, the policy materials outlined in section 4.3.1 were analysed using Yanow's (2000) approach to interpretive policy analysis as a means of mapping the various discursive frames being applied to the issue of gender in South Africa. This assists in answering the first research question: *How has gender been framed as an issue for South African development in policy?* In order to identify these interpretive communities within a policy environment, Yanow (2000) suggests four main steps (p. 22):

1. 'Identifying the artefacts that are significant carriers of meaning for a given policy issue, as perceived by policy-relevant actors and interpretive communities
2. Identify communities of meaning/interpretation/speech/practice that are relevant to the policy issue under analysis

3. Identify the “discourses”: the specific meanings being communicated through specific artefacts and their entailments
4. Identify the points of conflict and their conceptual sources that reflect different interpretations by different communities’

Each of these steps and how it has been used to treat the gender policy documentation collected is outlined below.

Step 1: Identifying the artefacts: This step involves identifying the ‘specific artefacts that are significant carriers of meaning... relative to a given policy issue’ (Yanow 2000, p. 20). For this study, the identification of policy artefacts involved the collection of relevant gender policy documents for the field of development in South Africa, which has been outlined for this study in section 4.3.1. Since development practitioners are also interpreters of meaning and participate in the shaping of gender policy through everyday practice, the interview transcripts (section 4.3.2) and relevant organisational materials were also taken as artefacts of gender policy.

Step 2: Identifying communities of meaning: In this study of gender policy and practice, an interpretive community is defined as the group of policy actors that are drawing on a particular understanding of gender. In analysing the selected artefacts for their policy meanings, Yanow (2000) suggests identifying the various categories that are being created and defined within and across policy artefacts; category analysis provides a useful tool for separating one interpretation of a policy issue from another through highlighting similar elements within a certain set of boundaries, which are different from other elements with other boundaries (p. 49). Yanow (2000) suggests asking the following questions to identify the categorical boundaries of different communities of meaning for a particular policy:

- ‘What are the categories being used in this policy issue?’
- What do elements have in common that makes them belong together in a single category? Does categorical logic depend on one or more markings?

- What, if any, elements do not fit, or does one (or more) appear to fit more than one category? What are the characteristics, and how do these compare with the characteristics of fitting elements?
- Do the elements as they are used in policy practices signal different meanings of category labels than what the category labels themselves appear to mean?
- Is there a point of view from which those things implicitly asserted as belonging together are or could be seen as divergent?' (p.49).

A detailed reading of the selected policy artefacts was carried out, using these questions as a guide in order to identify the communities of meaning and their boundaries. Key to doing this was going beyond the stated objectives of the policy texts to look at the meanings being inferred in the texts and practitioner interviews, and then analysing the various categories these meanings could potentially be attributed to. For example, is gender being used to mean women, or is it being used to refer to power relations between men and women? How does the meaning of gender relate to the policy recommendations being made and how are these different or distinct from other policy recommendations? This was an iterative process of identifying and re-identifying the various categories being drawn on in the gender policy artefacts in order to clearly define the boundaries of where one community of meaning ended and another began.

Step 3: Identifying the discourses: This step involves identifying the discursive frames or the 'various meanings carried by specific artefacts for [sic] different interpretive communities' (Yanow 2000, p. 20). For this study, this step included identifying the discourses or discursive frames being used by each gender-related community of meaning (identified in step 2). This was accomplished by completing a second detailed reading of the policy artefacts with three main questions in mind: (1) how is the 'problem' of gender being defined in this case?; (2) who are the target groups of this policy?; and, (3) what are the solutions being suggested for addressing this 'problem'?

Step 4: Identifying the points of conflict: In order to identify the points of conflict between different gender-related communities of meaning in this study, the policy artefacts were read for a third time with the communities of meaning and discourses that had been identified in mind in order to look for conflicts in the underlying theoretical principles of various communities of meaning. Evidence of conflict between communities of meaning included references within the policy data to other interpretive communities (e.g. as a means of defending the legitimacy of one policy position over another) or differences between how two different communities of meaning approach similar policy problems or solutions (e.g. different approaches to tackling gender-based violence which reflect underlying conflicts in the interpretation of gender being assumed).

The analysis that resulted from each of these four steps was recorded in a text document as detailed notes about the different communities of meaning; the problem, target groups and policy solutions for each of these communities; and the points of conflict between communities.

4.4.2. Thematic network analysis of interview transcripts

The interview transcripts were analysed using thematic network analysis following Attride-Stirling (2001) in order to systematically capture the variety of gender practices being used by development actors in South Africa and connect these to the discursive policy frames identified in the policy analysis outlined previously. This helps to answer the second research question: *How does gender policy operate in the practices of actors in South African development organisations?*⁵ The thematic network analysis of the interview transcripts focused on identifying gender practices: the types of interventions being undertaken by development practitioners. In order to capture the details of these gender practices, practices mentioned in the interview transcripts were taken as themes and analysed in NVIVO using an adapted form of thematic network analysis (Attride-Stirling, 2001). Attride-Stirling identifies six

⁵ The thematic network analysis is also used to answer the third research question posed at the end of *chapter two*, specifically through *step 6: interpretive patterns* discussed latter in this section.

steps to identifying the main themes across a body of textual material and interpreting how these themes interact with one another. I discuss how each of these steps has been used to identify and analyse the themes of gender practice arising from the interviews, and the modifications that have been made in order to answer the research questions.

Step 1: Coding the material. A coding frame was developed in order to identify references being made to specific policy areas within discussions about the practice of organisations and individuals in the interview transcripts. As a first step, text related to organisational or individual gender practice was identified. This text was then coded into policy sectors (focus areas where gender work was being carried out). Twelve policy sectors were identified and used to construct the coding frame. These included:

- 1) HIV/AIDS
- 2) Violence against women (VAW)
- 3) Formal paid work and economic assets
- 4) Organisational development
- 5) Technology
- 6) Justice and legislation
- 7) Media
- 8) Youth
- 9) Minority sexual identities (lesbian, gay, bisexual)
- 10) Minority gender identities (transgender, intersex)
- 11) Education
- 12) Human trafficking

The complete coding frame is attached as Appendix 4.

Step 2: Identifying themes. The coded text was then abstracted into themes about the different practices mentioned in the interviews. This was intended as a means of unpacking the various intervention strategies being used to address the issues within particular policy sectors. What were the themes across different interventions about how gender policy was being practiced? How was gender being operationalised in

different policy sectors? It was recognised that different policy sectors may use similar interventions or strategies for tackling gender issues. This approach to analysing the themes provided a means of investigating to what extent actors in different policy sectors may be drawing on similar gender practices and which strategies were being used across multiple policy sectors. The themes that were most prevalent across multiple policy sectors were then used to construct thematic networks for more in-depth analysis.

Step 3: Constructing the networks. Attride-Stirling refers to the themes abstracted from the coded text as ‘basic themes’. The basic themes were arranged into groups (in NVIVO these groups are referred to as *sets*). These groups are referred to as the ‘organising themes’ of the network. In this study the organising themes included, for example: educating communities on legislation; lobbying for policy change; sharing information across networks; etc. The organising themes were then grouped again around a number of ‘global themes’ in order to construct a final network of similar practices that all drew on a similar overarching strategy or objective for addressing gender inequalities in South Africa. Four practice-based networks or ‘global themes’ were identified from the data:

- 1) Improving knowledge about gender issues (i.e. violence, inequalities, rights)
- 2) Empowering women
- 3) Obtaining funding and support (legal, services and policy support)
- 4) Challenging gender power relations

Attride-Stirling suggests that once the networks have been developed, the researcher should return to the data in order to verify the basic, organising and global themes that have been constructed. This was done through returning to the interview transcripts as well as by drawing on the supplementary data (field notes, list serve postings and organisational materials). This was an iterative process of identifying themes and then completing detailed readings of the organisational materials, postings and field notes to see the extent to which they were relevant to gender

practice more broadly. Key word searches of the postings collected from the two gender-related list serves were also completed as part of this validation process.

Step 4: Describing and exploring the networks

This step involves re-reading the transcripts through the lens of the thematic networks that had been constructed in order to describe their individual characteristics. The four global themes and the gender practices that fell within these overarching themes (represented by basic themes) were analysed for their particular patterns, and common characteristics. This specifically involved searching for patterns in how gender policy was being used by the development actors within each of the practice-related networks and across networks. In working back and forth across different thematic networks, a number of similarities in the way gender policies were being drawn on in practice began to arise from the data. I have referred to these as ‘tactics’ or ‘tactical manoeuvres’ throughout this thesis following Cornwall, Harrison and Whitehead (2007) in order to accurately describe the deliberate nature of how development actors are drawing on gender policy in their practice.

Step 5: Summarising the thematic network

Step 5 involves providing a summary of the main themes and patterns characterising the thematic networks. This step focused on categorising the various tactics being used by development practitioners according to their overall strategic objectives (what the tactics were being used to achieve), and their relationship to the gender policy frames identified from the interpretive policy analysis (whether policy frames were being adopted, manipulated or transformed in each case). The details of these various tactics, the role they served for practitioners, and their relationship to the policy frames identified, is summarised as the findings presented in *chapter six*.

Step 6: Interpret patterns

In Attride-Sterling’s framework this step involves taking the deductions made from the thematic networks and exploring these deductions in relation to the literature and theoretical framework used. As such, in this study this step involved exploring the

characteristics or patterns of the thematic networks in light of the theoretical framework developed in *chapter three*. The patterns evident within the thematic networks (including the tactics being used by practitioners to advance gender) provided a picture of how gender policy operates in practice. This picture was then interpreted through the theoretical lens of gender-related power/knowledge outlined in detail in *chapter three*, including the role of power/knowledge dynamics in constructing a categorical ideal that perpetuates gender hierarchies and the potential for new forms of masculinities and femininities that challenge this ideal to arise. This provided a means of identifying whether the patterns or characteristics of the practice-based thematic networks were acting to affirm and/or challenge gender-related power/ knowledge dynamics. The findings from this analysis are presented in *chapter seven*.

4.5. My position within the research study

In their multisite approach to the study of policy, Shore and Wright (2011) suggest that the researcher needs to find a ‘vantage point from which to observe how the elements of the dispositive [the ensemble of practices] articulate with each other’ (p. 14). My vantage point as a researcher in this study was as a visiting researcher with the Health Economics and HIV/AIDS Research Division (HEARD) of the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) in Durban, where I was also involved as a consultant on a Gender Project while carrying out my fieldwork. My involvement in this project while completing data collection gave me an important vantage point for observing the practices of different development actors, a few of whom also became my interview participants. This vantage point also gave me a ‘local’ identity where, thanks to a UKZN email address and access to other resources, I was perceived by my participants not only as a foreign researcher, but as a researcher based in South Africa completing a local study of gender practice.

In this section, I reflect critically on how my various subject positions – as a researcher, as a PhD student in gender studies at a UK institution, and as a ‘white’ woman born in Canada – have informed the research in this thesis, drawing on examples from my interviews with development practitioners and my field journal.

Hopkins (2007) suggests that considering the researcher's positionality – the 'multiple, interweaving and intersecting ways in which our various positions and identities are revealed, negotiated and managed in research encounters' (p.388) – is crucial to ensuring that research is ethical. This is especially important in my case simply because I do not have an 'authentic' claim to be researching gender policy and practice in South Africa. International researchers in particular have made emphatic calls for 'self-reflection upon the multiple positionalities that both "insider" and "outsider" researchers bring to initiatives, based on position, race, social class and gender, among other dimensions' (Ferreyra, 2006, p. 592). Yet, I have struggled throughout my doctoral research to explain or justify why, as a graduate student born in Canada studying in the UK at one of the most prestigious academic institutions in the world, I am doing research about gender and development in South Africa. This section discusses many of the ways these struggles have manifested in and impacted on the research study outlined in this chapter.

My position as a researcher was acknowledged by several of the people I interviewed. Some treated it as a status symbol, and were impressed with my affiliation with the LSE. This had positive connotations because it often gave me access to high-level and influential individuals within the field of gender and development in South Africa. However, others treated my position as a researcher as a threat. The most significant of these was during the last of the 32 interviews carried out in this study. The interview was with a transgendered man working in advocacy for a gender organisation outside of Cape Town. I will call him John for the purposes of this example. At the beginning of the interview, when I presented John with a consent form and asked if I could record the interview he asked me why I wanted to record it and what I was going to use the recording for. I explained the procedures of the research and walked him through the consent form. While John did agree to allow me to record the interview, at the end of our conversation he made another forceful comment about the need for me to tell him what the results were going to be. He mentioned that he was 'sick of researchers interested in transgendered issues coming in and then leaving without giving feedback' (from my research journal). This made me keenly aware that John had been involved in research in the past as a

transgendered man, research that had not given back to him in the process. Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999), an indigenous Australian researcher provides a critique of the imperialism of research in its positioning of research participants as ‘undeveloped’ and ‘ignorant’ (p. 24-25). As a researcher I am embedded within the history of anthropological and colonial research abuses in Africa (Desiree Lewis, 2004) as well as the personal experiences my research participants may have had with researchers in the past. While the full implications of this for my study unfortunately only became obvious at the end of my interviews, I have made sure that the research process includes a consistent and on-going stage of feedback. When the analysis was complete, I shared a summary of results with my interview participants through email that was specifically tailored to their needs and the practicalities of their daily jobs. This was a means of both sharing the research and doing so in a way that would be most relevant to the participants.

As a researcher studying gender issues at a UK institution I am also positioned within the history of feminism, which is laced with its own Eurocentric foundations (Oyewumi, 2004) and stereotypes. This position was reflected back to me through the eyes of my participants and the critique they leveraged against feminism in the course of the interviews. Two of the interview participants in particular took clear objections to the idea of feminism, and contrasted this to what they perceived as ‘gender’ work. For example, a young woman working as the coordinator for a girls-focused organisation said: ‘When I hear the term feminist, I get a black and white picture of angry white women in the 1960s...that hate men and just want to support women’s wishes.’ This statement acted as a means of clearly presenting her personal position as a non-feminist, a position that included anti-sex worker sentiments. The personal position of this research participant raised a particular dilemma for me: how was I to maintain a feminist focus on gender as the social relations of power and take the personal reflections of my research participants as valued knowledge about the social world in cases where these two ideas came into conflict?

Another example of the negative reaction to feminist ideas was in an interview with a man who worked as the director of an AIDS organisations doing considerable work

in gender with men. This individual shrugged off the potential of gender mainstreaming with a story about one of his staff members falling asleep at a meeting while she was pregnant. He used this story to illustrate how men and women should be treated equally within organisations. For him, falling asleep during a meeting represented an inexcusable neglect of one's professional responsibilities, whereas for me he was demonstrating clear insensitivity to the underlying principle of gender mainstreaming and the need to challenge the domination of male norms within organisational environments.

Both of these experiences made me question my position as a feminist researcher. More than anything, the experience of doing this research has confirmed my personal position as a feminist and clarified what this means in terms of my personal view of the world. I believe that the social world is structured according to a hierarchy between men and women that is historically-geographically produced and therefore changeable. This has had an influence on my analysis; in particular my focus on gender politics in identifying which research findings would be presented in this document, which culminated in the writing of *chapter seven*. Rather than attempting to remain objective in this study, by incorporating the notion of gender politics I have attempted to make a clear link between this study of gender policy and practice and the broader feminist project of women's liberation from gender power structures (Acker, Barry, & Esseveld, 1983).

Over the course of data collection, I often felt like an outsider as both a researcher and a Western feminist. However, in other ways I tried to take advantage of my outsider status, most specifically in relation to the racial dynamics of South Africa. The following example from my research journal illustrates how I often positioned myself as an outsider as a means of removing myself from the racial politics of South African society:

Today I attended a conference on 'engendering' National Strategic Plans. Once again, this was a situation where I felt like I shouldn't be the one here working on this, talking about gender in this context, etc. This stems mostly from my experience during lunch where I sat in on a conversation about being a gay women in southern Africa. One woman recounted a personal experience of having to hide her

relationship and physical affection with her girlfriend while they were on vacation in Tanzania. This conversation eventually transformed into a discussion about the fact that you couldn't talk about women in South Africa without talking about race, and that a group of white women had started an NGO and were instantly recipients of large sums of money. After talking about this, the woman beside me, the same woman who had told the story about being discriminated against in Tanzania, turned to me and asked, 'Where are you from?' 'Not from here' I responded and everyone laughed.

Not only do I position myself as 'not from South Africa' in the conversation described, but in the journal entry itself I do not mention that the table at which I sat during lunch was composed of 'black' African women. In writing this entry in this way, I was attempting to tell the story of what happened during lunch at the conference without mentioning the racial dynamics and yet the story is somehow incomplete without it. The meaning of the question 'where are you from' and my response of 'not from here' cannot be fully understood without an explanation of the racial composition of the table and how this fits within the historical context of apartheid. I did not feel at any point while living in South Africa (during this research and during an earlier period as a student intern with a regional NGO) that I could ignore race as an issue in my life, and yet the excerpt from my research journal shows how sometimes I did try to misrepresent the importance of race in this context. And I was not the only one: race was rarely spoken about openly in my interviews with practitioners. After the experience discussed in the journal entry above and reflecting on the impossibility of being a complete outsider, I began to raise the issue of race deliberately in some of the interviews, which also provided a means of deepening the study by exploring the intersections between race and gender in the work of practitioners. The realisation that I came to by the end of my research that race and gender were inseparable from one another in this context became a significant component of my analysis of the interviews, as evident in *chapters five, six and seven*.

In the process of collecting the data, I was also made keenly aware of my own racial biases, which I have attempted to bring into consideration within my analysis.

During a lunchtime break with staff at HEARD one day while I was still at the beginning of my fieldwork, a colleague said: ‘Two rights activists were killed in the street today’. I immediately started to put this statement into the surrounding environment: Was this in Durban or Johannesburg?, I asked myself. My colleague then continued his story with an additional piece of information: ‘in Finland’, he said. This conversation brought to light an assumption I had been making about violence in the context of South Africa. I had been talking to practitioner about gender-based violence as if it was a South African phenomenon (which is how it is often presented within development language as a justification for intervention), however, of course gender-based violence is a global phenomenon and is not just happening in South Africa. I gained awareness from this conversation of exactly how my position as someone who had only worked in South Africa within the context of development work might be affecting my ability to critically analyse this field. As mentioned in *chapter one*, I first came to South Africa as a student intern for an HIV/AIDS organisation and during my fieldwork I was again working with a Gender Project in a development context. My knowledge of South Africa has in part been constructed through my involvement in the development field, making it difficult and yet absolutely necessary to always be observant about its particular effects in particular how development discourse has framed gender-based violence as a South African ‘problem’. I have attempted to overcome this bias as much as possible in my data collection and analysis by following Yanow’s (2000) guidance for the researcher to maintain a prolonged balance between ‘stranger-ness’ and ‘insider-ness’ (p. 9). Sometimes this meant accepting my position as an outside in terms of the country of my birth, my researcher status, and my position as a feminist, while at other times it meant looking within my experience for things that I could identify with. Rather than trying to always be an insider, I have tried to accept the discomfort I felt with the colour of my skin while living in South Africa, and the assumptions that I have made about the need for development interventions, as opportunities for reflection and focal points for my analysis.

While none of this provides a solution to the question of what ‘right’ I have to be doing research on gender and development in South Africa, it does outline the

reflective process I have gone through in approaching this research. Regardless of their position, all researchers experience some forms of insider/ outsider positioning within their research context, as highlighted by Smith's (1999) account of doing research with aboriginal communities as an aboriginal researcher. It is in the process of grappling with the various struggles I have faced over the course of this research, that I have learned the most about the nuances, inconsistencies and 'messiness' that is at the heart of the relationship between gender policy and practice.

4.6. Conclusions

This chapter started by outlining three epistemological principles that have guided this research design. The first principle was an interpretivist emphasis on human interpretation and subjective meaning. The selection of development practitioners as the principles subjects of this research, and the alignment with an actor-oriented approach, is evidence of how this interpretive approach has provided an overarching framework for the thesis. The interpretivist approach equally plays a role in the analysis of the data described in section 4.4. In the analysis, the focus is on finding the subjective 'meaning' of gender in the policy artefacts (section 4.4.1) – a process that involves taking the meaning that is attributed to gender directly as intended rather than through an abstracted or positivist method in which meanings have been predefined. The analysis of the interviews (section 4.4.2) also takes an interpretive lens to the data by paying attention to how development actors have described their gender practice and taking these descriptions as valid sources of meaning for what is happening in development practice in South Africa.

Following the second epistemological principle outlined at the beginning of this chapter, the discourses or discursive frames associated with gender are a central component of the policy analysis (section 4.4.1). As stated at the beginning of the chapter, discursive frames reflect particular truth claims that are being made about gender in both policy and practice, and investigating these discourses within the analysis provides a means of identifying what is being taken as 'truth' within particular aspects of the relationship between gender policy and practice in South Africa. This is carried through into the final step of the thematic analysis (section

4.4.2, step 6) where the characteristics of the relationship between policy and practice (including dominant discourses) are interpreted through gender-related power/ knowledge dynamics. This step follows the third epistemological principle outlined at the beginning of this chapter by investigating the effects of gender policy and practice on gender politics. Discourses can play a role in either affirming or challenging current gender politics, and step 6 of the thematic network analysis investigates whether and how this is happening in the data.

In the chapters that follow, I present the findings from the analysis. These next chapters are organised around the three research questions that have been posed at the end of *chapter two*. *Chapter five* presents findings from the interpretive policy analysis of the gender artefacts, which include a variety of policy documents, websites, list serve postings and the interview transcripts. Three contrasting and conflicting discursive frames are identified and outlined. *Chapter six* presents finding about the relationship between gender policy and practice in South Africa from a practice perspective. It highlights that while policy acts to constrain gender practice by limiting the scope of possible gender interventions, practitioners have developed a number of tactical manoeuvres to overcome these constraints. The different tactical tools that have been observed in this study are summarised. *Chapter seven* presents findings about the effects of the relationship between gender policy and practice on gender politics. This chapter outlines how the conflicting discursive frames of gender policy and the tactics being used by practitioners are shutting out opportunities for a gender politics that is not based on gender hierarchies. However there are practices that appear to be opening up new opportunities, which are also mentioned in this chapter. In sum, each of the three findings chapters approach the relationship between gender policy and practice in different ways: from the perspective of policy with *chapter five*, the perspective of practice with *chapter six*, and from the perspective of the effects on gender politics with *chapter seven*. Taken together, these three chapters capture the non-linear processes that currently define the relationship between gender policy and practice in South Africa.

5. Framing gender as an issue for South African development

5.1. Introduction

In this chapter I turn to a focus on gender and development policy for South Africa in order to answer my first research question: *how has gender been framed as an issue for South African development in policy?* Policies provide frames of reference that ‘define and bound what forms of knowledge count, and whose versions, claims and interests are legitimated’ (Brock, Cornwall, & Gaventa, 2001). These policy frames often come in the form of structured narratives, weaving a story about what the problem is and how it needs to be solved (Roe, 1991). These narratives are the focus of this chapter. I use the terms narrative and policy frames interchangeably throughout to point to the specific ways that gender policy is not an apolitical process of telling the ‘truth’ about a situation. Policy narratives are involved in validating the need for particular interventions through defining the problem to be solved and those responsible for addressing it. Exposing different narratives helps to unravel the progress models of gender policy (policy as a linear process of stages that end in implementation) that have dominated the literature on gender and development as outlined in *chapter two*. This builds a different and more nuanced picture of how gender policy operates in South Africa.

This chapter draws on a wide range of data from the official policy documents of bilateral donors and multilateral NGOs to government documents, website material, list serve postings from the women’s movement at the local level, and interviews with development practitioners. What becomes clear in the analysis of these various data is that there is not one single narrative frame for gender in South Africa. Rather, the gender policy environment is a space of conflict and contestation between three conflicting policy narratives: (1) development instrumentalism, (2) women’s empowerment, and (3) social transformation. This means that even though similar terms may be drawn on in policy texts – gender equality, women’s rights, development – these terms are being deployed to mean different things by different policy actors. This chapter first provides an overview of these three policy narratives

or ‘communities of meaning’ (Yanow, 2000). It then looks specifically at the ways in which the policy narratives conflict with one another in constructing the ‘problem’ of gender and proposing relevant policy solutions.

This contributes to the understanding of the relationship between gender policy and practice in South Africa in two ways. Firstly, outlining the narrative frames being drawn on in gender policy highlights the boundaries that have been created for the practice of development practitioners. This provides a frame of reference for how development practitioners draw on policy frames in context of their practice in *chapter six*. As I argue in *chapter six*, the boundaries of policy frames provide development practitioners with a set of tools that they can then adapt and manipulate in practice in order to achieve a variety of strategic objectives. Secondly, understanding the conflict between different narrative frames in the South African context sheds light on the problems created by conflicting notions of gender. As Cornwall, Harrison and Whitehead argue, ‘struggles over meaning are central to understanding development institutions and their outcomes’ (2007, p. 3, citing Arce, 2000). Gender policy and practice in South Africa is defined by constant conflict and struggles for legitimacy between different perspectives on how to address gender inequality. In this chapter, I show how the conflicts that arise when actors draw on different policy narratives for gender have acted to undermine a cohesive women’s movement in this context.

In addition to its empirical insights, this chapter illustrates the value of using Long’s interface encounter as a framework for the relationship between gender policy and practice. One way of interpreting Long’s framework would be to see gender policy in South Africa as the rural extension agent in Long’s model: whereby gender policy for South Africa is created by policy-makers and consultants located in bilateral donors countries such as the UK, Canada and Sweden and brought to South Africa. However, the relationship is much more complex than this illustration infers. More and more frequently, the development of policies involves participation by local stakeholders, and requires those working in bilateral development agencies to have extensive field experience and knowledge of local contexts. Multinational teams that

involve both stakeholders in the global North and South are also increasingly common as a means of developing development policy and programmes. In addition, new ideas about gender do not exclusively come from an ‘external’ third party, but are often embedded within the cultural history of colonialism and/ or the women’s movement that has arisen in a particular country. The notion of gender policy as external to South Africa fails to take account of this complexity of gender policy processes. The analysis of the relationship between gender policy and its practice in this chapter therefore draws on a broader definition of gender policy. Rather than an external extension agent, policy is understood as a perspective, or a way of seeing the world that could be taken up in any context – North or South. This means that South African governmental policies, policy statements from local South African organisations, and interviews with development actors who shape policy in their practice all provide valuable sources of data, in addition to the policies of bilateral donors. The interface encounter between gender policy and practice mapped in this chapter is understood as a series of multiple and often overlapping encounters, where divisions between ‘local’ and ‘global’ are inherently challenged. The concept of the interface encounter is not used here as a means of exploring conflicts between foreign and local actors, but rather the conflicts occurring between different perspectives on gender within a messy policy environment.

5.2. Analytic procedures

The three narrative frames for gender discussed in this chapter were identified using Yanow’s (2000) method of interpretive policy analysis as outlined in *chapter four*. Narrative frame is the term used in this chapter to refer to the collection of ‘discourses’ that constitute the ‘policy frames’ discussed by Yanow. Category analysis provided the means of identifying the boundaries between one policy frame and another. In practice, this involved an iterative process that required multiple readings of the various texts and cross-comparisons, as described in detail in section 4.4.1. The assumption I had at the beginning of this analysis was that the communities of meaning would differ based on their overall organisational profiles and objectives, in other words the policies of bilateral development donors would

belong to one community of meaning while the policies of women's organisation in South Africa would belong to another. Mapping which types of organisations are using what types of policy frames helps to outline the contours of the various encounters taking place between policy actors at different levels. However, this clear alignment between organisational types and communities of meaning did not result from the analysis. As clear and well-defined categories began to appear between different policy narratives, divisions also appeared between the policies of bilateral donors. The analysis also did not produce clear results of which organisations were drawing on the various policy narratives. A single policy document may draw on different narratives at the same time, depending on the specific point being supported or justified. Table 5.1 in this chapter outlines the three narrative frames that were identified as a result of the analysis. While this table outlines clear categories between gender policy narratives, these narratives should be seen as discourses about gender that are circulating within the field of international development; discourses that are taken up within the same policy document or by very different policy actors in order to support a particular argument about gender and how it should be addressed.

Categorical boundaries between narrative frames were identified through the analysis in different ways. Initially categories were determined based on what the use of the term 'gender' inferred in the texts, as I describe in detail in *chapter four*. In many of the policy documents, gender was used to refer to men and women, rather than power relations between men and women or gender as socially constructed forms of masculinity and femininity. This allowed me to make a clear distinction between the social transformation policy frame where gender is used to refer to a form of power relations between men and women, and frames for gender that did not take power into consideration in the types of policy solutions proposed. Policies that did not take an explicit approach to gender as relations of power were then interrogated for their similarities and differences. While all policies drew on a similar conceptualisation of gender, the analysis revealed two different frames for how to address gender inequality. Several of the policies argued that gender inequality needed to be tackled because of the inefficiency and cost to development progress (i.e. the UK's

Department for International Development's *Gender Equality Action Plan 2007-2010*), while others argued that gender inequality was inhibiting women's ability to take advantage of their rights (i.e. the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development's *Development Policy Action Plan on Gender 2009-2012*). While this is a simplification of the narrative evident in these two policy documents, it demonstrates how a clear policy frame was defined as a result of the analysis. This chapter details the more nuanced and specific aspects of the three narratives that have been identified through the analytical process explained here.

5.3. The Context for Gender Policy in South Africa

The majority of gender and development policy written since 2000 has focused on the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) discussed in *chapter one* of this thesis. The third and most gender-relevant MDG – to promote gender equality and empower women – is being monitored internationally through three different indicators: (1) the proportion of seats held by women in national parliament; (2) the ratio of girls to boys in primary, secondary and tertiary education (3) the share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector.⁶ MDG policy and these three indicators have had a significant impact on the discourses appearing within gender and development policy since the MDGs were signed in September 2000. The most common usage of the MDGs in the policies analysed is the direct adoption of the language of goal three, namely 'gender equality and women's empowerment', as an objective. The indicators used to measure this goal are also taken up in a focus across several policy documents from different organisations on the representation of women in parliament, girls' education, and women in the formal economy. The reoccurrence of MDG language across different policies creates a façade of shared objectives between different policy frames making it appear as if all policies have the same interests (Cornwall & Brock, 2005). However, the ways in which different communities of meaning use similar MDG

⁶ <http://www.mdgmonitor.org/goal3.cfm>, Retrieved 23 April, 2012.

terminology highlights the very different meanings attributed to terms such as gender, women rights, and development.

A distinct characteristic of the gender policy environment in South Africa is the inclusion of other development discourses alongside gender. Brock, Cornwall and Gaventa (2001) discuss the *hybridity* of poverty discourses in development policy and how discourses external to development have been drawn on to talk about poverty in different ways. The same point can be made of gender and development discourses for South Africa, where gender has not been a single narrative frame operating separate from the development field. Instead attention to climate change within social policy more broadly has been taken up within gender and development policy in recent years and is evident in the gender policies of Finland and Germany's BMZ among the texts analysed. Additionally, the narrative frames being used for gender in the South African context are intimately interwoven with discourses on HIV and AIDS, a point I take up in detail in *chapter six*.

Another characteristic of the gender policy environment is that policy actors do not necessarily belong to one community of meaning. Rather, they frequently shift and change from one to another, as do the boundaries of the communities of meaning themselves. An example of this is the recent change of the UK's Department for International Development (DFID) from their *Gender Equality Action Plan* (the policy that is analysed in this thesis and is situated within the development instrumentalism frame) and DFID's more recent policy focused on girls and women (which draws on the language of the women's empowerment frame). While it is questionable whether this reflects a re-orientation of DFID towards an empowerment approach to gender and development, it does point to the ways in which policy actors shift and change between narrative communities over time, drawing on the discourses that suit changing development priorities.

While I have drawn boundaries in this thesis between the narrative frames being drawn on in gender policies during the particular period of time under study, this does not mean that the boundaries between gender narratives do not shift or that each policy narrative is not itself internally contested. Policy narratives are constantly

being interpreted and re-defined for different social contexts and development ‘problems’. The narrative frames outlined in Table 5.1 below should therefore be seen as contested understandings of gender and the role of development organisations in addressing it. The policy actors that draw on particular policy frames at a particular moment should be seen as social and political actors that are drawing on particular narrative frames at a specific socio-historical moment rather than strict groups that identify exclusively with a single policy discourse.

The characteristics of the gender policy environment in South Africa – the influence of the MDGs, the hybridity of policy discourses, the shifting meaning and boundaries of policy narratives – highlight the reasons why gender policy cannot be seen as part of a progressive process. Rather than a process that builds increasingly better policy solutions, gender policy in South Africa is embedded within an environment defined by shifting priorities, and shiny ‘new’ discourses that are adopted into policy narratives. Looking at what these priorities have been and the various discourses evident in policy at one particular point in time helps to build a picture of the complexity of these interlocking discourses. It maps the different narratives that are drawn on in the process of framing today’s gender ‘problems’ and development ‘solutions’. The three narrative frames that have been used to frame gender policy in South Africa are outlined in the following table:

Table 5.1: Narrative frames for gender policy in South Africa

Narrative frame	Development Instrumentalism	Women's Empowerment ⁷	Social Transformation
Implicit understanding of gender	Gender as women <u>and</u> men	Gender as women (who lack power) and men (who do not)	Gender as a form of power relations
Political agenda	Including women in development	Sharing the benefits of development with women	Transforming structural power relations
Policy problem identified	Loss in development potential due to gender inequalities	Barriers that prevent women from reaching their full potential	Harmful masculinities/ subservient femininities Structural relations of power
Policy solutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • gender mainstreaming • increase women's productivity and inclusion in formal markets • equal participation of girls in education • better representation of women in political leadership 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • economic empowerment for women to benefit from development • creation and maintenance of legal frameworks that support women • addressing women's specific needs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • shaping new social spaces • working with men to show how gender inequalities mirror other inequalities • strengthening the power of women through collective organising
Examples of policy actors that draw on this narrative frame	UK's DFID Germany's KfW Entwicklungsbank Dutch MFA France MAEE Canada CIDA	Germany's BMZ Swedish Sida MFA of Finland Irish AID Belgium MFA South African CGE South African MWCPD Oxfam GB	APC WNSP Sonke Gender Justice Gender at Work Project Empower Justice and Women (JAW) Engender Health Brothers for Life

⁷ As mentioned in *Chapter two*, empowerment is a contested concept within the field of international development. The term 'empowerment' is used as a descriptor for this particular policy frame to refer to the prevalent understanding within the field of development that giving women power (through legal structures, individual confidence-building, economic self-sufficiency) will be able to bring about sustainable social change for women. This is only one interpretation of 'empowerment': an interpretation consistent with a focus on women as both able and responsible for social change and an absence of a focus on addressing broader notions of gender equality. For a more detailed discussion of the different notions of empowerment see Cornwall & Anyidoho 2010.

In the next section of this chapter, I outline in more detail each of these three narrative frames, and the policy-defined ‘problem’ and suggested ‘solutions’ related to each. This provides the context for the discussion in section 5.5 of how these three frames conflict and the struggles for legitimacy involved.

5.4. Framing gender as an issue for South African development

5.4.1. The development instrumentalism policy frame

Five of the ten largest bilateral donors to South Africa on gender-related development interventions draw on a narrative of gender as instrumental for development in policy documents produced between 2009 and 2011. The ‘problem’ of gender arising from this narrative is the loss of development potential that has resulted from gender inequalities and the absence of women in economic and political spheres. The strategy for the gender equality document produced by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs represents an example of this particular narrative. This document, published in 2010 is a 12-page public promotional document that outlines why gender equality is a priority for France, a diagnosis of the problem, and France’s ‘strategic orientations’ and plan of action. In answering the question of ‘why gender equality is a priority’ the document reads:

All economic and development policies impact gender equality either by reducing, maintaining or worsening disparities between men and women. When a country sustains a socio-economic environment that encourages gender inequality, it condemns itself to failure, as 50% of its vital forces are brushed aside. (Ministère des affaires étrangères et européennes de France, 2010, English version, p.2)

Gender is framed here as both a cause and consequence of economic under-development. The problem of gender inequality is that it inhibits economic growth. Economic and development policy is therefore justified in considering its role in ‘maintaining or worsening disparities between men and women’.

Since the role of the narrative in policy documents is to justify particular policy solutions (Roe, 1991), this framing of the problem leads to a particular set of possible solutions. The types of solutions proposed for addressing gender inequality by

France are similar to those of the other actors drawing on development instrumentalism policy frames. Four of the five donor agencies⁸ associated with development instrumentalism draw on a similar two-pronged approach to addressing the problem of gender inequality: (1) integrating measures and indicators for gender inequality throughout donor agencies (e.g. gender mainstreaming), and (2) addressing gender equality through MDG 3 including political inclusion, ratio of boys and girls in education, and access of women to formal sector work opportunities. These solutions follow logically from the ‘problem’ of women’s lack of participation in the economy. In order to solve this ‘problem’, women need to have the opportunities, the education and the political power.

Framing gender as instrumental for development has played an important role in pushing forward the gender agenda within development policy. Gender scholars including Ester Boserup (1970) and Barbara Rogers (1980) have successfully used an instrumental argument to make the case for the inclusion of gender concerns within development policy and practice (Kabeer, 1994). In the documents analysed, the ability of development instrumentalism to push forward gender in development policy is constantly being leveraged: policy documents repeat the ways gender is instrumental to better development at every opportunity. This repetition or *over-justification* of gender’s instrumentalism to development is one of the key characteristics of this policy frame. As an example, even areas that do not appear to need justification in economic terms – such as the equal involvement of women in politics – are justified in these terms, as in the *Gender Equality Action Plan* (2007-2009) produced by the UK’s DFID:

At its heart, gender equality and women’s empowerment is a political issue, needing a political response, and not a technical one. It means that the international community has to address the wider issues of promoting justice for everyone, tackling discrimination and upholding women’s rights. The evidence from across the world shows that when more women participate in politics, either formally or

⁸ The Netherland’s policy document is not included due to an unavailability of the relevant documents needed to make an adequate assessment.

informally, their access to services, jobs and education – and rights, more generally – improve. (Department for International Development, 2007, p.2)

The need to justify various gender interventions in developing countries with evidence of its economic value occurs from a focus on education to one on political inclusion. The repetition of this act highlights its significance for these policy actors. I suggest that the need to justify gender in terms of economic growth helps policy actors affirm that this type of development intervention is ethical. By saying that gender equality is needed for growth, donor agencies are explaining that their involvement in addressing gender relations in developing countries is not a moral imposition being enforced on independent states, nor is it a form of cultural imperialism. Rather, the need for intervention is a decision based on pure and rational economics. Supporting this point, the majority of policy actors drawing on this narrative frame are former colonising countries (with the exception of Canada), which may strengthen the need for this type of explanation in the face of potential criticisms of neo-colonialism and new forms of cultural imperialism.

Another defining characteristic of the development instrumentalism frame is a persistent stress put on gender as women and men. This policy frame is characterised by an emphasis on the importance of focusing not just on women but also men as a means of addressing gender inequality. For example, the following excerpt from France's strategy for gender equality reads:

The resulting actions can target women or men as direct players or beneficiaries, and must help reduce gender inequalities. For instance, in the fight against violence, working with men or working to understand the mechanisms that lead to violence in men are relevant areas for action. (Ministère des affaires étrangères et européennes, 2010, p.6)

The emphasis on targeting women and men stands in sharp contrast to the clear focus on women in the women's empowerment policy frame outlined in section 5.4.2 below, pointing to one of the points of conflict between policy frames. Different intervention subjects is one of the central points of conflict between policy frames in

the South African context, a point I take up in more detail in section 5.5 later in this chapter.

5.4.2. *The women's empowerment policy frame*

From the documents analysed, this policy frame is the most broadly represented by policy actors. The documents of five bilateral donor agencies draw on this narrative, along with the two South African government organisations, and a number of multinational women's rights networks and NGOs. The 'problem' of gender identified within this narrative is that women are unable to share in the potential benefits of development as a result of discriminatory structural and legal frameworks and/or their lack of power/ access to legal frameworks. Interestingly, the value of development for women is not up for question in this policy narrative, only the ability of women to benefit from this value. As an example, the Minister of the State at the Department of Foreign Affairs' statement in the *Forward to Ireland's* gender policy document speaks specifically to how addressing women's lack of power leads to women's involvement in economic and political development:

There are many obstacles to women's equal participation with men in political and economic decision-making and lack of time is possibly the most serious. Women's involvement in unpaid work, which is invisible in economic statistics, is vital to the survival of families and communities and yet prevents women's participation in decision-making at various levels. Discriminatory laws and customs are additional hurdles to participation in economic and political developments. (Development Cooperation Ireland, 2004, p.6)⁹

The 'problem' is defined here as women's inability to participate in political decision-making because of the demands placed on their time through unpaid labour. On this point, an empowerment frame for gender is similar and mutually compatible with the instrumentalist frame since neither question the development project itself.

⁹ This document, while published in 2004, remains the official gender policy document of Ireland. A recent review of the policy suggested that the concepts of the policy should remain the same in the next version of Ireland's gender policy.

Both see women as unable to participate in the economic and political gains of the development project. However, the two frames divide, as mentioned previously, on the solutions they propose for addressing this inequality. In contrast to the instrumentalist focus on women and men, the women's empowerment frame focuses on women as the solution – through giving women greater power, gender equality can be achieved. For example the German development agency BMZ's action plan for gender equality from 2009-2012 states:

Targeting actions to empower women include women-specific approaches that are necessary in order to compensate for actual gender-specific disadvantages and discrimination. Here, the task is to reform overall conditions by empowering women to assert and exercise their rights as stakeholders and rights holders with the same rights and duties as men. (Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development of Germany, 2009, p.7)

The solution to the problem of women's inability to access the benefits of development is proposed here as improving the legal frameworks of developing countries and empowering women to exercise their rights. 'Women's rights are human rights' is the tagline used by several of the policy actors drawing on this policy frame, including Germany's BMZ.

Women's rights are often taken up within this policy frame in order to provide a powerful and convincing justification for development intervention. For bilateral donors, intervention is needed because women's rights are not adequately protected by the governments of certain countries, including South Africa. For the multinational NGOs that draw on this policy frame, the argument for intervention is similar. For example, in a public brochure discussing their work in South Africa available from their website, Oxfam GB writes:

Although South Africa is classified as a middle-income country, more than 47% of its population lives below the poverty line. Most people of the "Rainbow Nation" are excluded from reaping the benefits of a land endowed with vast natural resources,

world-class legislation, and a democracy that should be protecting the poor and vulnerable. (Oxfam GB, 2011)¹⁰

This statement justifies the need for interventions through raising the inability of South Africa's democracy to 'protect the poor and vulnerable'.¹¹ By highlighting the lack of access women (or in this case, the poor) have to their right to benefit from democracy, this policy frame becomes difficult to dispute. Rights are invested with a powerful authority that comes from their 'audacious' claim that they are the 'very essence of what it means to be human' (Hunter, 2010). This makes appeals to women's rights difficult to dispute or to ignore, and provides a powerful rationale for intervention.

In sum, characteristics of a woman's empowerment policy frame include an explicit and deliberate focus on women (and girls), and a need for intervention in their name. Women need to be empowered to benefit from development (rather than development benefiting from women as with the development instrumentalism frame). Germany's BMZ gender policy document presents this argument in the following excerpt:

Official figures show that women still account for only 10 per cent of the world's total income. Women also make up 60 per cent of the working poor who are unable to lift themselves out of poverty despite working for a living. This situation is a wake-up call: women's economic empowerment must become a stronger focus of the economic development agenda. (Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development of Germany, 2009, p.8)

The underlying message here is that women are unable to be full participants in the economic development agenda. As a result, intervention on the part of development agents including bilateral donors, multinational NGOs and the South African

¹⁰ Cited from: <http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what-we-do/countries-we-work-in/south-africa>, Retrieved 25 April 2012.

¹¹ A women's empowerment policy frame is also used to justify intervention by the South Africa's gender machineries – the Commission on Gender Equality (CGE) and the Ministry for Women, Children and People with Disability. For these organisations the uptake of a women's rights frame is justified as intervention not into other countries but into public and private sector entities.

government is needed in order to secure greater power for women and to empower them to exercise their rights.

However, this focus on women and empowerment leaves a notable gap in this policy frame. A focus on women as independent agents able to bring about changes in their own lives, while both appealing and necessary, can ignore the structural barriers in women's lives that may make it difficult for them to exercise their rights or find the power to struggle against inequalities. As Jane Parpart (2002) argues, the focus on empowerment within development policy often ignores national and economic structures, which does little to challenge national power structures. For example, fully capable and empowered women may face barriers to exercising their rights and freedoms through discriminatory legal systems as well as through the more nuanced interactions they have throughout their lives with their family members, community and partner. A similar point has been raised by South African scholar Amanda Gouws (2005) in her argument that improving women's rights in the public sphere is not sufficient to address the political challenges of poverty, violence and a lack of access to healthcare for women (p.3). The woman's empowerment policy frame runs the risk of ignoring this complexity for the sake of a powerful and straightforward discourse about the entitlements of women to equality and the same human rights as men.

5.4.3. The social transformation policy frame

The third narrative frame is unique in that none of the top ten bilateral donors to gender programming in South Africa and few multinational NGOs draw on it. Instead, this is a narrative that largely circulates among policy actors embedded in the South African context, including some multinational NGOs such as Gender at Work and several local South African NGOs. Within this frame the 'problem' of gender is power relations, which are seen as creating and perpetuating a social hierarchy between men and women. This policy frame is exemplified in the policy of Gender at Work, a small multinational NGO that works with organisations using participatory approaches to bring about gender-related change in organisations across South Africa (as well as in other contexts). The 'problem' defined by Gender at

Work is the need for the social transformation of institutions – gender-related social structures – as explained in the following excerpt from the organisation’s website:

To have a significant impact on gender inequity, we must change institutions. While the terms "institution" and "organisation" are often to mean the same thing, they don't. Institutions are the rules – both stated and implicit – for achieving social or economic ends; the rules that determine who gets what, what counts, who does what and who decides. These are the rules that maintain women’s unequal position in society. They include values that perpetuate the gendered division of labour, devalue women’s lives, restrict women’s access to land and other key economic resources, restrict women’s mobility and, perhaps most fundamentally, devalue reproductive work. Organisations are the social structures created to accomplish particular ends but which embody the institutions (rules) prevalent in a society. Although much has been accomplished toward gender equality, nowhere in the world are women and men truly equal in political, social or economic rights. We believe that this is because the bulk of the efforts toward gender inequality ignore the role of the institutions, those all-important but often unrecognized “rules” that maintain women’s unequal position. Our framework helps organisations uncover those inequities and creates a pathway to developing and implementing projects that engender real change.¹²

Gender At Work focuses on organisations as the target for bringing about social transformation in the power relations between men and women. Other organisations also draw on this policy frame within a focus on women and the role of collective organising as being able to bring about this change. In addition, a growing number of South African organisations use this policy frame within a focus on men and the social transformation of men and masculinities in relation to gender-based violence and risky sexual behaviours that make women more vulnerable to HIV. The proposed policy solution common across each of these policies regardless of the target population is the need to address the social structures that maintain power relations between men and women.

¹² Cited from: www.genderatwork.org/gender-work-framework, Retrieved 26 April 2012.

Working with men to address ‘harmful masculinities’ is a policy solution that resonates with many of the policy actors drawing on this policy frame including Sonke Gender Justice, Engender Health and Brothers for Life. The rationale for working with men as a gender policy is explained clearly in the manual used by Sonke Gender Justice for its One Man Can campaign:

Men are socialised into violence and commit the vast majority of violent acts. Men learn violence as a result of experiencing it in childhood or as adults. But violence is learned behaviour that can be unlearned. Men can choose not to behave violently towards women, children, and other men. Saying that men choose to use violence, rather than that men lose control and become violent, is the first step in holding men accountable for their decisions and actions. This principle of accountability is central to any program focused on stopping gender-based violence. Choosing not to use violence and to live in equal relationships with women will involve men in “breaking the gender rules” and they need support as well as the pressure of accountability to do this. Support from women and other men can help men break the gender rules and end gender-based violence. In conducting formative research for the campaign, we learned that many men and boys do worry about the safety of women and girls – their partners, sisters, mothers, girlfriends, wives, co-workers, neighbours, classmates and fellow congregants – and want to play a role in creating a safer and more just world, they often do not know what to do about it.¹³

The policy frame of social transformation is drawn on in this discussion of the role changing the behaviour of men can play in changing gender ‘rules’ and gender inequalities. While the targeted population may be different from Gender at Work’s attention to organisations, the focus on men and masculinities is equally about transforming society and making it more gender equal.

This represents a significantly different policy narrative than those put forward within the development instrumentalism and women’s empowerment policy frames. In framing the problem of gender as one of relations between men and women, the social transformation narrative leads to solutions that challenge this relationship

¹³ Cited from: <http://www.genderjustice.org.za/onemancan>, Retrieved 1 July 2012.

itself. From a social transformation perspective the three focus areas of the MDGs at the heart of development instrumentalism – better representation of women in political leadership, the ratio of girls to boys in education, and women’s access to formal work opportunities – may increase women’s representation, but do little to directly challenge the relationship with men in these settings. Similarly, the focus on empowering women to exercise their rights does little to address the influence of how men feel and behave in response to women’s empowerment. Social transformation policy frames counteract these perceived limitations by putting forward policy solutions that include working with men, women and organisations to challenge power relations between the genders through looking for and addressing the deeper causes of gender-related behaviours.

5.5. Conflict and contestation between policy frames

The basis for conflict between policy frames is the worldviews or ideologies that underpin these frames. Development instrumentalism sees the inclusion of women in development as the way forward. Women’s empowerment frames take women as the starting point for both justifying intervention and proposing solutions arguing that this has been a neglected area of development policy and practice. Social transformation policy frames focus on the relations between men and women and ways of challenging the power dynamics that define it. In the remainder of this section, I explore how the different ways of seeing the world represented in each of the policy frames are contested in South Africa. This supports my argument that gender policy for South Africa is a space defined by conflict and the strategic positioning of policy actors. I look at two specific cases where this conflict between policy frames has led to fractured relationships between policy actors: the experience of gender mainstreaming in South Africa and the debate about involving men in gender interventions.

5.5.1. Conflict over mainstreaming gender in South Africa

The practice of bringing a gender lens into ‘mainstream’ development activities, or ‘gender mainstreaming’ has been a major focus of bilateral donor policy since 1995. Mainstreaming, as a methodology or framework for bringing gender into

‘mainstream’ development, is consistent with the development instrumentalism frame and represents one of two major solutions to gender issues as summarised previously in section 5.4.1. As a policy term, gender mainstreaming has been used by international organisations to refer to a specific type of gender capacity building. Gender mainstreaming is often associated with particular practices, including: the development of organisational gender policies; gender budgeting frameworks (assessing the extent to which budgets are allocated with gender considerations in mind); staff training; the integration of gender considerations into programme planning and reporting; and gender audits or reviews to assess the extent to which gender has been integrated into all organisational practices. Introduced by bilateral donors and large multinational NGOs to South Africa in the early 2000s, gender mainstreaming has been largely rejected as a policy measure by organisations in the country (Mannell, 2011).

In the interviews with development practitioners conducted for this study, many of whom draw on the social transformation policy frame in their organisations, gender mainstreaming policy was criticised for not taking into consideration power relations such as race and class. It was seen as permitting organisations to mention gender in documents without real commitment to its transformation, and for turning gender into a euphemism for women and men. In addition, practitioners critiqued that mainstreaming had created confusion about gender through an over-emphasis on tools and methodologies. These various claims can be boiled down to two main critiques, which are consistent with a broader critique of the development instrumentalism policy frame associated with gender mainstreaming. The first is that gender mainstreaming is no longer about gender as summarised by an independent gender consultant I interviewed:

Organisations could say ‘yeah, we’re doing gender mainstreaming’, while what that meant was they were collecting sex segregated data, or maybe they would remember to make sure that there was enough women in a training meeting. Or they might think of gender equity when doing employment related stuff. But I think it also created a space where a lot of people really didn’t know what they were doing. Even with the best intentions, they didn’t know how to do it. Through mainstreaming we

basically made gender invisible by pretending you were doing it everywhere all the time with little actual commitment to gender.

Practitioners working on gender interventions criticise mainstreaming for making gender ‘invisible’ within organisations, and allowing it to be added into documents and organisational policies without any real commitment to transforming the way in which the organisation’s practices are actually gendered. The focus on including women in training or in employment-related practice and collecting sex-disaggregated data echoes the development instrumentalism policy frame and its focus on including women in existing development frameworks.

The second critique is that putting gender at the centre of development practice puts an emphasis on gender that obscures other social inequalities.

I think in many ways, I don’t know how this is going to go down in your research, but in many ways the issue of gender inequality is sometimes used to shadow out class inequalities.

(Co-director of a grassroots feminist organisation)

This critique reproduces the focus on class and race inherent in the anti-apartheid movements that helped shape women’s political involvement in South Africa (Meer, 2005), and is therefore of concern to many of the development practitioners that were aware of, and intimately involved in, these movements. It also draws on the social transformation policy frame and its focus on power relations in arguing that gender mainstreaming has not adequately considered the intersections between gender and race, sexuality, class, nationality, ethnicity and power, and that a more plural understanding of social relationships is needed (an argument that has also been taken up by feminist scholars including Hankivsky (2005) and Squires (2005)). In this light, the critique of gender mainstreaming summarised here can be seen as a critique of development instrumentalism from the perspective of social transformation. It points to how a conflict in the worldviews underlying these two policy frames has led to disagreement over policy solutions. While development instrumentalism sees gender mainstreaming as being able to bring about better development outcomes,

social transformation sees gender mainstreaming as a set of empty tools and checklists that makes no contribution to real change in power relations.

In exploring the consequences of this conflict between policy frames, the backlash against gender mainstreaming policy by organisations working on gender issues in South Africa has led in some cases to a rejection of gender policies for organisations. These organisations reject gender because of the way it has been adopted by other organisations in South Africa without critical reflection. For example, a practitioner who works with organisations to build capacity on gender issues through a social transformation frame explained the rationale of her rejection of the idea that an organisation should have a gender policy in the following way:

When we go into an organisation and they say they need a gender policy, I'll ask 'why?' And I'll go to the policy last because if it's not rooted in an awareness and an attempt to look at challenging norms and they're going to let the policy guide them in the first instance well, what is it going to mean?

This points to one of the consequences of the conflict that exists between social transformation and development instrumentalism policy frames. When tools such as gender policies become associated with a particular frame, policy actors who are drawing on other frames may reject them without a consideration of how these tools might act in a variety of helpful ways, for example by allowing staff to make claims of their employer based on their organisation's gender policy. This has led to a widespread rejection of these tools: as the senior manager of a gender programme told me, gender mainstreaming has become a 'bad' word in the South African context.

5.5.2. Conflict over involving men in gender interventions

In South African development, a debate over whether or not to involve men as a part of gender and development policy is raging. The conflict over whether or not men should be involved in gender interventions comes down to a conflict between social transformation and women's empowerment policy frames. The following quote is an example of the argument being made by the woman's empowerment side of the debate:

So, yeah, at this point I think for me it's easy to say that we're not interested in working or involving men. We have done that kind of work and we know that work is needed, but we also know that to bring men and women together, you need to first start to work with women separately and bring them to a point where they feel worthy. Otherwise you're going to have a situation where men can say whatever they want in a workshop, but when they get home they will say: 'she needs to know where her place is.' Which is where by the way? 'It is as a quiet woman, crawling on the floor, bringing me food.'

In this excerpt, the practitioner acknowledges that doing work with men is needed but justifies her organisation's policy of working with women in order to bring about change within people's lives and relationships. She draws clearly on a woman's empowerment frame in her argument that women need to be empowered first in order to stop men from perpetuating gender inequalities.

Defining this conflict between social transformation and women's empowerment policy frames is the strategic positioning and defensiveness of those who take up a women's empowerment policy frame. Underpinning the women's empowerment narrative is a discourse about women being left behind in the emphasis on men and masculinities:

You're challenged [by donors] when you're working with groups of women. They say, oh, we also need to involve men. Okay, fine, let someone else involve men. I'm interested in taking women to a point where they feel that they are worthy and until they get to that point, I am not involving men! I'm not involving men because men are going to come in a crush. It's also quite difficult to talk about these issues; it's always taken as a fight because it's like you're attacking every man out there...and it's not like that but the majority of...the facts say that every twenty six seconds a woman is raped in South Africa and who's raping her?

(Co-director of a grassroots feminist organisation carrying out community-focused empowerment programmes with groups of women)

The other side of this debate approaches violence against women from the conviction that men have a vital role to play in challenging the gender inequalities that lead to violence, echoing the social transformation policy frame:

...the form of masculinity that is in our society, it makes men violent, you know, it promotes male dominance over women. So we need to intervene on that as well.

(Former field worker involved in a programme to address gender-based violence and HIV through community interventions)

The rationale evident in the quote above is that violence is a product of certain masculinities, and that these masculinities can be addressed through working with men to address violent behaviours. It infers that working with women will not have the desired effect of changing gender relations or addressing violence against women. There is a strong conviction that bringing men into gender and development is the way to effect social change:

You can track that often these men do have somewhat questionable behaviours and that attitudes are sometimes vicious, but actually over a period of time their behaviours can change and become more equitable. There's been an evidence-base for sustained interventions working with men on issues of gender equality.

Challenging social norms has led to substantial reductions in inter-partner violence, increases in condom use and increases in more equitable household behaviour among men. So men can and are changing.

(Representative from an organisation working on gender-based violence)

Despite strong opinions held on both sides of this debate about involving men, the strategic choices made about which activities to carry out, how interventions should be designed, and which target audiences should be involved are strikingly similar. Within strategies that challenge gender inequalities broadly, there is a strong emphasis on community-focused initiatives and transformative change for individuals. For women's organisations, activities were focused on providing 'safe spaces' for women to talk about experiences of violence and the gender inequalities that perpetuate these experiences. For organisations focused on addressing violence through working with men, the primary activity was group work discussing the gendered nature of violent behaviour (i.e. masculinities) and how this negatively impacts on both women and men. There is little difference between these types of activities other than the group being targeted. The underlying reason for conflict between those that adopt a policy of targeting women and those that choose to target

men may therefore be less about different ideas on how to bring about social change, and more about protecting funding allocations for the women's sector. A concern that donor funding will shift from women-focused programmes to men's programmes is evident not only in South Africa, but throughout the gender and development field internationally (Chant & Gutman, 2000).

While I certainly do not intend to resolve this debate among practitioners, I have raised it in this chapter as evidence for my argument that the debate itself may be reducing the capacity in South Africa for a collective social movement focused on gender or women. Policy debates can fracture and split social movements, undermining attention to social change by dividing stakeholders and reducing the presence of a unified voice in the policy arena. Writing about the woman's social movement in South Africa, both Shireen Hassim (2006) and Denise Walsh (2011) have recognised an absence of unified calls for action among women's activists lobbying for policy change. Hassim's (2006) analysis points to weak ties between the national political project of gender equality and women's community organisations, which she says "appear again to be adrift from any politically cohesive project" (p. 256). Discussions I had with interview participants about the women's movement supported this view that the potential for collective or shared action among development organisations working on gender in South Africa is limited. Several gender practitioners spoke about the absence of a collective women's movement in the interviews, including the following woman with years of experience working in advocacy and the media in South Africa:

If we can all join forces and speak in one word, it's just that we all speaking the same language but in different policies. So there's no like strong networks like there used to be during the time of apartheid with people from Cape Town, from KZN coming together on one day and supporting one agenda. Now everybody is trying to push their name.

This absence of a woman's movement can be partly attributed to the debate on involving men in addressing violence against women. An example from a workshop I attended in October of 2011 showed how the debate on involving men has formed two politically divisive opinions drawing respectively on social transformation and

women's empowerment narratives. This has presented a major barrier for collective efforts to address gender equality in South Africa.

The workshop involved representatives from many of the major gender and development organisations across South Africa and the wider region. Its purpose was to establish a southern and eastern African framework for analysing national HIV/AIDS strategic plans using a gender lens. Soon after the workshop began, there was an objection by one member of the group over the inclusion of a men and boys section in the draft version of the framework that had been put together by the organisers for discussion. The representatives from a men and boys organisation at the table fought this objection raising points about the value of including men as partners in any framework that hoped to better the lives of women and girls. Various members of the room took sides in this debate, which continued for well over an hour and was a reoccurring theme over the course of the one-day workshop. In my research notes I wrote that at one point the disagreement over this issue had the potential to completely derail the entire workshop. The group continued to work together after a reemphasis was put on working with women and girls by the workshop organisers. However, the core debate over the involvement of men and boys in the framework was never resolved and continued to play a role in the editing and consultation processes that followed the workshop. This experience points to the divisiveness of the debate among practitioners over the involvement of men in gender interventions. It is this divisive debate between practitioners that limits the potential for a social movement addressing gender equality in South Africa. The focus of practitioners is on the debate between those who choose to involve women in interventions and those that involve men rather than focusing on collaborative efforts and joined-up solutions.

5.6. Conclusions

In attempting to build a more nuanced picture of the relationship between gender policy and practice in South Africa, this chapter has mapped out the three policy frames being drawn on by a wide range of development actors from bilateral donors on gender to South Africa and multinational NGOs, to the South African

government, local networks and development organisations. This has also included accounts of gender policy from development practitioners as actors that are also involved in formulating policy within their organisations.

The three policy frames that are discussed in this chapter all have specific features that will be taken up again in *chapters six* and *seven*. The development instrumentalism frame is characterised by the argument that including women in development will bring about better economic outcomes and an emphasis on women and men. As argued, this provides moral justification for the interventions of the bilateral donors drawing on the frame. In contrast, the women's empowerment frame is characterised by its exclusive focus on women and has often benefited from the authority that comes from drawing on international and 'universal' human rights frameworks. Finally, the social transformation frame is characterised by a focus on gender relations, power and a focus on the need to transform the existing social hierarchy between men and women. This is the policy frame used by many smaller South African NGOs and provides the narrative for the justification of men's interventions, which have seen a significant boost in South Africa over the last five years as a means of addressing high levels of intimate partner violence. The details of these three policy frames and their differences provide the analytical material for the exploration in *chapter six* of how gender policy operates in the practices of development actors. How these three policy frames are adopted, manipulated and transformed is the focus of this next chapter.

Chapter seven returns to the description of the contested space of gender and development outlined in this chapter. While we think of policy conflicts as potentially negative in the ways they may inefficiently direct resources and funding to different counterproductive projects, in this chapter I have argued that policy conflicts can also undermine the search for the best possible solution. As shown in the example of gender mainstreaming, when practitioners disagree with alternative policy narratives they may inadvertently exclude valuable ideas that arise from alternative policy frames. This is certainly not always the case; the next chapter shows how practitioners often manipulate rather than reject policy frames in order to

suit their own objectives. However, this does point to one of the small consequences of policy conflict, conflict which becomes a major debilitating issue in the debate about involving men in gender interventions. The conflict between women's empowerment and social transformation policy narratives in the debate over involving men in gender interventions has created such a significant divide between practitioners that the potential for a collective social movement is in question. In *chapter seven* I take up this debate again to explore the effects this has on gender politics in South Africa.

6. Putting gender into practice

6.1. Introduction

As a thesis about the relationship between gender policy and practice in South African development organisations, this chapter identifies the specific characteristics of this relationship from the perspective of practice. It details how development practitioners in South Africa are drawing on gender policy in their organisational practice. Practice is understood here in the broadest sense of talk and action. Practices therefore include the daily tasks involved in designing and implementing gender programmes (e.g. searching for funding, attending meetings, or networking with other practitioners in the sector); internal administrative tasks (e.g. developing organisational policy, filling out forms, or attending training sessions); as well as the interactions and conversations about gender issues between practitioners and the individuals participating in interventions. In this chapter, these various gender practices are mapped and explicit connections made to the three policy frames identified in *chapter five*: (1) development instrumentalist, (2) women's empowerment, and (3) social transformation. By making these connections I am able to highlight some of the strategic ways that practitioners use policy in their everyday practices.

In reference to the theoretical framework for policy's relationship to practice in this thesis, this chapter puts the interface encounter of Long's actor-oriented approach (outlined in *chapter three*) into full use. The concept of interface provides a framework for flushing out the characteristics that define the relationship between gender policy and practice, while also taking account of the various social relations, networks and negotiations that occur within this relationship. The notion of interface helps to focus the analysis on how practices that draw on policies often do so within a relationship that is influenced by the strategic interests of individual practitioners, trends in gender policy, and/or the dependency of development practice on donor funding. This helps to convey the complexity of the relationship between policy and practice. The other components of the interface encounter, including the ways in

which it is connected to and influenced by surrounding discourses and power dynamics is taken up in *chapter seven*, which explores the effects of this complex relationship between gender policy and practice on gender politics.

Similar to findings from studies of policy in other contexts, gender policy has constraining effects on practice in South Africa, which are outlined at the beginning of this chapter. However, rather than the powerless implementers of gender policy, the data presented in this chapter shows how development practitioners are overcoming many of these constraints through strategically using a number of *tactical manoeuvres*. These tactical manoeuvres involve drawing on policy to maintain a focus on gender issues within development practice and obtain funding in the short term, and to re-politicise development interventions in the longer term. The second half of the chapter focuses on outlining this tactical use of policy frames within gender practice. Tactics or tactical manoeuvres are the terms used throughout this thesis, following Cornwall, Harrison and Whitehead's (2007) use of these terms to refer to policy-related turns of phrase used in the talk or writing of development agents or to specific actions taken up in practice that have been deliberately appropriated to achieve a particular strategic outcome. I show in this chapter how the relationship between gender policy and practice in South Africa is defined by these tactical manoeuvres, and not just the constraining effects of policy. This makes a contribution to the empirical literature by outlining the specific types of gender-related tactics being used by development agents in the South African context, and answers my second research question: *how does gender policy operate in the practices of actors in South African development organisations?*

6.2. Analytic procedures

The purpose of the analysis presented in this chapter is to provide empirical evidence for how development practitioners draw on gender policies in their organisational practice in order to make claims about what characterises the relationship between policy and practice. As stated in *Chapter one*, policy is referred to in this thesis not only as explicit strategies for tackling social issues, but also an implicit way of thinking about the social world. This chapter takes the three gender policy frames

outlined in the previous chapter and explores how they compare to practice at both an explicit level (practices that practitioners are aware of and claim to perform) and implicit level (practices that may not be obvious to the practitioner and that include certain assumptions about the social world). These findings about how gender policy is taken up in the practices of development agents in South Africa have been derived from the thematic network analysis of 32 interviews conducted with development practitioners and organisations' promotional and training materials.

In carrying out the thematic analysis, a coding framework was designed that sought to identify the different accounts of gender-related practice and how these connected to the policy frames described in *chapter five*; a process that has been described in detail in section 4.4.2 of *chapter four*. Overall, findings about the relationship between the policy frames and the practices of development actors point to how gender and development policy acts to constrain gender-related practice. However, as outlined at the beginning of this chapter, the influence of policy on practice is not always constraining and the analysis has been designed to capture the ways in which policy also facilitates certain strategic objectives. In doing the analysis, I identified 108 different gender-related practices across the policy sectors and classified these into four overarching themes, which I refer to in this chapter as 'practice networks'. These networks and their associated practices are summarised in detail as Appendix 4. The four practice networks bring together a range of different gender-related practices under common strategic objectives. These strategic objectives represent the outcome or vision that the various gender-related practices are intended to achieve. They include:

1. Improving knowledge about gender issues (i.e. violence, inequalities, rights)
2. Empowering women
3. Obtaining funding and support (legal, services and policy support)
4. Challenging gender power relations

In the final interpretive stage of the analysis I explored these four practice networks for patterns or defining characteristics related to gender policy. Through an iterative

process, I identified seven different policy-related tactics (summarised in table 6.1) used by practitioners. These tactics represent some of the ways that practitioners draw on policy (specifically the policy frames outlined in *chapter five*) in their practices. In section 6.4 I turn to a close examination of these tactics as they occur within three main policy sectors: education, HIV/AIDS and violence against women. First, I outline in section 6.3 below some general features of gender practice in South African development organisations and its constraints.

6.3. Gender practice and the constraints of policy

At the time of this study, several broad characteristics defined the relationship between gender policy and practice in South Africa. Firstly, there was significant crossover between the policy sectors within organisations; organisations rarely worked exclusively in one sector. For example one organisation involved in this study had a specific programme that addressed violence against women being perpetuated through the use of internet technology, which draws on two rather distinct policy sectors at the same time. Similarly, working with men was a sector that reaches across health initiatives, violence against women campaigns, and youth-focused interventions. In addition, both minority sexualities and gender identities were being addressed through justice and legislation mechanisms. This demonstrates a tendency for development practitioners to draw on a range of policy frames in their practice, some of which include the policy frames identified for gender in *chapter five*, while many others relate to policies from other sectors including HIV/AIDS, law, economics, and organisational development.

This cross-fertilisation of various sectors points to a second characteristic of gender policy and practice in South Africa arising from the data: participants mentioned the scarce amounts of funding for gender programming run by development organisations. While there have been increases in gender-related funding from large international donors over the last ten years these funds have only been accessible to large international organisations, leaving many of the smaller organisations behind (Alpízar, Clark, Pittman, Rosenhek, & Vidal, 2010). Faced with a small pool of financial resources, development practitioners had adjusted their gender programmes

and interventions in order to fit with sectors that were better funded. As the Executive Director of a large NGO that provided funding to smaller community-based organisations explained:

I mean we've seen what's happened to women's rights globally but particularly in our region, it was just decimated by lack of funding. Other things have become more important. HIV came along and the smart women's rights organisations got on that agenda and the ones that were sort of holding on and saying 'no, we will remain core to what we've always done', lost out.

This description of how 'smart' women's rights organisations shifted their programmes in order to take advantage of a new focus on HIV points to how policy acts to define and constrain practice in this context. While there may be a broad range of policy sectors represented by development organisations in South Africa, there is a need for organisations to follow funding priorities in order to stay relevant and in operation. This limits the freedom of organisations to choose or expand their gender-related practices.

The constraints of policy on practice were also evident in the limited range of specific approaches to gender that were being used within each policy sector. This is most striking in the violence against women sector, which has a strong focus on proactive prevention driven by a concern over institutional change that can reduce gender-based violence. The institutional environment includes the social services, legal supports, and law enforcement that support women who have experienced violence or abuse. This concern with institutional systems of support is equally important to, but was virtually ignored, in other sectors. This highlights the limited environment for gender practice in these other sectors. For example, within the HIV/AIDS sector gender interventions did not focus on improving the institutional environment of the health system as a core activity, but rather on changing the behaviours of individuals. Take for example the following statement from a practitioner who worked with men in order to reduce HIV prevalence in South Africa:

The idea here really is...how do we encourage men to promote gender equality and reduce gender-based violence in order to have an impact on the spread of HIV. So we are an organisation that works primarily with men and boys because we believe that violence is a male behaviour and that every man out there has got the potential to change.

This emphasis on behaviour as the means of improving health outcomes is consistent across the interviews with practitioners working within HIV and AIDS. The role of the health system in perpetuating or challenging gender inequalities in addition to the role of individual behaviours was rarely discussed by practitioners working with the HIV/AIDS sector, in spite of increasing evidence that gender inequalities shape and define health system responses (Coovadia, Jewkes, Barron, Sanders, & McIntyre, 2009) and contribute to significant gender discrimination among healthcare workers (Kim & Motsei, 2002; Lane, Mogale, Struthers, McIntyre, & Kegeles, 2008). Gender practice in the HIV/AIDS sector was limited to a focus on gender inequalities occurring at an individual behavioural level, which does not acknowledge the structural or institutional factors that also perpetuate gender inequalities and HIV (Campbell, 2003). This is one example of how policy discourses have constrained the solutions to gender issues that are imagined and implemented within practice.

The constraints of policy discourses and funding priorities have been identified as a feature of international development, and critiqued for their tendency to de-politicise potentially explosive issues such as gender, race and class (Ferguson, 1990; T. M. Li, 1999). The findings of this thesis confirm the de-politicising nature of policy, however, in this chapter I point to the persistent attempts that were made by practitioners to overcome the constraints of policy and to maintain a focus on gender inequalities in the face of de-politicised development practice. This highlights how the actions of development practitioners should not be understood solely as constrained by the governmentalising power of policy. While the practices of some practitioners did allude to an adoption of gender policy into practice and can be seen as complicit with policy's tendency to define and govern populations (Shore & Wright, 1997), practitioners manipulated and transformed policy in order to suit an alternative agenda. Practitioners not only act as implementers but also have their own

agency in choosing which policies to adopt or transform in their efforts to address South African gender politics. This is most clearly evident when looking at the tactics of development practitioners, which I now turn to.

6.4. The gender tactics of development practitioners

Development practitioners in South Africa used policy frames in their everyday practices in order to serve particular strategic interests. Some of these strategic interests were short term, such as obtaining funding for the organisation or a particular programme; while others were longer term such as ending violence against women or changing social norms. In terms of the relationship between gender policy and practice, the analysis presented in this chapter points to how policy frames were adopted, manipulated and transformed through the strategic tactics used by practitioners. In some cases, development practitioners adopted gender policy frames, directly aligning their strategic objectives with those of policy. In other cases policy frames were manipulated to achieve strategic objectives other than their original policy rationale or narrative. Table 6.1 outlines the gender tactics used by development practitioners in South Africa according to whether the tactic and its associated strategic objective represent an adoption, manipulation or transformation of gender policy.

Table 6.1: Gender tactics used by development practitioners in South Africa

Relationship to gender policy	Gender tactic	Strategic objective	Example
Adoption	Disseminating information	Improving knowledge about gender issues/ services	Educating women about gender and violence
	Developing skills of women and girls	Empowering women	Teaching women about their rights under South African law
Manipulating	Merging gender with better resourced programmes	Obtaining funding and support (from services and policy)	Merging AIDS with gender-based violence
	Using a more powerful discourse to obtain buy-in	Obtaining funding and support (from communities)	Adopting AIDS discourses
Transformation	Re-defining gender through lived experience	Challenging gender politics (social norms)	Group facilitation; forum theatre; storytelling
	Selectively implementing gender policy guidelines	Challenging gender politics (in organisations)	Transgender and MSM
	Adapting policy frames to include race/ class	Challenging gender politics (using race/ class)	Rejecting gender mainstreaming

Exploring the tactics used by practitioners highlights the specific ways that gender policy has not only constrained but also facilitated practice in often unexpected ways. Towards this goal, in the remainder of this chapter I discuss the details of the seven gender tactics drawn on by practitioners in the talk and actions of their everyday work and how this relates to the three policy frames of women's empowerment, instrumentalism and social transformation. This analysis points to how these policy frames were used by practitioners as gender tactics in different ways: women's empowerment policy frames tended to be adopted directly, whereas instrumentalist policy frames were often manipulated in practice in order to serve a strategic objective different from that of the original policy. Of the three policy frames, social transformation is the policy frame that underwent the most significant change because of a focus in practice on allowing individuals to define gender policy for themselves within the context of their own lives and experiences. In the

discussion, I draw on examples from the interviews with development practitioners, paying specific attention to the three policy sectors where the majority of gender interventions in South Africa were being carried out: education, HIV/AIDS, and violence against women.

6.4.1. Adopting gender policy

In adopting gender policy, practitioners repeated policy frames and narratives within the context of how they talked about and implemented gender interventions in their everyday work. This is how policy is often thought to be implemented within the progressive policy literature: policy is taken up directly into the practice of the implementers. However, as this chapter highlights, this adoption of gender policy was not blindly carried out by practitioners. It served a number of strategic interests; strategic interests that were often more aligned with appealing to donors than with bringing about changes in gender relations. Adopting policy was a strategic means for practitioners to demonstrate that a programme's objectives were aligned with the narrative being used by policy-makers in ways that were often counterproductive to gender-related objectives. For example, returning to the interview excerpt cited earlier:

I mean we've seen what's happened to women's rights globally but particularly in our region, it was just decimated by lack of funding. Other things have become more important. HIV came along and the smart women's rights organisations got on that agenda and the ones that were sort of holding on and saying 'no, we will remain core to what we've always done', lost out.

The rationale given by this practitioner for the adoption of gender policy is to gain access to funding. The organisations that choose not to adopt policy in this strategic way – those that maintain their core focus – are said to be 'losing out'. Adopting policy is seen as necessary for the survival of organisations in a limited funding environment. However, this also discourages practitioners from asking questions about how to address gender relations through programmes and interventions – questions that may be at the 'core' of what these organisations have 'always done'. In this way, policy adoption allows practitioners to meet donor requirements, but at

the same time discourages consideration of what type of policy may be most relevant for their practice.

I argue that this separation of practitioners from a critical evaluation of what types of practices are most relevant for gender relations in a particular context is a key feature of policy adoption. This is the case when policy is being adopted as a means of appealing to donors as with the example above, and is also the case when practitioners adopt gender policy as a tactic in the context of their practice. As outlined in Table 6.1, gender policy was adopted into the practice of the development actors involved in this study in two key ways: one, through disseminating information about gender; and two, developing the skills of women and girls as a means of empowerment. In describing the details of these two tactical forms of policy adoption below, I make a case for how, in adopting women's empowerment policy frames in particular, practitioners also avoid or separate their practice from a critical evaluation of what might be effective gender interventions or programmes for the surrounding social context.

In the first instance, gender policy was adopted as a means of educating women and girls about gender issues. For example, the following quote from the Director of a small NGO working on a gender module within the public school system. Here she describes how her programme was designed to use a policy frame of rights as a means of disseminating information about gender:

Essentially we looked at defining what gender is. A lot of the activity was based on the preceding module on human rights where we looked at rights, you know, rights and responsibilities and then we followed through on gender. So there was a whole lot of stuff that was going on about what rights are and who has rights and who doesn't and what it actually means.

In this case, a rights frame provided the basis for the educational programme to 'teach' students about gender. The policy frame of rights was taken up within practice in order to fill a gap in the knowledge of these students. The assumption being made here is that the programme participants lacked knowledge about gender issues and that the role of the practitioner was to provide this information. Focusing

on the knowledge gap that needed to be filled justifies the need for intervention. Another practitioner who provided participatory theatre within schools shows how the gap in knowledge is a rationale also being used to lobby government:

We advocate for social justice...we raise issues with government and say that there is gap there, we don't think you are doing enough life skills education in schools, you can see that our children don't have information.

Talking about the gap with government justifies the need for intervention through separating those that have the knowledge from those that do not. Rather than considering what these students do know about gender, or equality, fairness, etc., women's right policy frames are drawn on through notions of social justice in order to rationalise the need to intervene. Questioning the relevance of this knowledge for the context would not be helpful in making the case for why this policy needs to be adopted or why an intervention is needed, and is therefore avoided.

Practitioners adopted women's empowerment policy frames not only to make the case for intervention with government but also to make the case with potential programme participants. This again points to the strategic role played by the adoption of this policy into practice. It highlights how some policy adoption is not at all about addressing gender relations, but about promoting the services of an organisation. For example, a Programme Manager adopted a rights frame in order to provide incentives for women to use her organisation's services:

Once or twice a week we go out to local clinics. There's two local clinics that we work with where we go to raise awareness by talking to the patients that are in the waiting line and then give them the pamphlets and, you know, just basically talking to them about what, generally, violence is and telling them their rights as women to report that kind of violence and their right to go for treatment...rather counselling and therapy.

(Programme Manager, violence against women organisation)

The adoption of rights language in this description of the organisation's activities is in the practitioner's references to the 'right to treatment' and the 'right to report' – rights that are directly linked to the services that were offered by the organisation as

a violence against women counselling centre. Rights frames are adopted here in order to ‘sell’ services to potential clients. Again this policy adoption does not include a critical reflection on whether the services are needed by these particular women or whether women are interested in or able to take up these services. It merely points to their ‘rights’ for services and treatment as a persuasive technique.

Other practitioners do attempt to use women’s empowerment policy frames not for convincing government or selling services to women, but as a means of bringing about women’s empowerment. However, this policy adoption tactic may not be any better at considering the context surrounding the individuals who choose to participate in these types of programmes and interventions. The reason being: an exclusive focus on providing women with information as a means of bringing about empowerment. For example, these practitioners aimed to empower women through sharing information about their legal rights, as explained by the group facilitator for a community-based gender and HIV programme:

You know, equally important is also intervening on the structural kind of environment; I mean educate women and also empower them... continue to empower them with more information, continuing to empower them with, you know, with knowledge of the availability of laws that protect them.

Here knowledge about rights is taken directly as a means of empowering women. But what happens when women have information about their rights? The social context surrounding these women – including the role played by men, communities and broader social structures in maintaining women’s lack of power – are virtually ignored in this approach to teaching women about their rights.

In drawing on women’s empowerment policy frames to educate women and girls about gender issues, share information about services, and bring about ‘empowerment’, development practitioners are also adopting the exclusive focus on women that rests at the heart of these policy frames. I suggest it is as a result of this focus on women (and girls) that the adopting of women’s empowerment policy frames into practice may, in fact, be counterproductive to bringing about the empowerment that practitioners are trying to achieve in some cases. As a result of

the exclusive focus on women, the structural environment that makes it difficult for some women to bring about changes in their individual lives is often ignored. For example, what does a woman who knows her rights do in the face of an abusive relationship, a family who would not support her leaving her relationship, and a legal system that is not easy for her to navigate? While practices that involve educating women or teaching women about their rights may be ‘successful’ in putting women’s empowerment policy frames into practice, they also inherently underestimate the broader social context in which programme participants live out their daily lives. The adoption of policy contributes to practitioners’ lack of reflexivity or critical engagement with the broader social context that surrounds the participants of the programmes they are implementing. It allows them to fulfil the donor’s requirements without a real engagement with the ideas that lie behind these requirements and whether or not a particular intervention will bring about the desired outcomes.

In this way, policy adoption may not be a desirable outcome of the policy process after all. As outlined in *chapter five* policy narratives are intended to provide a coherent rationale for why a desired set of outcomes will arise from identified problems and proposed solutions. As shown through the data presented, the direct adoption of either generic policy or its narrative characteristics into the talk and action of development practice can lead to a lack of consideration of the reasons behind particular objectives. In other words, it may limit the search for more creative context-specific solutions that go beyond a focus on women’s empowerment or knowledge dissemination. It turns the focus of gender practice away from an engagement with gender or the power relations that shape women’s lives. In the end, the adoption of gender policy becomes a means of implementing a particular gender strategy without critical understanding or engagement in the ideas lying behind it.

6.4.2. Manipulating gender policy

Similar to its adoption, the manipulation of gender policy does not ask deeper questions about what context-specific approaches to practice may be needed. However, it does not directly adopt the narratives outlined in policy either and may serve alternative strategic ends that are not the role of policy frames. In manipulating

gender policy, practitioners adapted or changed policy narratives in the context of their practice in order to suit strategic objectives different from those outlined in policy itself. These strategic objectives were not the gender-related objectives outlined in policy narratives, but rather objectives that related more specifically to the everyday requirements of practice. In the case of development practice, this pertained to a focus on funding, resources and access to participants. In other words, development actors manipulated gender policy in order to gain the resources they needed to maintain the on-going operation of gender programmes or interventions.

In this section, I outline two principle ways that development practitioners manipulated gender policy in their practices in order to gain access to resources: one, through merging gender with better resourced programmes and two, through using a more powerful discourse to obtain buy-in. These tactics both represented a means for practitioners to overcome the constraints that have been put on practice by a limited focus on particular policy sectors and the funnelling of funding by donors into key policy areas. They provided a means of maintaining attention to gender issues in the face of a limited and constrained funding environment at a national and international level. At the local level, these tactics were also being used by practitioners in order to maintain or establish an interest in gender issues among potential programme participants.

In the context of dwindling donor funding for South Africa, and already limited resources for gender activities, practitioners often buried their gender objectives in AIDS-related programmes. As the sector with the highest amount of funding available for gender-related programming in South Africa, HIV/AIDS provide a valuable resource to gain access to funding for gender programmes. Gender programmes were frequently situated within the context of HIV and AIDS in funding proposals, promotional brochures and programme materials. For example, the following excerpt from a funding proposal for a three-year gender initiative developed by the Satyana Institute:

Need for Gender Reconciliation Initiative in South Africa

Since 1994, when Apartheid finally collapsed and the new government in South Africa was founded, the young new nation has encountered numerous major stumbling blocks. Chief among these, and surely the most visible, is the AIDS crisis. Today there are more than 600 AIDS deaths in South Africa every day, a tragedy that Archbishop Desmond Tutu recently characterized as equivalent to a mid-air collision between two fully loaded 747 Jumbo Jets every day. Meanwhile there are an estimated 900 new AIDS infections every day in South Africa, resulting in a rapidly growing AIDS population.

Less visible but no less damaging to the fabric of South African society, rape and sexual violence have reached catastrophic proportions since Apartheid ended. United Nations statistics reveal that South Africa has the highest incidence of reported rape in the world. Estimates vary, but conservative sources indicate that a woman or girl is raped in South Africa every 26 seconds. This translates into more than 1.2 million rapes per year, a staggering number in a population of some 23 million females. Young girls have been increasingly targeted, partly fuelled by the erroneous notion that one can be cured of AIDS by having sex with a virgin. A related factor is that younger girls are perceived as less likely to be contaminated with the HIV virus, and are therefore more desirable targets for rape. Gang rape is common in South Africa.¹⁴

The AIDS crisis and a high prevalence of rape in the context of HIV/AIDS are two main reasons provided in this proposal for the need for a gender initiative. Rather than statistics that support the case for gender inequalities in South Africa in and of itself, it is HIV/AIDS that acts as a means of appealing to donors and obtaining support for the gender intervention. The strategic objective of the initiative – to address the gender inequalities that contribute to the rape of women and girls – is manipulated in order to take advantage of the strong support for HIV/AIDS among potential donors.

¹⁴ Cited from: www.satyana.org/pdf/budget%20proposal%202008.pdf, Retrieved 28 May 2012.

Gender policy is also being manipulated by larger organisations that have decided to merge their AIDS and gender programmes in order to maximise available budgets. The following practitioner belongs to one such large organisation, and explained the need to manipulate programming to suit funding priorities:

In terms of our overseas funding for this year, sometimes South Africa is seen as a middle-income country and not such a huge focal point. There's always the flavour of the month; whether it's domestic violence or HIV or whatever is next. So we need to look at how to not be driven by funding priorities, to stay focused on our core business. But within our core business, we need to include what funders are demanding on the outside also.

In this context, the significant funding provided for AIDS in the country provides practitioners with a potential source of funding for gender programming if organisations are willing to adapt to donors' agendas.

It is through manipulating gender policy that organisations have been able to adapt to the HIV/AIDS agenda and position themselves appropriately. Gender policy frames have been shifted or changed in order to accommodate a new focus on HIV within gender programmes or interventions. The Gender and HIV Manager of a large Christian organisation explained how this process occurred within her organisation:

So the HIV mainstreaming unit was running on its own with its own programmes, and at the same time the Gender Desk was also running its own... In 2008 it was decided to merge the gender and HIV programmes. So the unit that had been working on HIV issues and the unit that had been working on gender issues came together as one and that's how now I'm in Gender and HIV. Now it's collapsed into one programme because there was quite a huge push you know to really address HIV issues, and also a realisation that resource and finance wise it's very difficult to keep these two programmes going separately but also content wise it's very difficult to separate gender from HIV.

This practitioner recognised the significant 'push' for AIDS funding in South Africa as part of the reason why her organisation decided to merge its HIV/AIDS and gender programmes into one. In this case, however, gender was subsumed within HIV/AIDS interventions: the need to acknowledge the role of gender inequalities in

HIV was recognised, but the other areas where gender inequalities could play a role in programming were subsequently neglected. Gender policy was manipulated in order to take advantage of funding trends, but the relevance of gender issues outside of HIV/AIDS was also overlooked.

This raises a concern for the manipulation of gender policy in practice. When policy frames are used for strategic purposes such as obtaining funding or maintaining a focus on gender within HIV, gender-related objectives can become lost in the focus on organisational requirements and procedures. The dominance of HIV/AIDS as a policy domain provides a particular example of how this has happened in the South African context. Gender has become increasingly associated with AIDS programming as organisations manipulate their policy focus in order to remain operational in the face of funding trends. However, the result has been a lack of focus on gender relations in other areas of social life: employment or childcare, for example.

This being said, HIV/AIDS remains a critical issues for South Africa, and gender practice has gained considerably from its alliance between HIV resources. These benefits also extend to the individual level: HIV/AIDS is an issue very close to the lives of South African, most of whom have experienced intimate contact with the disease either personally or through a family member. As such AIDS is a useful entry point for practitioners to discuss gender issues. Several of the practitioners interviewed were using HIV/AIDS as a tactic for highlighting the importance of gender issues in the lives of individuals and communities in South Africa in order to gain buy-in or permission to undertake interventions. Take for example this excerpt from an interview carried out with the Director of an organisation who talked about how she had approached the traditional leader of a community where she hoped to do a gender intervention.

Practitioner: We went in and we were very conscious to tell him that we were working on gender issues. We are talking about gender and women's rights. I was very upfront with it. I'm not going to hide it. It's got to be on the table, that's why we are here.

Interviewer: And how did he react?

Practitioner: They all listened. I said why it was important and sort of linked it to HIV/AIDS and let them know that it's one of the main drivers of the HIV pandemic and we are all dying. Which is true, that area has the highest incidence of HIV in the world. And if we don't do something about this in a different way, which is what gender is - this is actually fundamentally about gender and power, and women's inability and men's inability to change – then we are going to die. Do you want to die, or do you want to change?

An analysis of this interview excerpt provides several insights into how AIDS was strategically leveraged to talk about gender with this community. First of all, in stating the need to be upfront about the proposed intervention being about gender and women's rights, and saying 'I'm not going to hide it', the practitioner infers that gender is something that others may feel the need to hide, and/or that she was expecting a rejection from the community leader of what she was proposing. When I asked how the community leader reacted, she stated 'they all listened', showing that not only did she fear that they wouldn't listen, but that she had managed to gain their attention. Gender was presented in this interview as a 'hard sell' to the community leaders, as something that is often seen as unimportant and that needs to be strategically linking to HIV/AIDS in order to obtain buy-in from traditional leaders. In this case (and as was frequently the case), convincing traditional leaders of the importance of taking on gender interventions presented a challenge for the practitioner. AIDS provided the strategic tool for arguing that a gender intervention was needed in this community.

The relevance of HIV/AIDS in the lives of South Africans was also used by practitioners to explain gender to programme recipients. For example, practitioners talked of using storytelling in the classroom and in theatre as a 'safe' means of bringing up sensitive issues around HIV, sexuality and gender. But what makes HIV particularly useful as a means of raising the issue of gender inequalities? Why not tell stories about inequalities in housework or domestic violence that engage audiences in discussions? A development practitioner that worked on gender awareness with organisations across the country claimed that AIDS provides an

easier means of talking about gender issues because you are already talking about sex:

In some sectors there's more openings, like in talking about HIV there's more openings to talk about [gender] because you're talking about sex. It's easier to talk about sexuality when you're talking about HIV than when you talk about housing. In some places, that automatically makes the space easier.

In this way, HIV/AIDS specifically played a strategic role for development practitioners in their efforts to relate the importance of gender to the experiences of individuals and groups.

In sum, HIV/AIDS was leveraged by development practitioners in aligning priorities with available funding, and in using AIDS as a means of talking about gender issues. It provided a basis for storytelling about gender inequalities, and for drawing links between personal experiences of a prevalent disease and gender issues, which are often less evident in lived experience. In these ways, using HIV/AIDS in gender interventions allowed practitioners to serve a range of strategic interests around attaining funding, getting gender in the door of resistant communities, and helping individuals understand the impact of gender inequalities on their personal day-to-day lives. In this study, these are some of the concrete ways that practitioners subverted the constraining effects of gender policy – manipulating policy to suit their own objectives.

In many ways the uptake of HIV with gender practice is instrumental, and draws from the instrumentalist policy frame identified in *chapter five*. In appealing to donor priorities and obtaining buy-in from communities, addressing gender inequalities is being explained by practitioners as instrumental to addressing HIV. However, while practitioners used these policy frames strategically, they did not appear to be adopting these instrumental objectives into the rationale for their own practice. Gender practitioners did not see the objectives of their practice as bringing about better outcomes for development or as solely about addressing HIV; gender equality remained at the core of what these practitioners were trying to achieve. Drawing on instrumentalist gender policy frames represented a calculated manipulation of these policy narratives in order to serve practitioners' gender objectives.

Manipulating gender policy frames through drawing on social issues that are perceived to be more important in the lives of South Africans is a strategically powerful manoeuvre for practitioners. However, in positioning gender within these ‘larger’ issues, the importance of gender within the everyday realities of men and women run the risk of being neglected (as with gender and HIV programme mergers described earlier in this section). By using HIV as the rationale for addressing gender inequalities, the additional ways that gender relations impact our lives – through other health inequalities, reproduction, care provision, employment discrimination, gender-based violence, etc. – are virtually ignored. Gender becomes something that must be considered with HIV/AIDS programming or in the experience of living with HIV, but not something that is understood as integral to the rituals, relationships and experiences of our everyday lives. I look at the effects of this focus on gender and HIV in more depth in *chapter seven*.

6.4.3. Transforming gender policy

In contrast to its adoption and manipulation, the transformation of gender policy begins to embrace a critical perspective on policy narratives and engage in deeper questions about the role of context in shaping practice. In transforming gender policy, practitioners turned gender policy into something different from the original: the policy narrative (the definition of the problem and proposed solutions) was often changed entirely through the process of putting it into practice. In the data, development practitioners transformed gender policy in three specific ways: they selectively implemented policy guidelines; adapted policy frames to include race/class; and redefined gender through the lived experience of programme participants. All three of these manoeuvres pay attention to the gendered aspects of the social context (which I refer to as *gender politics* throughout this thesis); they use this context in developing tactical approaches to gender policy, transforming the policy in order to suit the context of its practice. In this section, I look at each of these tactics in turn in order to explain why gender policy transformation is both necessary and desirable.

Evident in the data was the way that some practitioners deliberately transformed gender policy through selectively picking and choosing from policy guidelines. Some of these practitioners were more forthcoming than others about how they had transformed the gender policy of their donors in their practice. A particularly outspoken Advocacy Manager for a transgender support organisation had the following to say about a research programme they were currently implementing:

There has not been any research about transgender people in South Africa. We are starting the first one next month that's running in conjunction with our HIV programme...they are busy with the questionnaire at the moment and I am thinking they will probably be clever and make it quantitative where we are focusing on more than just people's HIV practices...it is funding for a MSM Programme, which is men who have sex with men, but okay we will take it. Maybe we can change them through the feedback we give to them each month and we can give it to transgender women. It can also focus on transgender men.

In this excerpt from the interview, this practitioner speaks to the specific transformations the policy of targeting men who have sex with men in the context of HIV has undergone in the practices of this transgender organisation: the survey for men who have sex with men will be given to transgender women (who are biologically men) and to transgender men (who identify as men). The population this organisation works with simply does not fit the simplistic gender categories of the original policy, requiring this organisation to transform the policy to suit the social realities of its practice.

For this organisation, the transformation of gender policy is necessary in order to address the needs of the population it is supporting. The policy narrative of gender, which often focuses on men or women as targeted groups, does not fit the transgender population targeted. This means that the organisation is forced to transform gender policy within its practices in order to ensure the needs of this group are being met through the organisation's activities. While an example of a rather marginalised population within the South African context, the challenges of drawing on gender policy to meet the needs of transgender individuals is similar to the challenges that face any group that may not fit into neat identity categories of men

and women. This includes the needs of those who are multiply positioned through other social inequalities in the South African context, including race or ethnicity. A key example of how gender policy has been transformed by practitioners in order to address interlocking social inequalities is provided in the case of gender mainstreaming.

Gender mainstreaming is an internationally formulated policy that was taken up by a number of donor organisations for South Africa in the early 2000s as a means of addressing the absence of gender considerations within ‘mainstream’ development organisations. The policy narrative drawn on in gender mainstreaming policy at an international level tells the story of the need to assess the implications for men and women (again drawing on neat identity categories) in order to bring about gender equalities, as evident in the United Nations Economic and Social Council’s (ECOSOC) definition:

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

The stress on women and men at the heart of this definition of gender mainstreaming is reminiscent of the instrumentalist policy frame outlined in *chapter five*, and indeed gender mainstreaming is outlined as a policy solution by many of the donors that draw on this frame. This characteristic of gender policy frames was both highly contested and often transformed in the practices of development actors in this study.

One of the reasons for this transformation was the absence of race and class in policy narratives that focus on generalised categories of women and men, and do not consider the differences between women or the multiple forms of inequality that impact the lives of black women in South Africa. For example the Co-director of a grassroots feminist organisation mentioned the need to transform gender

mainstreaming (and gender policy more generally) into practices that encompass race and class in the following way:

So some people have more power than other people and the whole issue of gender and power, gender power relations intercepts with other forms of power relations in society, especially class and race in South Africa. And that intersection is never dealt with. Okay, so we never speak. And when we talk about gender in gender mainstreaming training or when we're doing gender mainstreaming in organisations or whatever, we never actually address class and race.

The gender policy narrative of assessing the needs of men and women in order to bring about gender equality is rejected in this excerpt for its neglect of race and class and the ways these social inequalities interconnect with gender. In order to fit the realities of the local context and the race and class issues that are at play within gender inequalities, the transformation of gender mainstreaming policy is necessary. In an interview with another practitioner from the same organisation, it becomes clear how this grassroots feminist organisation negotiated attention to gender, race and class in the context of their practices. At this point in the interview, this practitioner was discussing how she raises issues of gender and power within the focus groups she facilitates for the organisation:

In South Africa we're coming from a long, long history of colonialism and of apartheid, and of course those things have had an impact. People talk about inherited pain. You were not there many years ago during world war two, but you understand what people went through. You've sort of inherited that fear. So because my parents have lived through apartheid, it becomes even harder for them to try and change and let go because they know that a person can have the power to do this. And if I let go of this little bit of power that I have, what is going to happen?

Here, this practitioner is drawing on a narrative quite differently from the narrative outlined by any of the gender policy frames in *chapter five*. She talks about inherited pain and the role this plays in men's desire to maintain power and privilege over women in South Africa. This is one example of how development practitioners are transforming policy narratives into context-specific approaches through their practice.

This adaptation of gender policy narratives to suit the local context of practice is a desirable outcome of the relationship between policy and practice. It shows that practitioners in South Africa have critically explored the relevance of gender policy for the gender issues they are facing in the context of their practice. When gender policy is too rigid in its approach (the categories of women/men for example), it is transformed into a different type of practice. Rather than representing a ‘failure’ of policy, this type of transformation of gender policy should be seen as a means by which practitioners shift and adapt policy frameworks in order to suit the needs they themselves have identified. The likelihood that these transformed practices will meet the needs of individual beneficiaries is also likely to be improved.

In fact, meeting the needs of individual beneficiaries was the key objective behind much of the gender policy transformation observed in this study. The mechanism or tactic used by practitioners to bring about this transformation of gender as it has been defined in policy was to base the conceptualisation of gender within the personal lived experience of programme beneficiaries. The rationale for this transformation was explained by the following practitioner who worked with groups of women on issues related to power:

For me, for real gender mainstreaming for me to happen I need to understand for myself how I am affected by gender, what gender is for me in the reality of my life. Then I can start to see it elsewhere and to see how I can sort of try and change or try and influence change around me. But if – I guess this is true with a whole lot of things in life, a whole lot of changes – if you don’t personalise the change, the change is not sustainable. It becomes fake.

In other words, it is through drawing on personal understandings of gender relations that sustained changes in inequalities can be brought about. Defining gender through personal experience was a tactic used by several practitioners in this study, and represents one of the most prevalent examples of how gender policy was being transformed in practice. Three distinct types of practice that draw on this tactic were present in the data including: group facilitation, forum theatre, and storytelling. I provide examples of each of these below.

There was a clear methodology around how to make this connection between gender and lived experiences that involved drawing on common experiences among women or girls as a base to then discuss broader power dynamics. For example, in an interview with an independent gender consultant who had run an HIV awareness programme for a group of 12-year olds, the consultant outlined how she facilitated the discussion of gender inequalities by drawing on children's personal experiences:

Then I would do HIV and gender and I would do a bit of stats: so, how many women do you think at a clinic are infected with HIV? A public clinic versus a private clinic, that kind of stuff. And then I would do a bit of visualising with them about the first time they experienced things differently because they were a boy or a girl. And then we start talking about the different realities for boys and girls and men and women and why that is.

Similarly, in an interview with the Executive Director of a women's rights organisation, the personal experience of being pregnant figured as a means of discussing gendered power dynamics:

We worked with a group of women speaking about their experiences of being pregnant and being tested for HIV. And the human rights abuses involved in that experience... And looking at the power dynamics inherent and what it's done in health care and the vulnerability when they're pregnant.

Both of these excerpts draw on the commonality of personal experiences in order to engage individuals in broader discussions about power dynamics and the impacts of gender inequalities on their daily lives. This was a means for the practitioners to make connections between these lived experiences and gender.

In some ways the tactic of drawing on lived experience is similar to the social transformation policy frame outlined in *chapter five*, namely in its attention to power dynamics between men and women. However, this similarity does not take away from the transformative nature of this tactic. The nature of policy is to create narratives of problems and solutions in order to justify action, and provide clear frameworks (i.e. around gender) so that these actions will bring about specific outcomes. For the social transformation policy frame this narrative is around the

power inequalities between men and women and the need to address this unequal relationship through development intervention. In contrast, practitioners that focused on lived experience questioned the very idea that gender relations could be defined at all. Instead they were ambivalent about the type of change that might take place, and emphasised the need for a personal process of transformation on the part of participants. This ambivalence was most evident in an interview with one practitioner from a gender organisation that specialised in forum theatre:

We always work from the premise of the self, it starts with the self. And so there's a huge personal development aspect to the way we work. So that, at the end, regardless of what is done, the engagement with the self by the participant gets elevated and results in some kind of personal transformation.

This practitioner makes no claim about what personal transformation should look like at the end of the intervention. Gender-related social change is left open to be defined by the individuals involved in the intervention, and/or the audience, in the case of forum theatre. This type of approach runs counter to the need for policy to define problems and the solutions that will bring about specific outcomes by leaving the outcomes themselves undefined. Even the problem itself is often left open to interpretation in order to provide an opportunity for recipients to define this for themselves. In talking about how he raises gender issues without actually defining gender as a problem for his school-based programme, the following Group Facilitator told the following story:

There was a session where we were talking about decision-making, and there was a little scenario that was used, a story that brought out a lot of gender issues and how decisions are made. It talked about a young girl who was in love with a young man who lived in another village across the river. For them to see each other one of them had to cross the river, and one day the river was flooded. The girl wanted to go and see her boyfriend, so she asked a man who owned a boat in the village to take her across. The man said, 'I can only take you across if you sleep with me', and eventually the girl agreed. She slept with him, and he kept his word and took her across the river. When the girl told her boyfriend what had happened, the boyfriend became very angry and that was the end of their relationship. There was a lot of

discussion at the end of that story. The learners were asked to rate who was the good character, who was the bad character, and give reasons for each. This brought up a lot of gender issues.

This storytelling technique leaves the definition of gender open to the audience's interpretation. In this case, it allowed students to connect the story to their own personal experiences of gender in the discussion. Gender policy is transformed here in the context of practice itself, and the role of the practitioner is to let this transformation take place. This particular form of transformation is not about fitting gender policy frames to the social context as it is defined by practitioners (as with the discussion of race and class adaptation of policy), but about allowing programme recipients to define gender for themselves in the context of a particular group setting. This has both positives and negatives in terms of practice. On the one hand, it resolves many of the problems of defining gender for others inherent in development intervention. The problems of rigid approaches to women and men are largely resolved in allowing individuals to define gender for themselves. On the other hand, it is difficult to account for whether or not these types of personal transformative experience have any lasting impacts on gender inequalities. They may be good at stimulating group discussion about gender issues, but how does this bring about actual change in the lives of individuals? I come back to this issue in the discussion of the effects of practice on gender politics in *chapter seven*.

6.5. Conclusions

In this chapter, I have explored the relationship between gender policy and practice from the perspective of practitioners. The findings highlight that while there are certainly constraints placed on practice through policies that define the parameters for interventions and identify funding priorities, development practitioners in South Africa are circumventing many of these constraints through drawing on policy to suit their own objectives. Practitioners have adopted a number of different tactical approaches to gender policy in their practice, pointing to the active role practitioners play in determining how policy is appropriated and to what end. Far from being

powerless implementers, practitioners are active participants in defining and shaping policy outcomes.

Broadly this chapter points to the tremendous value this has for gender practice. It is when practitioners transform gender policy that key connections are made between gender and the social context for programme recipients. Tactical manoeuvres used by practitioners to include race and class in programme narratives demonstrate how policy has been adapted to incorporate intersections between gender and race for the South African context. Other tactics of practitioners have involved allowing programme recipients to define gender within the context of their own lives and experiences. Rather than a bastardisation of gender policy, these types of transformations represent clear attempts by practitioners to improve the relevancy of programmes or interventions for the context in which they work.

However, in many ways this runs against the grain of commonly accepted understandings of policy processes that see policy implementation, and policy adoption, as the best possible outcome. The findings of this study show that, in fact, the straight adoption of gender policy may be less than desirable. Gender practices that are based on a rationale for intervention defined within policy are often too general for the context where they are carried out. This extends to the very conceptualisations of gender that are adopted. For example, the inability of generalisations about women and men made in some gender policy to capture the complex power dynamics of gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, etc. that define the South African context. As I discuss at length in *chapter seven*, drawing on generalised, binary categories of men and women can have a reifying effect on social norms, confirming rather than challenging differences between the genders. Even the manipulation of gender policy is more desirable than its adoption in some cases. By manipulating policy to achieve goals around funding, practitioners have been able to gain the resources needed to carry out the types of gender interventions they feel are required. However, in the end, the transformation of gender policy still appears to offer the best opportunity for development practice to meet the objectives that are defined by the men and women who are actually involved as participants.

This evidence of how practitioners are adopting, manipulating and transforming policy further confirms the notion of gender policy as a contested space in South Africa, which I make the case for at the policy level in *chapter five*. At a practice level, conflict occurs between those who choose to adopt policy frames – gender mainstreaming for example – and those who manipulate or transform these policies to suit their own priorities. Those who choose to transform gender policy in the context of their practice often critique those who adopt it blindly, as can be seen with many of the critiques leveraged against organisations in the debate over gender mainstreaming discussed in section 5.5.1. Differences in perspectives on what kind of policy transformation is needed also add fuel to the fire of conflicts over working with men discussed in section 5.5.2. In the next chapter, I look more closely at effects of the contested and conflictual space of gender policy and practice in South Africa both in terms of the limitations it has created and the alternatives that may have arisen for a new gender politics.

7. Gender Politics

7.1. Introduction

The focus of the previous two chapters has been on characterising the relationship between gender policy and its practice in development organisations in South Africa. These chapters have pointed to the contested space of gender policy and the specific ways policy is being strategically drawn on in practice through a number of tactical manoeuvres. However, up until this point little has been said about the effects this relationship has had on gender politics – the social and political space in which gender interventions are taking place. As a result several questions remain. What has happened when policy narratives have been adopted directly rather than transformed to suit a particular social context? When gender policy frames were transformed by practitioners, what did these transformations look like? What has been the impact on gender politics of a policy space that is inherently contested and conflictual? HIV/AIDS has provided practitioners with a strategic means of convincing others of the importance of gender inequalities, but how did this strategic use of HIV affect the politics of gender interventions?

In responding to these questions, this chapter answers the third research question of this thesis: *What are the effects of how gender policy operates in practice on gender politics?* My key argument in this chapter is that gender politics in South Africa has been largely defined by categorical notions of gender as a hierarchal relationship between men and women. These notions take gender as a dichotomous classification of bodies and assume men and women to be natural opposites (Connell, 2011). I argue in this chapter that this notion has limited the possibilities for alternative understandings of gender that challenge existing inequalities. However, I also point to the ways in which practitioners have carved out new spaces for resistance to this approach that draw attention to alternative masculinities/ femininities.

This argument draws directly from the theoretical framework outlined in *chapter three*. As summarised in that chapter, a gendered understanding of the power/knowledge dynamics at play within the relationship between policy and

practice is needed. The purpose of this chapter is to reinterpret the findings presented in *chapters five* and *six* through this gender lens. The gendered understanding of power/knowledge dynamics employed in this chapter draws on scholars including Butler and Connell who argue that categorical notions of gender limit the possibilities available to men and women in understanding and challenging the gendered realities of their lives (Butler, 1993; Connell, 1987). It is in drawing on this critique of categorical notions of gender that I explore some of the limitations of the current form of gender politics in South Africa. As I show in this chapter, categorical notions of gender have significantly constrained gender-related practices in South Africa, limiting the ability of social politics to challenge gender inequalities in effective ways. By analysing this study's data through gendered understandings of power/ knowledge dynamics I am able to make claims in this chapter about what an alternative gender politics might look like. Previous studies have set the stage for these claims. For example, studies from South Africa point to the changing nature of masculinities in this context (Hunter, 2010; Morrell, 1998), highlighting the potential for alternative masculinities to challenge existing gender inequalities (Demetriou, 2001). In this way, the theoretical framework outlined in *chapter three* provides a means of exploring both the current state of gender politics in South Africa and the potential for new alternative that draw on the changing nature of masculinities and femininities as a conceptual framework.

In order to contextualise my argument in this chapter, I draw on three features of the relationship between gender policy and practice in South Africa identified in *chapters five* and *six*: (1) the strategic use of HIV/AIDS for gender practice; (2) the focus on women and girls in women's empowerment policy frames and practice; and, (3) the debate among practitioners about the involvement of men in gender practices addressing violence. These three features help to highlight the current state of gender politics in South Africa and show specifically how it is defined by a categorical notion of gender, as well as laying out spaces of resistance. I begin by looking at how this categorical notion of gender has taken precedence within uses of AIDS as a tactic in the practice of development actors. Secondly, I explore the rejection of gender for an emphasis on women and girls, which frames women as

rational individuals responsible for their own empowerment and further affirms categorical notions of women. Thirdly, I look closer at the debate about involving men in gender interventions summarised in *chapter five*, and examine the ways this debate has opened up possibilities for resistance against current gender politics in work with masculinities. In a fourth and final section I explore the possibilities for new forms of gender politics through a re-politicisation of gender. These possibilities are based on practices that focus on accessing personal understandings of power in the context of interventions, which were being implemented in South Africa at the time of this study. It is through these practices, I argue, that the categorical notions of gender evident in policy and practice are being slowly dismantled and replaced with a more political form of gender practice. However, I show how these strategies also face constraints through current understandings of policy as a linear process that can be planned for, implemented and measured. This leads to the discussion in *chapter eight* of some of the implications of this study for gender policy going forward.

7.2. Analytic Procedures

The analytical framework for *chapter's five* and *six* was based on the interface encounter at the heart of Norman Long's actor-oriented approach. This interface encounter provided a means of looking at the complex ways in which gender policy interacts with the practices of development actors from the perspective of policy (*chapter five*) and the perspective of practice (*chapter six*). This chapter steps outside of the interface encounter in order to reflect on its effects – the effects of the characteristics of this relationship between gender policy and practice. Norman's Long's actor-oriented approach outlined in *chapter three* provides a means of doing this by situating the interface encounter within a broader framework of power/knowledge dynamics.

As mentioned in the introduction, this chapter draws on a gender-specific interpretations of the power/ knowledge dynamics surrounding the interface between gender policy and practice. In this approach, power refers to a circulating force that is drawn on and reproduced by social actors in particular contexts in the form of knowledge. Particular forms of power/knowledge – such as categorical notions of

gender – have greater import than others for reasons that are outlined in this chapter in reference to the relationship between policy and practice (i.e. categorical notions of gender can be persuasive in powerful ways). This chapter explores how power/knowledge shapes and is resisted in efforts to address gender inequalities.

The analysis presented in this chapter is therefore a re-interpretation of the findings presented in *chapters five* and *six*. The specific characteristics of the relationship between policy and practice identified in these previous chapters (i.e. the conflictual nature of gender policy frames; and the adoption, manipulation and transformation of these frames in practice) are analysed here in relation to the power/ knowledge dynamics relevant to gender. This has resulted in a new set of findings about the effects of these characteristics on gender politics in South Africa. These findings are presented in this chapter according to three main case examples: the manipulation of gender policy through drawing on HIV/AIDS (*section 7.3*), the adoption of women's empowerment policy frames that focus on women and girls (*section 7.4*), and the contested and conflictual space of gender policy in South Africa (*section 7.5*).

7.3. Talking about gender in the context of AIDS

In *chapter six* I outline how HIV/AIDS is being strategically used by practitioners in order to promote the necessity of addressing gender in requests for funding, in discussions with communities, and in educational interventions. In this section I discuss how locating gender within HIV and AIDS discourses has had certain effects on how gender as a concept has been approached and talked about by gender practitioners in South Africa. The most apparent of these effects is the persistence of a dichotomous categorisation of gender through drawing on sex/gender binaries as a framework for understanding gender's relevance to HIV and AIDS. This binary understanding of gender has obscured considerations of gender-related power relations and marginalised alternative understandings of gender in ways that re-affirm particular norms of masculinity/ femininity. An overview of the sex/gender binary within HIV and AIDS is needed before turning to a description of its effects in this context.

The notion of a binary sex/gender system has been widely adopted by the field of gender and HIV/AIDS. Sex is defined as the biological differences between men's and women's bodies, while gender becomes the socially constructed characteristics given to these differences. Implicit in this separation of sex from gender is a tendency towards biological determinism: gender is represented as the flexible and fluid social characteristics that are mapped onto a stable and neutral biological difference. Gender therefore cannot exist or be understood without references to the biological difference between men and women. The vast majority of academic literature on gender and AIDS defines sex and gender in this way by explaining the particular vulnerability of women to HIV in the southern African region as having two root causes. One, women are more biologically vulnerable as a result of the physiological properties of female sexual organs in comparison to men's sexual organs. Two, women are more sociologically vulnerable as a result of women's lack of ability to negotiate decisions about their sexual practices (Shefer et al., 2008) and the contribution of 'harmful' masculinities to unsafe sexual behaviour (Jewkes, Dunkle, et al., 2010). Part of the success of the binary notion of sex/gender within the field of HIV and AIDS can be attributed to its easy alignment with traditional biomedical approaches to sex as a biological and neutral entity. The sex/gender distinction does not challenge notions of the sexed body as an object that can be objectively studied by medical science; rather it helps to separate the body from the confusion of the social world by representing cultural understandings of gender as social phenomena that are then mapped onto the physical body through social experience.

The tactical manoeuvres of practitioners that use HIV/AIDS as a resource to leverage gender issues (*chapter six*) reproduces this binary. This same binary division between sex as biological and gender as sociological is reproduced in the discourses drawn on by South African development organisations working in HIV and AIDS. Take for example the following text samples from training materials for two different organisations. The first excerpt is from a religious organisation with a large programme targeting HIV and AIDS, and the second is from an organisation focused

on engaging men and boys in addressing violence against women in order to reduce the spread of HIV.

Excerpt 1:

Gender refers to the way that societies or culture define what men and women should be like – their different roles, behaviours, and even what qualities are considered appropriate for each to have. For example, it might say that women should be compassionate, gentle and nurturing, while men should be forceful, strong and take leadership. Whereas the sex of the person relates to their physical and sexual being, i.e. the biological, physical make up of women and men. This could be said to be natural or God-given, whereas gender is what we call ‘socially constructed’. (p.4)

Excerpt 2:

Gender: The socially-defined differences between women and men (society’s idea of what it means to be a man or women). These definitions of difference change over time and from society to society. (p.5) Sex: The biological differences between the male and the female. (p.6)

Clear distinctions are made in both excerpts between gender as social or cultural characteristics, and sex as the biological or physical make-up of an individual. Both practitioners and academics located in the field of HIV and AIDS divide gender from its biological characteristics as a means of separating what can be changed (the social) from what cannot be changed (the biological). This provides a valuable tool for practitioners working within HIV and AIDS because of its conceptual simplicity and explanatory power in dealing with what are perceived to be heavily theoretical concepts.

While it might be valuable to practitioners for its explanatory abilities, the division of sex as biological and gender as social has side-lined the necessary consideration of power in gender relations within the social and political space where gender interventions are being carried out. Gender is rarely discussed as an important social determinant on its own in organisational materials, and almost always involves an explanation of how gender is related to the biological differences between men and women. The idea implicit in this is that biological differences between men and

women provide the basis for how gender is differentiated, which can serve to justify rather than disrupt gender roles and ignore the role of power in gender relations. The tendency for this to happen in practice was highlighted by the following practitioner talking about her experience of attending HIV/AIDS workshops in South Africa:

At a gender workshop you'll find that you'll focus on how we are made biologically different. I mean that third component: the biological, physiological difference, which doesn't necessarily pull out the differences of how HIV affects men and women in terms of power, in terms of the unequal burden of HIV. You often find yourselves thinking 'why are we still at this point?'

The implications of not considering how 'HIV affects men and women in terms of power,' as this practitioner put it, is that the power relations that make women more vulnerable to HIV are ignored. This removes consideration of the challenges facing women in negotiating sexual relationships, the role domestic violence plays in increasing the prevalence of HIV, and the responsibilities placed on women in AIDS-related care roles. More broadly, drawing on a discourse that ignores power relations in the context of practice removes the potential for changes in the higher burden of HIV among women. It does this by attributing the higher prevalence to biological differences that are unchangeable, thus de-politicising the response.

In this way, the emphasis on the biological to the detriment of social considerations of gender and power relations could be an effect of the development discourse's de-politicising tendencies (Ferguson, 1990), however the data in this study suggests rather that it is specific to the tactical manoeuvres of practitioners that are associated with HIV and AIDS. A comparison between interview data where gender was talked about by practitioners in the context of AIDS with data where gender was talked about in development practices independent of HIV/AIDS shows that when AIDS is not the topic of the conversation, the discourse on gender is less biomedical (less focused on biological differences between men and women) and more clearly connected to sociological themes such as power relations. Here are two examples from the interviews. Both excerpts are from community-focused practitioners and both are about how gender is explained at a community level. The first practitioner talking about gender HIV and AIDS overtly steers away from any consideration of

power relations, while the second practitioners speaking outside of an HIV and AIDS context talks specifically about how gender is about power.

Practitioner 1:

When you talk about gender discourse within the certain challenges and areas of focus within the country...If you talk about gender and HIV and AIDS, and then you talk about women's treatment, care and support and women's access to it, HIV and AIDS is affecting both men and women. It's affecting them equally I think as a disease. It's eating them up equally...

Practitioner 2:

It has to come from an intellectual rational understanding but it also needs to come from an emotional, spiritual, physical kind of understanding and with it, to work in a different way with power in the world. So we talk a lot about, in our organisation, we talk about power. What is our relationship to power? It's a relationship that you have with power, and how do you.... So we articulate what we see as power as your ability to access, your degree of access and control.

This difference between community-focused practitioners drawing on HIV as a resource and those who do not is consistent with the biomedical focus of HIV and AIDS practice and the easy match between sex as a category of differential experience and a biomedical framework. The sex/gender distinction is preferred over understandings of gender as about power relations as a direct result of the combination of gender with HIV/AIDS.

The prevalence of HIV/AIDS in the South African development context places the sex/gender binary at the heart of gender politics in South Africa. As outlined previously, HIV/AIDS provides a powerful resource for gender practice in terms of obtaining funding and authority in the South African context. The data presented in *chapter six* shows how practitioners have drawn on HIV/AIDS in a range of tactical manoeuvres used to obtain funding and gain the buy-in of communities and individuals to gender interventions. The data presented here shows how the categorical distinction of gender as social and sex as biological has come to define

the social and political space in which these tactics are created and drawn on, and where gender interventions are taking place.

The risk of a gender politics defined by sex/gender binaries is that the pressure for conformity to normative standards of gender are reified rather than undermined through practice. By construing the notion of sex as natural, there is a risk of ascribing the social characteristics of masculinity and femininity to men's and women's bodies. This limits the possibilities for individuals to see themselves outside of the gender roles associated with their sex; masculinity and femininity are seen as natural opposites as are their biological counterparts. The data shows that this has occurred in development practice in South Africa particularly through activities that emphasise the characteristics of being a man against characteristics of being a woman, which attempts to point to differences between fixed (biological) versus changeable (social) characteristics as a means of shedding light on the potential for change. These types of activities can end up reaffirming the biological 'reality' of these roles for the individuals involved, and denying the possibility of alternative or 'non-normative' gender identities. This is demonstrated in the following story from one of the practitioner interviews:

A few years ago when we did characteristics, you know, 'what do you think makes a woman?' The answer was, 'oh they care, they're loving, they're sweet.' 'Men provide.' Wada. Wada. The list went on and on and just before we did that we asked people to make a list describing themselves. What kind of a person are you...but one man...when we said: 'These are usually characteristics of women, and these are usually characteristics of men. How did you describe yourself?' He found that he had more characteristics of a woman than what is normal for a man. He was caring, it was all these sweet nice beautiful things that you'd want a human being to be, patient...But he was just completely shattered. He said, how can we take his manhood away from him? How can we, how can we do that to him? We had to stop the workshop, it was a five day workshop...And he just could not see how these were positive attributes that we wanted everybody else to have because some women are providers, some women are breadwinners, some women like to do physical work. But the fact that they had made a list and we had said women are like this and men are like this, and he had more characteristics of a woman than a man he just felt

that we had ripped him of his manhood. That's another story of another lifetime but it was horrible.

Reading this practitioner's story through the sex/gender binary, we can see how the workshop activities takes the social characteristics the man in the story identified for himself and puts these into biological categories of men and women. Before attending the workshop he had not considered the idea that certain characteristics could be associated with femininity. It is through the workshop facilitation that these characteristics are defined, reaffirming rather than disrupting normative gender categories, which is why the man perceives it as an attack on his masculinity.

By making associations between socially-defined characteristics of gender behaviour and 'natural' categories of sex, gender discourses that rely on sex/gender distinctions such as the one described above can increase the pressure to conform to gender norms. Rather than highlighting the socially-constructed, power laden aspects of gender relations, gender is conflated with sex in ways that re-emphasise what it means to be a man or a woman. The risks associated with emphasising these normative gender standards in South African society are made clear in another story told by a practitioner about her niece.

At my house, my sister's daughter, she never wears a dress. She only wears a dress at a funeral. As a result she doesn't go to church because she's forced to wear dresses, so she doesn't go to church. And now at home they say you, you are a man. Then I say 'so what's your problem?' So now I always get: 'you promote this, this is sinful. And then I say 'But she was born like this.' Her mother never bought her any skirts. I even remember when it was her first birthday where you wear a [traditional dress], she didn't have that, she's always worn tights, and she wears shorts, but she does identify with women. She calls herself a girl, but she does not look like one in the way she dresses, and it's still far too early to say who she is. She is finding herself. It's just that she's not given a chance to...in another community where I work there's a lot of tomboys, there's a lot of lesbian women and they actually get insulted for being who they are... there's a lot of violence but it's not spoken about.

This story demonstrates the significant pressures that are placed on women to conform to gender norms in South Africa, and highlights some of the severe and

violent consequences when they do not. The sex/gender binary within gender practice may act to reaffirm these consequences by increasing pressure on individuals to conform to these norms.

This points to the need for an alternative gender politics, and adds a certain complexity to findings from *chapter six* that HIV and AIDS is being strategically manipulated by development practitioners as a means of leveraging gender in the eyes of communities and funders. While HIV may be a powerful resource for development practitioners implementing gender interventions on the one hand, it appears to also be closing down possibilities for a consideration of power dynamics and reaffirming oppositional positions between masculinity and femininity, men and women. This is also playing out in the adoption of women's empowerment policy frames into educational and empowerment practices (*chapter six*), which I now turn to.

7.4. Focusing on women and girls

In *chapter six* I show how the adoption of gender policy into the practices of development agents was limiting a search for more creative context-specific solutions to gender inequalities. In relation to interventions that attempted to empower women or disseminate knowledge about women's rights, gender policy frames were adopted in uncritical ways that did not question the viability of the policy narrative for the social context surrounding women and girls in South Africa. In this section I analyse the effects on gender politics of the adoption of policies that focus exclusively on women and girls. Drawing on the data, I show how this focus reproduces categorical notions of gender by unifying women as a social category in opposition to men, ignoring the social contexts that influence women's decision-making and the multiple ways that women are positioned (i.e. racial and classed inequalities, and different forms of femininity). My argument here is that an exclusive focus on women and girls in fact necessitates the absence of contextual considerations and the simplicity of gender categories in order to make interventions that focus exclusively on women and girls viable for development. I argue that this has however also reproduced categorical notions of gender within the social and

political space that defines gender politics in South Africa, and closed down opportunities for alternatives.

It is clear in the data that the focus on women and girls has become a principle feature of gender politics in South Africa, consistent with the adoption of women's empowerment policy frames in the practice of development actors summarised in *chapter six*. In this focus, women and girls become both the problem and solution of gender interventions, separate and distinct from men who are defined as the perpetrators of violence. This is supported by evidence of the uptake by certain gender and development organisations of the potential of women and girls to bring about development outcomes for themselves independent of men as a discourse in their public materials. For example, the following three excerpts all come from the same pamphlet advertising the services of a collection of organisations that address the needs of women and children. This collection of organisations is composed of some of the most active gender organisations in the Cape Town area:

(1) A public benefit organisation that promotes training and practice in holistic forms of medicine defines their services as:

‘...focusing on empowering individuals to take responsibility for their own health’

(2) A woman's shelter identifies its mandate as:

‘...helping “shelter residents” to “equip themselves with invaluable life and job skills to reintegrate successfully into their communities within an average period of four months”’

(3) An organisation that assists ‘survivors of violence and torture’:

‘Through counselling, training and advocacy services, the centre strives to break the cycle of crime and violence by helping people reclaim ownership over their lives.’

In these excerpts reliance on the capacity of women and girls to bring about their own ‘development’ is evident in statements such as ‘taking responsibility for their own health’, helping residents to ‘equip themselves’, and ‘helping people reclaim ownership over their lives’. Women and girls have been positioned here as those both responsible for and capable of transforming unhealthy, financially dependent,

and criminal or violent situations taking place in their lives. This frames women and girls as the solution to their own problems, separating them entirely from men as a distinct (and largely absent) group.

The focus on women as agents of their own change is consistent with the idea implicit in women's empowerment policy frames (*chapter five*) that women are rational agents capable of bringing about social changes in their own lives, and the adoption of this policy frame in the practice of development actors (*chapter six*). It reflects what has been referred to as a Liberal approach to development, which sees 'women as rational agents, responsive to incentives and ill-served by past assumptions of passive dependency' (Kabeer, 1994, p. 26). This type of approach was exemplified by one of the practitioners interviewed – the director of a microfinance organisation – in the following conversation:

Practitioner: We initially prioritised savings and credit, and life skills. And then we presumed that enterprise training would be a step that people would want to take advantage of, to start small businesses and so on and we've been doing that. That's what we got funding for, but our feedback has been that a lot of people go through the training, but they don't necessarily follow through and start their own business.

Interviewer: Why is that the case do you think?

Practitioner: Maybe they're worried about the risks, perhaps they lacking confidence or skills. We took a very tough approach: we said we'd offer five days of training and some very limited follow up, but that we couldn't really commit to working side by side with people. They needed in a sense to sink or swim you know and not everybody is cut out to be good in business. So that's a bit hard. I think it has probably also got a lot to do with the education that they receive. There's a very low level of entrepreneurship...in South Africa. There tends to be more of a culture of dependency and our educational system has fostered that. There's also been a very dominant formal economy, so people have grown up thinking that their calling in life is to find a job, to look for a job in the formal economy and not necessarily to create their own job. I think that's the prevailing...there are of course some exceptions, but I think that mindset is very prevalent still. I think it will change gradually, but it will take quite a long time.

The Liberal focus on women as rational agents is played out in this practitioner's description of enterprise training and the implicit notion that as long as women are taught the skills necessary to run a business (through five days of training), they would be able to become meaningful players in the formal economy. The potential for social change rests within the ability of women to launch themselves into the anxiously expectant market; all they need is the skills to do this in the first place. Just as the definition of Liberal approaches provided by Naila Kabeer suggests, the failure of women to take advantage of enterprise opportunities is placed on past dependency models, inculcated through the educational system. Barriers to development are seen here as a woman's mindset towards running a business rather than the social inequalities that may make it difficult for these women to run a business while supporting her husband and family at the same time, or the culturally inscribed norms that place women within the household and men as the breadwinners within formal employment.

The ability of the Liberal approach to define women as both the problem and solution to development as a separate social category from men, and uninhibited by the constraints of the broader social context, provide a number of advantages for practitioners. Firstly, it defines a clear and straightforward object for intervention. Seeing women and girls as able to carry out the social transformation that is needed in the context of their own lives means that development interventions only need to help women develop the skills to do this. This avoids the difficulty of trying to address the complexities of how women and girls may be inhibited by the social context surrounding them, the cultural norms they want to live by, and the responsibilities they feel to family, their husbands and their community; it separates and excludes men entirely from this equation. Secondly, the focus on women and girls as a collective group means that interventions are able to ignore tensions that exist between women and the very different ways in which women are multiply positioned according to their race, class and the forms of femininity they identify with. Rather than problems for development, these become problems for individuals to contend with in the context of their own lives, absolving interventions of the responsibility of dealing with these uncertain complexities of gendered experience.

Thirdly, it creates an enormous target population for development intervention. Since women account for 52% of the population in South Africa, adopting an approach that targets women as the victims of men's oppression provides one of the largest possible target populations for intervention.

While it might be advantages for development's self-rationalisation, the focus on women and girls has reproduced categorical notions of gender within the gender politics of South Africa. In order to make interventions with women and girls viable for development, women are separated from men and boys, each given separate interventions based on categorically defined needs. The tendency of this to reify rather than challenge existing social norms is evident in the types of interventions that have been designed in the name of 'empowering women' and creating financial self-sufficiency; for example, gender practices that addressed women's empowerment in the context of gender-based violence programmes in this study were limited to agriculture, sewing and cooking. These do not challenge, but rather tend to reaffirms social categories that position women within the domestic sphere.

The categorical notion of gender that provides for this focus on women and girls undermines the potential of gender politics to bring about social change in gender inequalities. Drawing from the data, development practitioners that focused on individual women as development solutions did not necessarily consider the broader environment these individuals were situated in. Practitioners carrying out interventions that worked with women in order to give them skills to enter formal work opportunities often did not consider the way their new skills would be received by the work environment, the opportunities that would be open to them, and the way this may have increased the burden on these women to both earn a living in the formal sector and still raise their children, take care of their husband and maintain a household. Within the field of social psychology, Catherine Campbell writes of the critical importance of social contexts in bringing about change at both the individual and community level. As Campbell highlights, for social change (and not just individual change) to happen, power inequalities that exist within broader society need to also be challenged and reconfigured (Campbell & Cornish, 2010). This

points to the limitations of interventions that do not consider this broader social context.

The potential for social change in gender inequalities is also undermined by a social politics that ignores the role of dominant forms of masculinity in shaping political, social and cultural structures of inequality. Hegemonic forms of masculinity – masculinities that dominate femininity and more subservient forms of masculinity often through violence (Connell, 1995) – play an important role in maintaining gender inequalities. A social politics defined by women and girls as the central focus of intervention does not address these hegemonic forms of masculinity, which maintain women's unequal position in relation to men. In the data, practitioners that focused on women and girls recognised a need to work with men and masculinities, but deliberately excluded this from their own work. This exclusion runs the risk of putting in place programming that does not acknowledge the ways in which the women and girls participating in a particular programme are often in relationships with men and boys. Programmes that intend to challenge unequal power relations need to also consider the way in which hegemonic masculinities play a role in the effectiveness of interventions focused on women and girls, rather than separating programmes along categorical dividing lines of programmes for men and programmes for women.

In these ways development practices situated within categorical approaches that focus on women as rational agents capable of bringing about their own social change undermine the potential of gender politics in South Africa. However productive the category of women and girls may be for development, it ignores the interlocking realities that define men's and women's lives and the ways femininities are reproduced and maintained by their relationship with masculinities (Connell, 1987). However, there has been a clear attempt to counter the narrative of women and girls as responsible for their own development through an increasing focus on men and masculinities in South Africa, particularly in the context of gender-based violence. In the next section I point to some of the possibilities that exist for new forms of gender

politics arising from the trend towards men and masculinities, and the debate it has created within development practice.

7.5. The debate over involving men

In *chapter five*, I discuss the widespread debate taking place around involving men in development practice as evidence of the contested and conflictual space that surrounds gender policy in South Africa. I argue that this conflict between policies that focus exclusively on women and policies that see a role for men in efforts to address gender inequality has reduced the potential for a unified gender movement. Players on both side of the debate (and the women's side of the debate in particular) are more interested in defending their position rather than finding common ground for mutually supportive strategies to bring about social change around gender inequality. Here I delve deeper within this debate to analyse its effects on the social and political space in which gender interventions have been carried out, which I refer to throughout this thesis as social politics. My analysis points to how this debate has both served to emphasise the categorical approach to gender politics and brought about a potential alternative through an understanding of power relations that draws on masculinities theories. I argue that it is the nature of conflict itself raised by this debate and whether or not there has been a need to defend social and political power, which has been responsible for the emphasis on categorical approaches by the woman's side of the debate and the introduction of alternative forms of gender politics by the side focused on men and masculinities.

As mentioned in *chapter five*, the focus on women and girls by some development organisations is a position that practitioners have felt the need to defend against a growing and increasingly popular focus on men and masculinities in the context of gender-based violence in South Africa. The need for these practitioners to constantly defend the position that women should be the subjects of development intervention rather than men has contributed to a discourse of women as the victims of oppression and therefore the only appropriate targets for intervention. Examples of this are found across the organisational documents, manuals and pamphlets collected as data from gender programmes in South Africa. As in the following two examples, women

are often portrayed as those that are vulnerable to HIV infection and violence because they are not able to negotiate or talk about sex.

Experiencing violence, sexual violence in particular, takes away women's ability to negotiate with their partners in the home, and about sex, and compromises their ability to protect themselves from contracting HIV. Women living with HIV who experience violence may also find it difficult to access HIV treatment, care and support services due to fear of how their partners may react.

More women than men are living with HIV in South Africa.

More women are dying of HIV than men of their age.

More children are orphaned because one or both of their parents have died from untreated HIV.

More women have died from physical violence from men.

More women are infected with HIV due to sexual violence and forced sex.

(From a GBV and HIV Prevention Package)

Women face more risks of HIV than men because they lack power and control in their sexual lives. Women are not expected to discuss or make decisions about sexuality; this is a man's job. The imbalance of power between men and women mean that women cannot ask for, let alone insist on using a condom or any form of protection.

(From a HIV awareness manual)

As these examples demonstrate, women are portrayed as a group that lacks power and control. Women are 'not expected to discuss sexuality', 'women cannot insist on condom use', and women are prevented 'from accessing HIV treatment, care and support'. This framing of women as victims without decision-making power has helped practitioners justify the need for development intervention focused exclusively on women by outlining exactly why this type of intervention is needed.

However, this strategic use of a women-as-victims discourse in order to justify women-focused intervention has also minimised attention to alternative understandings of gender. Women and men are positioned as oppositional categories, with men's dominance over women as the defining feature. On the one hand, this limits alternative considerations that femininities not related to victimhood are

possible. Some women may be able to negotiate condom use with their partners and others may be able to make decisions about sexuality. On the other hand, by constantly reaffirming the ways in which women are victimised by men, differences between women are also ignored. Poor women may be less able to make these decisions than wealthier women because they may be more financially dependent on a male partner. We are never only or always simply 'women' or 'men', but rather exist in relation to various axes of power that shift and change throughout our lives. The need to justify exclusive attention to women in policy and practice has perpetuated an emphasis on how women as a unified category are oppressed by men, ignoring the contextual realities that make this a reality for some women more so than others; a reality that is also contingent on the particular moment or time in a woman's life and the other circumstances they may be experiencing.

In this way, the contested space of gender policy in South Africa has contributed to a one-sided understanding of women, further promoting a gender politics based on categorically-defined gender positions. This has limited the consideration of alternative forms of femininity that might challenge gender inequalities.

Fundamentally, organisations arguing against men's involvement in gender interventions have often ignored the differences between women, taking women as a fixed social category and closing down possibilities for alternatives in order to justify their interventions.

However, this has not been the case for organisations working with men and masculinities in part because they have not needed to defend their interventions in the same way. There have been vast amounts of funding put into working with men in South Africa in recent years, positioning it as a new and growing field. For example, large international donors, including PEPFAR, USAID, CIDA, Sida, the Ford Foundation, and De Beers have put significant money and resources into large scale and highly visible campaigns that work with men to address gender-based violence and HIV, including *One Man Can* and *Brothers for Life*. As a result of this surge in funding, practitioners that engage men in gender interventions do not need to actively defend their position in order to attract new funds or donor attention,

giving these practitioners the freedom to engage with intersectional approaches that draw on other social inequalities without fear that this will take away from their funding or status in development practice. So while women-as-victims discourses have drawn on categorical understandings of gender in order to push forward the case for interventions, gender practitioners working with men and masculinities have been free to develop alternatives to this gender politics.

As a result, in the case of South Africa the development of the men and masculinities field has brought a new perspective on gender politics to centre stage. In drawing on the data from this study, I argue in the remainder of this section that practices that focus on men and masculinities have made space for alternatives to a gender politics focused on categorical notions of gender through: (a) paying attention to the potential for men to change, and (b) focusing on the role of power relations in shaping gender as well as other social inequalities. In the first case, drawing on recent work in masculinities internationally (e.g. Chant & Gutman, 2000; Parpart & Zalewski, 2008), masculinities have been presented by organisations as socially constructed and therefore changeable rather than fixed characteristics of gender inequalities between men and women. This allows men's interventions to consider the potential for alternative masculinities in a way that cannot be done within the women-as-victims discourse. Take for example the following excerpt from a fact sheet by a prominent South African AIDS organisation. In drawing on engaging men, this excerpt focuses on the social and historical factors underlying what it means to be a 'man' in ways that are obscured by the single form of femininity underlying a women-as-victim discourse:

Young women aged 15-24 years in sub-Saharan Africa account for 75% of all new HIV infections. Infection rates among married women are also rising rapidly in southern Africa. The fact that women are most at risk of contracting HIV indicates that relationships, the way that men and women relate to each other, and the various societal norms that dictate how they relate to each other, are very important in the spread of HIV. In engaging men to be partners in preventing HIV and VAW it is particularly important to interrogate ideas of what it means to be a 'man' and the role of cultures and societies in shaping these ideas.

In this excerpt, what it means to be a 'man' is described as shaped by social and cultural ideas. It is through 'interrogating' the social and cultural nature of these ideas that the fact sheet suggests violence against women and therefore HIV can be addressed. At the core of this excerpt is the idea that men have an opportunity to change through identifying alternative forms of masculinity that are not based on violent behaviours towards women. Focusing on the ability of men to change in this way allows policy and practice to be a gateway for alternative forms of masculinity and femininity.

Similarly, focusing on the role of power relations in shaping inequalities allows for gender inequalities to be understood as historically produced and therefore changeable. In contrast to those focused exclusively on women, gender practices focused on engaging men demonstrate openness to considering how men have also experienced social inequalities that they can then use to understand differences in power between men and women. As an example, in this piece of promotional material from an organisation that works with men in communities, the power inequality between men and women is compared directly to power inequalities between the white and black population during apartheid:

The way societies view the world is determined by those who have the power to influence public opinion. Throughout history, this has mostly been men. As a result, the basic beliefs that have been passed on from generation to generation are defined by men's understanding of the world. If unlimited power is given to any group in society, the chances are that that group will try to abuse that power. For example, during apartheid, whites had too much power and they abused it. Likewise, men having too much power in society can (and does) lead to abuses of this power.

(From a piece of promotional material developed by a religious organisation)

While this represents a strategic means of explaining power relationships to men, this approach also places imbalances of power at the centre of social inequalities and as such is open to looking at how power plays a role in various aspects of individual's lives. This focus on multiple forms of power as a means of explaining gender relations moves away from categorical approaches through looking at how power between individuals comes from different sources, positioning all individuals in

relation to the types of power they hold. This of course includes, but is not limited to, masculine forms of power, which are not linked to men's bodies directly in this case but rather to ways that men *behave* towards women. This challenges categorical understandings of gender such as the sex/gender distinction by opening up new possibilities for gendered experience (for example, notions of femininity that are not linked to subservience to men or biological reproduction, or masculinities that involve nurturing and the care of children).

In sum, the debate on whether or not to involve men in gender interventions in South Africa has created a conflictual and contested space that is both affirming and challenging to categorical approaches to gender. Organisations focused on women and girls at the heart of interventions are quick to defend precious territory with the security of a categorical approach to gender, turning to discourses that have worked in the past (the women-as-victims discourse for example) in order to justify the need for their interventions to potential donors, their beneficiaries and the public. The major funds that are being put into working with men and masculinities by international donors have fuelled the fire of this debate between women's activists and men's interventions. While this has contributed to defensive reactions from women's organisations, the funding has also opened up the possibilities for development organisations working with men and masculinities to shape a new approach to gender politics, highlighting the role of reliable funding in opening up the search for new opportunities to challenge gendered social relations. This next section discusses another way that a social politics based on categorical understandings of gender has been challenged in this context – an approach that steps outside of this fight for donor funding and refocuses interventions on a politics of change.

7.6. Possibilities for alternative gender politics

In this final analytical section I draw from the data presented in *chapter six* on the ways in which practitioners have transformed gender policy in the context of their practice in order to explore this as a space where additional opportunities are being created for gender politics. As shown in *chapter six*, practitioners are both

transforming gender policies in order to provide a closer fit with the needs of the broader social context of race and class in South Africa, as well as letting programme beneficiaries decide for themselves what gender means to them. This section points to the effects this transformation of gender policy has had on gender politics in South Africa. I argue that the potential for changes in gender policy that suit the local context not only provide a better fit with the needs of programme beneficiaries, but open up new spaces for alternative understandings of gender that have the potential to be far more political than their categorical counterparts.

The political potential of the way in which gender policies are being transformed in the practice of development practitioners arises from a focus on personal understandings of power. By identifying with the ways in which power shapes and defines gender as well as other social inequalities, individuals face the prospect that the social and political system can change and that they can have a role in bringing about this change. This focus on power was observed in this study in practices being undertaken within organisations as a means of bringing about gendered forms of organisational change as a first example. A practitioner that uses this type of approach has written the following explanation in a collection of stories published by her organisation:

We believe that encouraging writing supports change agents and gender activists to value their own role in seeing, naming and communicating their contribution to advancing human rights and women's equality with organisations and society. Writing is a powerful means of undoing the silence built up from years of class, race and gender exclusion. Creating space for participants to write and find their own voices contributes towards creating new social norms – where women 'undo' silence, represent themselves strongly, and as knowledge producers start to play a more powerful role in their communities.¹⁵

This organisation practices storytelling within organisational development as a technique for accessing personal experiences of power in the lives of organisational staff. Writing personal stories provides a means of 'undoing' the silences of class, race and gender exclusion, which are seen to exist not only within development 'subjects', but within the hearts and minds of individuals working within

development organisations. The stories themselves are a testament of the ability of this approach to bring about change within organisations.

Slowly I started to think of myself in a different way because of the encouragement and experience I received from work. I was then offered the opportunity to be the coordinator of the rural projects. I didn't believe that I deserved that position but kept on thinking maybe I have found the right stone to step on and move on with my life as I wanted before. At work I learned about different kinds of power which was power over, power to, power with and power within. Learning about power in that way made me realize that I've been experiencing 'power over' which damaged me and my inner power. Slowly, trying very hard, I started believing that change is going to happen. I was offered the opportunity to study for the Community Development Diploma at university. I was excited and I did it very well with the support I received from the management team at work. After doing that course, I started slowly to regain my self-esteem and my confidence because I was proud of myself and I thought that my parents would also be proud of me if they were still alive.¹⁵

In another example, this focus on the role of power in personal experiences of gender has been carried into the interactions between practitioners and programme recipients. An HIV/AIDS feminist organisation uses this type of approach in their work with women's support groups in poor urban communities. The strategy of this organisation is to draw out personal experience and then connect these experiences to power relations, as described by the organisation's Director:

Our approach is very participatory and very much based on talking about my experience, unpacking it, sharing it, analysing it in a very gentle way. And then comparing it with other young women's experiences, what we have in common, why does this happen, why have so many of us been raped, why are there so many of us abandoned by our mothers...for most of those young women it was the first time they had ever spoken about those traumatic events. So for those that had survived

¹⁵ Cited from: *Writing from the Inside: Stories of Hope and Change*, Gender at Work, 2010. Available at: <http://www.gendematwork.org/article/writing-from-the-inside-stories-of-hope-and-change>, Retrieved 4 July 2012

rape it was the first time to speak about it. So I guess bringing it into consciousness and trying to understand this hasn't just happened to you as an individual but it is something that happens to women because of a particular way society is organised, and how power is distributed and so on...now what we're working with the young women on is trying to design a community project, using the theme of sexual and reproductive rights in each of the communities so that they can kind of share that learning and create awareness in the community and galvanise some kind of community action around sexual and reproductive rights.

Through this approach, the organisation has been successful in bringing out certain forms of change in the communities where they work. The community project described at the end of this quote from the organisation's Director has mobilised groups of women in the communities to source female condoms for the community, act against the stigma and discrimination they are experiencing at their local health clinics, and lobby the local police office to improve the ability of women to report rape.

As shown in section 7.5, much of the work with men and masculinities is also focused on exploring personal experiences of power, and the role of power dynamics in men's and women's lives. For example, an activity outlined in a manual that has been developed by one of the leading organisations working with men to address violence against women and HIV in South Africa, asks participants to share experiences of when they have been told to 'act like a man'. Through talking about their personal stories male participants are expected to come to a better understanding of 'how messages about gender can affect human behaviour, and influence relationships between men and women'. Another activity then connects these personal stories of experience to broader relations of power. Participants standing in a straight line are each given a description of a persona (i.e. female refugee from DRC, male taxi driver, female nurse, male teacher), and then asked to think about whether or not a series of statements applies to the description (i.e. statements such as 'I can negotiate safe sex with my partner'). The participants take one step forward for each statement that applies to their persona, producing a visual representation of hierarchies of power. These two activities connect the personal

stories of the male participants to the structural power dynamics that make some individuals (including women) more vulnerable than others.

These examples from practice offer a viable alternative to categorical notions of gender for gender politics in South Africa. By focusing on personal understandings of power relations this approach opens up the space for alternative forms of femininity and masculinity to arise, which challenges a categorical approach by paying attention to the complex ways that individuals define gender within the context of their own experience rather than through binary biological categories. Masculinities or femininities that do not fit within social norms or expectations are encouraged through focusing on 'safe spaces' for dialogue and discussion among peers. By using storytelling, practitioners working within organisational development look at femininity or masculinity through the experience of the individual, opening up the definition of gender to any understanding the individual may bring to it. Similarly, in work with communities practitioners focus on the common experience between groups of women, linking the experience common to the group to notions of femininities and masculinities. In the last example, a similar process is done with men as groups of men discuss their personal experiences and engage in structured activities designed to help them see their personal experiences through the lens of power relations. An alternative to categorical understandings of gender arises from this rooting of gender within personal experience. This represents both a transformation of gender policy, by not drawing on the notion of gender stipulated in policy, as well as a relational approach, by developing an understanding of the relations that define the lives of participants.

However, while transformative practices that explore gendered power relations through personal experiences offer an alternative to categorical understandings of gender, these approaches face several constraints in the South African context and in the development field more broadly. These constraints arise from the dominant perspective within development that sees policy as a linear process of problem identification, formulation of solutions, implementation and evaluation. Two aspects of policy transformations through personal experiences of power do not fit within

this idea of policy: the first being the enormous amount of time that processes of gender-related social change actually take to happen; and second, the challenge of measuring of how social change is a result of policy frameworks.

Practitioners using these strategies to address gendered social inequalities through personal experiences consistently expressed frustration with donor timelines:

But I think I could make a link to the years of apartheid. How long did it take us to fight apartheid? Which is still ongoing today. There are also a lot of positives that are coming but we are still working on it. And that's just like gender. It can take decades, and donor timelines that say by the end of two years we need you to have empowered five hundred women who are...are able to challenge gender differences and whatever. And you think that person, say if she is fifty years old, since she was born she's been living that life, and you give that person six months to change. It's sort of kind of crazy.

(Community-focused practitioner working with women in poor urban communities)

As this practitioner highlights, strategies that involve personal transformation take time and may be more likely to happen generationally than within the lifetime of a single individual. The major social changes that have taken place in gender relations within the U.S. and the U.K. for example took over 40 years, and yet the assumption underlying policy frameworks is that well-planned policy can deliver social change to other regions of the world in three years (the length of DFID's strategic plan for gender equality).

The requirement that gender policy be measured for its impact on social change therefore also becomes problematic. Evaluation, the final stage of the linear policy model, provides important information on how successfully the policy has been in addressing the problem originally outlined. However, when the ideal scenario arises from a transformation of the policy itself into context-specific and individual approaches, the 'successes' that may be achieved in terms of bringing about social change cannot be captured. Social change processes are highly complex and not easily evaluated using standard evaluation tools such as surveys and interviews. They

fail to account for the way in which individuals may take up different forms of masculinity or femininity in the social contexts of their lives in different ways.

In reality, social change projects that identify gendered social norms as their ‘policy problem’ are often not funded in the first place because of their inability to be easily accounted for within donor models that prioritise efficiency and the effective use of funding. If they are funded, these programmes are likely to show poor evaluation results according to standard tools of measurement, leading to the same intervention not being funded for the future. In this way, policy-makers insistence that interventions need to be evaluated against the original problem-identification often leads to a lack of funding for development practices that are able to acknowledge the complexity of gender relations and go beyond categorical understandings of gender, such as those that link personal experiences to relations of power.

7.7. Policy as ‘resource’

Given the difficulties facing transformative gender tactics that result from linear progress models of policy, perhaps policy should not be seen as a framework for interventions or a guide for funding at all. The transformation of gender policy in the context of practice creates the best potential for policy frames that bring about context-relevant solutions and speak to the lives of individuals. The development policy process should therefore support a transformative process. Instead the focus of gender policy processes has been to encourage its adoption through measuring programme outcomes against the original policy objectives. Yet the data in this study shows that the adoption of gender policy is less than ideal. It limits the search by practitioners for creative solutions that meet the needs and ideas of the participants in development interventions. A new perception of policy that accounts for and encourages policy transformation is therefore needed.

Taking into account the data presented, I propose that this new perspective on policy could be achieved through seeing policy as a ‘resource’ for practitioners rather than a framework or set of guidelines. By identifying the gender tactics that have been drawn on by practitioners in *chapter six*, I have shown how gender policy is already being used as a resource for practitioners in their interactions with funders, with

communities, and with individual programme recipients. Gender policy frames have been drawn on in order to gain buy-in from a variety of stakeholders, to make the case for why interventions are urgently needed, and in practices themselves as tools for educating or explaining gender issues. Proposing that policy be understood as a 'resource' simply means acknowledging the ways it is already being used as such within the practices of development actors.

This turns current thinking of policy as a framework for practice on its head, and would require a complete re-conceptualisation of how policy and programmes are funded and evaluated. It directly challenges the notion that policy should be adopted at all, but rather fixes policy transformation as an expected and desired outcome of policy processes. Funding decisions based on how well interventions have achieved the original objectives outlined in policy would no longer be valid, and a new approach would be needed. However, as a direct result this would open up new possibilities for the creative search for new solutions by practitioners based on the context in which they are doing their work. It would acknowledge the importance of context-specific approaches within the policy process itself. It also has the ability to recognise the importance of the ability of individuals to interpret concepts such as gender through their own lives and experiences as an important component of social change. While some practitioners may already be transforming policy within their practice, a clear recognition of this process would allow space for this transformation to continue, rather than seeing it as an unfortunate outcome of the policy process.

7.8. Conclusion

In sum, this chapter has highlighted how categorical notions of gender as a hierarchal relationship between men and women have dominated the social politics of South Africa. In drawing on HIV/AIDS in particular, biomedical frames have emphasised a sex/gender distinction that has defined gender according to biological categories of men and women. This has constrained the potential of development practice to look for alternative factors evident in relations between the genders: for example, the ways in which women often have power in the context of their lives, or the way gender relations are interwoven with a complex network of power inequalities

including racial and class categories. In conflict with categorical notions of gender, space appears to have been created for an alternative gender politics through the emphasis on men and masculinities, which has provided the opportunity for development organisations to look for creative solutions to social change through drawing on masculinities and the potential for men to change. Contributing to the space for a new gender politics are practices that draw on the personal experience of power relations as a means of exploring what gender and power means at an individual level.

This highlights how power/ knowledge dynamics have shaped and been resisted within efforts to address gender inequalities in South Africa. In analysing the tactics of development practitioners through a gendered understanding of power/knowledge dynamics, this chapter has pointed to some of the effects or consequences of these tactics: for example, the limited categorical forms of knowledge that arise from a manipulation of gender policy that draws on discourses of HIV/AIDS. Equally apparent however has been how practitioners have resisted these power/knowledge dynamics through transformative practices that draw on the lived experience of individuals to shape understandings of gender and relations of power.

In addressing the broader question of the relationship between policy and practice that forms the foundation of this thesis, I have suggested in this chapter that policy should be seen as a resource for practice rather than a framework or a set of guidelines. By acknowledging the reality of how policy is already being used in this way by practitioners, there are tremendous opportunities to be had for both policy-makers and practitioners alike. In the next chapter, I will explore in more detail the implications these findings have for both gender policy and its practice.

8. Contributions and Policy implications

8.1. Introduction

At its most optimistic, we think of policy as a framework for addressing social issues developed from current knowledge about what works in a given field, which is then transformed into practices that effectively bring about better outcomes for individuals, communities and society at large. At its worst, we think of policy as ineffective in achieving what it sets out to achieve, either because it has been poorly researched, poorly planned, or (as is more frequently assumed) poorly implemented. This thesis approaches policy as a much more complex process. Policy is seen as a collection of narratives that rationalise why particular practices will bring about desired social changes. These policy narratives then get picked up and transformed by practitioners to suit their own agendas and views of the world, resulting in the original policy objectives either getting lost or transformed through the social ‘messiness’ of the policy process itself. However, in the transformation of policy narratives a new space is sometimes created for new practices to arise. These new practices may have greater potential to promote social changes than the original policy. Unfortunately, this potential may go largely unrecognised by policy-makers and donors because of their linear understanding of policy as a framework for practice. By exploring the mess of policy, this thesis highlights the potential insights gained from turning this understanding of policy on its head – viewing policy as a ‘resource’ to be manipulated and transformed by practitioners in the context of their practice rather than as a set of guidelines or a framework for action.

In adopting this notion of gender policy as a non-linear and ‘messy’ process, this thesis makes both empirical and theoretical contributions to the gender and development literature and the anthropology of development policy literature respectively, both of which I outline in detail in this concluding chapter.

Theoretically, I have outlined how Norman Long’s actor-oriented approach to development practice can be adapted to account for the gender considerations of power/ knowledge dynamics. The work of Raewyn Connell and Judith Butler has provided a valuable resource for ‘gendering’ Long’s understanding of power/

knowledge. The value of this adapted framework is demonstrated in *chapter seven*, where it is used to highlight how power has both shaped and been resisted in the gender politics of South Africa. This offers new insight into how certain policy narratives have constrained the social and political space of interventions, and how practitioners are resisting these constraints through formulating new approaches to gender relations. Empirically, in contrast to the reliance of gender and development scholars on linear *progress* policy models to explain ‘failures’ in gender policy, this thesis offers new data suggesting that gender policy may not have failed in South Africa so much as created a set of conditions that are being drawn on by development practitioners in adopting, manipulating and transforming gender policy in practice. This chapter outlines the contribution these findings make to the literature on gender and development policy summarised in *chapter two*, highlighting further how linear progress models of gender policy, which have been a mainstay of the gender policy literature, have been unable to account for the potentially positive changes that are taking place within the daily practice of development practitioners as they struggle against the odds to bring about transformative change in gender inequalities.

In this chapter I also focus on potential areas for further research arising out of these empirical and theoretical contributions. In this study, I have focused purposefully on South Africa as a case study, leaving the door open for similar studies in other contexts that may reveal additional ways in which practitioners use and transform gender policy frames to meet the needs of their own particular contexts. I have also focused on one theory within the broad body of work being done on the ethnography of policy, namely Long’s actor-oriented approach. This leaves a number of exciting areas open for future theoretical exploration of the potential links between policy ethnography and gender theory. The final section of this chapter (section 8.5) turns to the practical implications of this thesis for future developments in international gender policy. It looks at the consequences of a new perspective on gender policy processes – one that pays attention to policy as a ‘resource’ rather than a framework for practice – in the practical considerations of policy-makers and development practitioners.

8.2. Contributions beyond the ‘failure’ of gender policy

The core aim of this thesis has been to contribute an empirical understanding of gender policy processes that departs from linear *progress* models of development policy. In *chapter two* of this thesis, I outline three main explanations from the gender and development literature for why gender policy has ‘failed’: (1) the non-recognition of how harmful gender norms are embedded within organisational structures and practices; (2) institutional processes of international development that turn political gender agendas into de-politicised technical practices suitable for intervention; and (3) the harmful masculinist culture or cultural specificity of the broader environment that requires more tailored solutions to gender issues. Drawing on the work of Eyben (2008), I critique these three explanations for maintaining a linear *progress* policy model that is unable to recognise the role of practices that occur outside of planned policy prescriptions. I suggest that we need to look beyond gender policy ‘successes’ or ‘failures’ to better understand what is happening within gender policy processes themselves. I have done this through a multisite analysis of the relationship between gender policy and practice in South Africa, highlighting the gender practices that take place outside the stated prescriptions of international policy and notions of policy ‘success’ or ‘failure’. These practices include the narrative frames being drawn on in gender policy for South Africa, and the tactics used by development actors in adopting, manipulating and transforming gender policy in practice. By situating these characteristics of gender policy and practice within power/ knowledge dynamics, my analysis has been able to explore the effects they have had on gender politics in South Africa. In doing so, the analysis has brought to light new spaces being created by practitioners for gender politics different from mainstream gender policy. These various contributions are elaborated on below.

8.2.1. Discursive frames of gender policy in South Africa

In seeking to advance a more nuanced view of gender policy processes, this thesis has broadened its definition of practice to take account of the discourses framing policy implementation in addition to the more common focus on action. The gender

discourses produced and circulated by bilateral donors, multinational NGOs, the women's movement and development practitioners themselves belong to the range of practices being carried out in the name of 'developing gender' in South Africa. As such, these discursive practices require specific attention in this effort to better understand policy processes. Previous efforts to interrogate the discourses associated with policy processes have highlighted the power of discourse to define what is politically 'sayable' in HIV/AIDS policy (Seidel & Vidal, 1997), draw the boundaries of patient bodies in medical contexts (Ploug Hansen, 1997), and define what it means to be a particular type of citizen (Mackey, 1997; Rabo, 1997). I argue that gender policy discourses in South Africa have limited development practice in similar ways. The policy emphasis on particular types of interventions has excluded alternative approaches, as demonstrated by the almost exclusive focus within gender and HIV/AIDS programming on interventions to change behaviour rather than, for example, interventions to improve the health system.

In this way, the discourses that frame gender policy in South Africa can be seen as contributing to the de-politicising effects of development practice. This finding complements accounts of development in Indonesia by Tanya Li (2007) and in Lesotho by James Ferguson (1990) that reveal how potentially explosive political issues are often rendered non-political through their integration into development policies and practice. In these studies by Ferguson and Li, Foucault's notion of governmentality provides a theoretical framework for exploring the constraining effects of development policy for practice – policy acts as a means of governing populations and undermining political actions. The governmentalising effects of gender policy are also evident in the findings of this study of South Africa. Women's empowerment policy frames have focused on the women of South Africa as a collective group that is being victimised by high levels of gender-based violence and HIV. While persuasive for funding, this discourse depoliticises differences of race and class between women in South Africa and ignores the complex social realities that make it difficult for some women to take up their rights. Within instrumental policy frames, gender inequality is defined as a challenge best addressed by depoliticised development interventions, rather than a violation of women's political

rights to not be subjected to violence or to poorer health status than men. Both of these policy frames ignore the political issues that underpin gender inequalities in South Africa. In ignoring the political nature of gender-related social change, the governmentalising effects of policy in this context undermine the potential for real change to occur since, as stated by Goetz (1997), changing gender relations is a 'matter of political struggle' (p. 28).

The governmentalising effects of particular gender policy discourses on social change in South Africa are important in developing an understanding of the relationship between gender policy and its practice. As mentioned, Foucault's concept of governmentality has been widely used by scholars as a means of drawing attention to the constraining effects of both international development policy (Ferguson, 1990) and gender policy (Woehl, 2008). This work has contributed a more nuanced understanding of how gender policy and development policy may be limiting the potential of social actors to challenge existing relations of power by instead creating respectable development subjects. However, rather than repeating this work on the governmentality of development policy for the South African context, this thesis has drawn on evidence from the data that supports this understanding of the constraining effects of development policy in order to move beyond it. Rather than focusing on the governmentalising effects of gender policy in South Africa, I have drawn on Long's actor-oriented approach in order to analyse and explore precisely how development actors are able to overcome these effects in their everyday practice.

In taking an actor-oriented approach, this study has been able to point to the tendency of development practitioners to transform and manipulate gender policy frames in practice. The significant emphasis on HIV/AIDS as a rationale for addressing gender inequalities in South Africa has provided development practitioners with a powerful discourse for raising the profile of gender concerns within communities, with individuals and in funding applications. The instrumental focus on gender is also being subverted by practitioners choosing to design and implement politically charged interventions. These include those that explicitly connect violent behaviour by men against women to the legacy of apartheid and

systemic violence, and activities that encourage reflection on lived experiences of gender. While these types of interventions may themselves draw on instrumentalist frames of gender for AIDS or gender for development, the practitioners carrying them out also recognise the strategic importance of these discourses in helping them obtain funding or in meeting donor requirements. This demonstrates that policies cannot only be seen as de-politicising in their effects on development practice. Development actors have the agency to recognise the de-politicising potential of discourses they draw on to serve particular strategic interests while at the same time acting to reverse or avoid these effects through a politicised approach in other areas of practice. The focus of this study on a policy area that specifically requires a political approach to social change, as is the case with gender, has provided the opportunity to observe the potential for development actors to re-politicise their practice – more so than would have been the case with a study of a less-politicised development policy area, education for example. This highlights the unique empirical contribution this study of gender policy has been able to make to the anthropology of policy literature.

8.2.2. Strategic gender practices of development actors

Viewing gender policy and practice as a messy relationship rather than in terms of a straight linear pathway from policy development to implementation, this thesis cautions against viewing gender policy as ‘failing’ in any context. Referring to policy failure infers the absence of any positive change in the targeted environment, be it an organisation or a social environment. In looking at policy processes through an actor-oriented approach that validates the perspective and practices of development practitioners, I have shown that gender policy is never fully rejected, but rather taken up in unexpected and strategic ways by development practitioners. For example, rather than rejecting instrumental arguments that gender equality helps address the spread of HIV, practitioners draw on this policy narrative in order to obtain buy-in from resistant community leaders and to gain the interest of individuals. In some of the most interesting examples, when instrumental and women’s empowerment policy frames have failed to fit the social context, practitioners have responded by transforming these policy narratives through

allowing gender to be defined by the experiences of programme participants themselves. While these strategic uses of gender policy may not meet the original objectives of policy-makers, they do open up the potential for significant transformative change in the practitioner's environment.

The potential for policy to open up new and unintended spaces for change points to the limits of the conceptualisation of gender policy in the gender and development literature. This literature does recognise that there may be significant resistance to efforts to address gender inequalities both within organisations and in broader society, and that the cultural specificity of social contexts may necessitate the development of context-specific approaches. However, assessing the success or failure of these efforts to overcome resistance and develop culturally appropriate approaches requires far greater recognition of the ways that development actors are acting subversively to do exactly these things. Pointing repeatedly to the stumbling blocks in the gender policy process, as gender and development scholars have tended to do, assumes that the 'success' of policy can and should be evaluated against its original objectives, which leaves policy 'failure' or 'success' as the only possible outcomes. In reality, the lack of success in gender policies may often be less about cultural conflicts and unfit organisational environments than about the impossibility of measuring success in a policy environment that is not suited to a clear alignment between policies and social change objectives. In insisting that gender policy should be clearly aligned with a predetermined set of objectives that can be measured at the end of the implementation phase of a policy process, we are missing the wide range of significant changes and transformations that may take place through gender policy processes.

However, acknowledging that the policy process is not linear or *progressive*, as I have argued repeatedly throughout this thesis, opens up productive new perspectives on the shifts and changes that occur as individuals strategically adapt gender policy frames to suit their surrounding context. Recognising the strategic tactics undertaken by development actors in practicing gender is key to moving beyond these linear *progressive* notions of policy. The actor-oriented approach has been key in this thesis to acknowledging the potential agency of development actors in adopting,

transforming and manipulating gender policy discourses to suit their locally grounded and contextualised views of what action is needed. For example, the way in which practitioners have drawn on HIV as an issue of concern in South Africa in order to raise the importance of gender inequalities with communities and individuals. The transformation of gender policy offers some of the best examples of how the adaptation of gender policy can result in more contextually relevant programmes and interventions. Transforming the notion of gender through drawing on personal experiences of power is one of the ways practitioners have adapted policy to better suit the surrounding context in which they work. Development actors, therefore, cannot always be seen as the implementation cogs in a wheel of gender policy processes, just as they cannot be seen entirely as subjects that are defined and controlled by policy discourses. These findings highlight the importance of recognising the role practitioners play in shaping policy in order to optimise their impact on the specific gender inequalities they themselves see as most relevant to their social context based on the first-hand experience of their communities and workplaces.

Not all strategic practices used by development practitioners, however, lend themselves to social change in gender inequalities. Some act to reaffirm existing categories of gendered experience and power dynamics. It could be argued that the strategic decision to push for a focus on women as the primary targets of efforts to address violence against women, for example, undermines the creative possibilities of combining these efforts with interventions targeting gender inequalities through working with men. In this case the strategic decision being made by some practitioners to focus exclusively on women is more about defending the position of women as a funding priority (or their own impoverished analysis which sees women-only work as the way forward) rather than a strategic interest in how change might be brought about. The consequence of this is a resurgence of a gender politics based on categorical understandings of gender, which position women as the solution to development problems. This fails to address the broader mechanisms of power relations that create the need for women's programmes in the first place. In this way, recognising the ways that policy discourses act to produce an on-going need for

development intervention is also necessary in moving beyond linear *progress* notions of gender policy processes. Strategic practices can work both for and against certain forms of gender politics. It is therefore necessary to constantly deconstruct which gender policies are leading to what types of change.

8.2.3. *The space for an alternative gender politics in South Africa*

This thesis helps to identify which policy discourses lead to what types of change within the South African context by stepping away from linear *progress* policy frameworks to look at what is actually happening in practice. The empirical approach taken to the relationship between policy and practice can be seen as ‘studying through’ gender policy processes (Shore & Wright, 1997). Rather than comparing gender outcomes against preconceived policy objectives, this thesis traces the narrative frames of gender policy through to its tactical use by development practitioners and the effects of these tactics on current and potential gender politics.

This *studying through* gender policy processes contributes important insight of how development practitioners sometimes limit the possibilities for new forms of gender politics to arise by drawing on specific gender policy narratives for their strategic value. A key example is the strategic uptake of gender and AIDS discourses and its associated binary definition of sex as biological and gender as social. The adoption of this binary definition into practice can affirm rather than challenge the notion of men and women as oppositional categories, for example with practices that focus on identifying characteristics of men and women within the context of gender workshops. While gender characteristics have been used by gender practitioners as a means of highlighting the social construction of gender, asking individuals to identify how they fit gender norms can have the unintended effect of reaffirming the need to conform to these norms. Rather than moving away from practices based on oppositional categories of men and women, HIV/AIDS discourses on gender appear to be reaffirming this type of practice. Meaning that, in using AIDS discourses for strategic purposes, development practitioners are drawing on categorical definitions of gender that reaffirm rather than challenge gendered relations of power (see section 7.3.1). While the strategic leveraging of AIDS discourses by development

practitioners may help to push a certain type of gender intervention forward, the potential for that gender intervention to offer creative solutions to social change may also be undermined by these same discourses.

Other constraints on new forms of gender politics arise from the focus on women and girls as individual agents of change, drawing on a women's empowerment policy frame. Development practices that focus on women and girls as the solution to their own 'development' or 'empowerment' often do not acknowledge the way that social subjects are situated within relations of power that can limit their abilities to change their lives, take on new opportunities, or free themselves from violence. It artificially divides women and girls from the social structures that define their lives, and fails to address or even acknowledge the role dominant forms of masculinity play in maintaining imbalances of power between men and women. At the time of writing, the focus on women and girls is a rising discourse within the gender policy of the largest bilateral donor to gender and development interventions in South Africa – the UK's Department of International Development (DFID) – and therefore its limitations and consequences require even closer attention.

While understanding what practices are taking place and how these practices may be constrained by policy frames is important, we also need to recognise the fissures that exist within these constraints. In the South African context, these fissures hold the potential for a gender politics that is more context-specific. Development actors have challenged the dominance of categorical forms of gender politics (i.e. those that rely on sex/gender distinction or an opposition between men and women) through drawing on alternative understandings of gender in the context of their practice. Many of these alternative practices focus on more heterogeneous understandings of gender relations that open up possibilities for alternative forms of masculinity or femininity to be recognised. A growing number of interventions in South Africa have also focused on personal understandings of gender in working with both women and men in order to inform a more context-specific approach to gender relations. These interventions focus on processes of critical thinking about gender and power dynamics through tools such as storytelling and facilitated group discussions (see

section 7.4). These practices are evidence of the space that exists for an alternative gender politics in the South African context.

However, these alternative possibilities are positioned largely outside of the gender policy frames being drawn on by international donors. For the most part these practices have not arisen from within policy processes, but as a reaction to policy frameworks that have been perceived to be instrumentalist and bureaucratic in their approach to gender (such as those associated with gender mainstreaming policy). Partly as a result of their position outside of established policy processes, these practices also face constraints from linear *progress* models of policy because of the insistence within these models on measurable results within given timeframes. The result is that new approaches to gender politics often go unrecognised by donors who are looking for a clear measurable connection between their specific policy and changes in gender relations.

This highlights the urgent need for a new perspective on policy processes, which I suggest can be achieved through focusing on gender policy as a ‘resource’ for practitioners rather than as a framework for practice. Seeing policy as a resource would allow for the transformation of policy by practitioners to be incorporated into the understanding of policy processes. It would move beyond the need for ‘measurable frameworks’ by policy-makers and international donors, and take account of the more important question of how gender policy supports or constrains the ability of development practitioners to *practice* gender based on their own contextual understanding of the social and organisational environment in which they work. Rather than insisting on policy adoption, gender policy as a ‘resource’ would shift the paradigm of policy processes, and foster the adaptation of policy by development practitioners based on their localised experience and knowledge.

8.3. Contributions to the anthropology of policy

In addition to the empirical contributions outlined above, this thesis makes a theoretical contribution to the anthropology of policy by *gendering* Norman Long’s actor-oriented approach. The actor-oriented approach has been extremely valuable to improving the understanding of how policy is translated into practice through non-

linear processes. Scholars using Long's framework have been able to give more in-depth details than previous accounts of policy processes about the self-interested and strategic nature of the practices undertaken by development agents in the interpretation and implementation of policy prescriptions. However, the approach to gender issues demonstrated in the studies of Long and his followers show a limited conceptualisation of gender and related power/ knowledge dynamics. This has contributed to a limited understanding of how the strategic practices of development actors working on gender issues are reproducing or challenging existing power/ knowledge dynamics. As outlined in *chapter three*, categorical understandings of men and women as binary/ complementary social categories are part and parcel of gender-related power/ knowledge dynamics. Within this framework, binary understandings of gender are seen as powerful discourses that are also socially constructed and therefore changeable. Change occurs when these binary categories are faced with alternative forms of masculinity and femininity, which do not fit within the complementary ideal of men and women. A *gendering* of Long's approach provides a means of identifying the specific gender-related practices that provide space for these types of alternatives.

In order to make this theoretical contribution, Long's original approach has been gendered in two specific ways. First, the heterogeneity of gender has been considered within Long's interface encounters. This replaces Long's focus on gender as social roles for men and women with an understanding of gender as a heterogeneous experience. A heterogeneous conceptualisation of gender assumes that the individual experience of gender relations is unique and a result of how gender intersects with other experiences of inequality (i.e. racial inequalities) and the multiplicity of different forms of masculinity and femininity in the context of an individual's life. Without this heterogeneous understanding of gender, the analysis would have been constrained to gender as a set of cultural representations held by development practitioners, policy-makers and other key groups. It would not have been able to account for the role alternative forms of femininity and masculinity can play in challenging binary understandings of gender, or the ways in which these binary categories can reproduce existing power dynamics between men and women.

In adopting a heterogeneous understanding of gender, this study has been able to account for the types of practices that both reproduce and challenge gender binaries. For example, the merging of gender with HIV/AIDS policies has reproduced the biomedical notion that gender is attached to men's and women's bodies. In contrast, the transformation of the gender concept through the personal experiences of programme participants provides space for alternative heterogeneous understandings of masculinity or femininity to arise. Heterogeneous understandings of gender also lead to findings outlined in *chapter five* that the conflict between different gender policy frames has had a negative effect on the potential for collaboration on gender issues in South Africa. Without a heterogeneous understanding of gender that goes beyond gender as a cultural construct, these findings would not have been possible.

The second adaptation to Long's theoretical framework is a consideration of how different types of practice are enabled or constrained through power/ knowledge dynamics. Long's actor-oriented approach does provide for a consideration of power/ knowledge dynamics, but does not consider gender as part of these dynamics. The gendered approach taken in this thesis includes gender as part of the power/ knowledge dynamics influencing the interface encounter between policy and practice. Again gender is taken out of the cultural realm. Categorical understandings of gender as a binary between men and women are analysed for their potential to reproduce existing power relations.

This gendered analysis of power/ knowledge dynamics contributes to the findings outlined in *chapter seven* that binary or categorical definitions of gender dominate the South African context, limiting the possibility for alternative forms of masculinity and femininity to be considered in practice. The domination of gender as a binary between men and women within HIV and AIDS work, for example, has made AIDS discourses powerful partners for gender in the tactical manoeuvres of practitioners, but less helpful in transforming gender policy. Power/ knowledge dynamics that frame gender according to certain assumptions about which types of interventions are needed have also undermined the potential for practitioners working with men and practitioners working with women to collaborate on the issue of violence against women, as outlined in *chapter six*.

In these ways, this thesis makes a theoretical contribution to the anthropology of policy by developing a framework for the exploration of gender-specific policy and practice. It is also well suited for the exploration of gender consideration in other policies, which may not be directly related to gender issues – environmental policy for example. The need for a gendered framework that is able to capture the dynamics of development practice is identified in the critique of the anthropological studies of gender and development practice by Rossi (2006) and Shrestha (2006) in *chapter two*, which points to the inadequacy of these studies in fully accounting for the gendered implications of the practices under study. The robustness and ability of this framework to generate new insights for the understanding of policy processes and to fill the gap in previous studies of development practice is demonstrated through the findings in this thesis. The potential for this framework to be further tested and refined moving forward is considered in section 8.4 below (potential areas for further research).

8.4. Potential areas for further research

I see three potential areas for this study to be developed as further research in the near future. The first would be to extend this study beyond the field of international development in South Africa. South Africa has been selected in this study for its extremities – a new constitution with strong promise for gender institutions and legal supports, and notoriety as a country with one of the highest prevalence rates of gender-based violence in the world. As a strong case example of how gender policy is not always turned into practice, valuable insights may be gained by looking at implementing agencies of the South African government's gender policies. While this thesis has focused on non-governmental organisations and attempted to look at the broad international development system as a field of study, interesting findings may also arise from looking at the non-linear encounters between government gender policy and its implementing organisations. The policy processes internal to South Africa would be particularly interesting given the high international regard of the gender components of South Africa's constitution and the government's well-developed gender machinery. This could contribute to a better understanding of how the gender policy process has been either facilitated or constrained by the other

social challenges facing the post-apartheid reconstruction of the country and the introduction of democracy in 1994. Improving knowledge of the non-linear ways that gender practitioners have worked within the constraints of a new democracy may also provide important ideas for other countries, such as Tunisia, Egypt, or Burma.

Another interesting extension of this thesis would be to repeat this study in a country that does not have the specific history of South Africa. A country with a well-established democracy would provide an interesting comparative case, and would allow for a comparison of differences in the relationship between gender policy and its practice in both 'old' and 'new' government infrastructures. This would allow the investigation of a number of important questions that I have not been able to interrogate in this thesis. For example, what have been the practices of organisational agents working with gender objectives in countries where gender policy has been perceived as a 'success', such as Sweden? Does this change the types of strategic actions that are being carried out by practitioners? In social contexts that are perceived to be largely supportive of gender equality objectives, does policy still get transformed or strategically leveraged? This type of study could further develop an understanding of what lies beneath the strategic nature of gender policy and practice within South African development organisations. Is this a reaction to widespread resistance that occurs around gender equality in this context, or are gender policy processes always a similarly non-linear and 'messy' negotiation?

The third suggestion for further research refers to a broader project that I have already begun to develop focused on gendering the anthropology of policy literature. In this thesis, I have developed a gendered adaptation of Long's actor-oriented approach as a first step. While extremely useful for exploring the lived experiences of practitioners within development contexts, Long's approach is only one theoretical framework within the anthropology of policy field. Further research into both the usefulness of this gendered adaptation of Long's framework and into the gender gaps that exist within other policy analyses in this field would be fruitful in furthering the understanding of the gendered nature of policy processes. This extends beyond looking at gender-specific policies as a case for study. Given the cross-cutting nature of gender as a social issue that impacts on development, economics,

health, education, etc., there is a need for a gendered understanding of policies related to a wide range of social issues including the environment, education, health, poverty, etc. Studies in these various areas would help to address important questions such as: What are the gendered effects of the strategies used by policy practitioners in policy areas other than gender? How do policy processes construct particular types of gendered subjects in non-linear ways? These are important questions that also require attention in the anthropology of policy literature.

8.5. Practical implications for international gender policy and practice

This final section of this thesis turns to the practical implications of the findings of this thesis for both policy and practice. In *chapter six*, I identified some of the strategic ways that development practitioners are adopting, manipulating and transforming gender policy in their practice. These findings suggest that the adoption of gender policy limits a creative search by practitioners for approaches that are suited to their particular social and political context. Context-specific solutions begin to arise instead when practitioners transform the narratives of gender policy through evidence from their own localised experience or the lived experiences of programme participants. The findings from *chapter seven* suggest that policy transformation provides the best opportunities for overcoming the constraints of categorical understandings of gender and opening up alternative, more productive areas for gender politics. I also suggest that seeing gender policy as a ‘resource’ for practitioners, rather than a framework for development practice, is a potential means of overcoming many of the constraints of policy. I outline the practical implications of this suggestion for both policy and practice below.

8.5.1. International gender policy

The findings in this thesis point to the need for flexible approaches to gender policy in order to bring about practice that is well adapted to its surrounding social and political context. Flexible policy refers to policy that is not tied to one particular conceptualisation of gender, but provides the freedom for practitioners to decide on the practices and concepts that are best suited to their particular context. This stands in sharp contrast to the way policies are currently structured. Policy frameworks

frequently outline a clear rationale for intervention, followed by well-defined priorities and expected outcomes. These frameworks and their associated narratives help policy-makers justify the need for intervention and financial expenditures. The adoption of the policy narratives into practice is also strategic for development practitioners who hope to gain ongoing access to funding or gain buy-in from key groups. However, the findings in this thesis point to the detrimental effects this adoption can have on the ability of practice to challenge powerful gender frameworks (i.e. categorical notions of gender as a binary between men and women) that may be reproducing existing gender inequalities.

While a broad definition of gender policy has been used in this thesis, which has included policy from a wide range of local, national and international policy actors, the need for more flexible policy frameworks should be of particular concern to international donors. One could argue that it puts into question the value of development policies that have been designed in one context and implemented in another. At the very least, it draws attention to the need for development aid that is not tied to any one conceptual framework on gender, but provides the flexibility and freedom for practitioners to decide on the practices and discourses that best suit their particular social context. This is certainly the case for South Africa, where the involvement of foreign development actors in national affairs has been substantial since the end of apartheid in 1994. The complex intersections between gender, race and class in a country with eleven official languages makes this social and political context difficult for anyone developing policy to fully understand or navigate, and is particular challenging for international policy-makers.

Following the findings of this thesis, policy frameworks that support gender policy transformation offer the best potential for an alternative to categorical approaches in gender politics. Seeing gender policy as a *resource* for practitioners rather than as a *framework* that needs to be adopted and measured by international stakeholders is a means of supporting this type of transformation. On a practical level, this means doing away with measurable policy frameworks that outline specific actions that need to be undertaken as a requirement for funding. It also means backtracking on the emphasis that is now being placed on the cost effectiveness of development

funding. Measuring spending in terms of the number of women who have been ‘empowered’ or the number of men who have been ‘sensitised’ contributes to a lack of reflective practice among development actors. International policy should instead be looking for ways to support the creative transformation of policy frames into practice suited for the local level.

8.5.2. Gender and development practice

Some practitioners are already transforming policy in ways that act to subvert the instrumentalist and women’s empowerment policy narratives drawn on by international donors. These practitioners have positioned themselves outside of the gender policy mainstream in order to take a different approach, challenging the categorical notions of gender that define gender politics in South Africa and elsewhere. Many of the examples of policy transformation in this thesis have taken an approach to gender practice that is based on understanding the role of power relations in one’s personal life. While it was brought to my attention by one research participant that not all development organisations are trying to bring about lasting social change in gender inequalities, but simply helping women access resources and live better lives, those practitioners that are seeking gender transformation tend to do so outside of relationships with international donors which are defined by short timelines and strict measured outcomes. Individual processes of transformation take time and energy, which often does not fit within the world of measurable deliverables and log frame analyses that define donor policy. These subversive practitioners therefore face a double challenge: one, staying true to a gender politics based on addressing gender as a relation of power; and two, finding funding for transformative gender interventions.

However, this is not to say that a hybrid approach to gender policy that is both instrumental in achieving development funding and focused on new forms of gender politics is not possible. Drawing on Gayatri Spivak’s idea of ‘strategic essentialism’ (1993), I would suggest that there is space between an irreducible essentialist notion of women and men, and the strategic practice of development agents. In raising the notion of strategic essentialism, Spivak argues that political actors can join together

as a collective group, despite obvious differences between actors, in order to draw attention to a common political agenda. This same idea can be applied to the strategic basis on which practitioners appeal to donors and the actions they undertake in practice. Practitioners may choose to act strategically in manipulating gender policy to gain access to available funding, drawing on categorical notions of gender when necessary. However, as demonstrated by the subversive actions of several development practitioners included in this study, these practitioners may still design their programmes in subversive ways that account for the nuances of heterogeneous gender experiences. The ideal would of course be for policy to support rather than undermine practitioner's effort to consider the heterogeneity of gender and design interventions based on practitioners' own observations of their social and political environment. However, in absence of more flexible gender policy, the subversive actions of some development actors need to be recognised and supported by their fellow practitioners.

8.6. Conclusion

My hope for this thesis is that it contributes to a better understanding of how development practitioners are subverting the constraining and depoliticising effects of gender policy and effectively making space for an alternative gender politics in South Africa. I hope to give a voice to practitioners within policy processes, and highlight the challenges and constraints they face in their everyday activities. The actor-oriented approach developed by Norman Long and *gendered* in this thesis has provided a key tool in validating and engaging with the voices of practitioners in this research.

In addition to the contributions already outlined, this research participates in scholarly discussions of global/ local dynamics and confirms observations of the interrelated and *hybrid* nature of global/local spaces (Campbell, Cornish, & Skovdal, 2012). Many of the development practitioners interviewed as part of this research were 'global players' in the sense of either having worked or been educated outside of South Africa and connected to gender practitioner networks from all over the world. Notions that international policy-making is a process that takes place

completely outside of local spaces, or that local practice exists separate from global conversations, are therefore overly simplistic and unable to capture the ways in which gender policy and practice exists simultaneously at both global and local levels. The more complex understanding of policy processes put forward in this thesis helps to theorise the interconnectivity of the global/local spaces in which development practitioners currently live and work.

Returning to the question posed in the preface to this thesis about what it means to ‘develop’ gender, I see this thesis as a first step in highlighting the impossibility of this concept. Putting the ethical concerns of trying to ‘develop’ the gender of another individual aside, this thesis demonstrates that gender cannot be ‘developed’ any more than policy can be ‘managed’. Gender is a social relation of power that can only be addressed through attending to the power dynamics that constitute it. Similarly, gender policy is immersed in a relationship of power that is no more manageable or controllable. This is evident in the messy way policy is taken up by development actors, and the various strategic objectives it serves in their practice. I hope this study makes a small contribution to recognising the importance of these power dynamics, not only in the practices of development actors, but in their relationship with gender policy.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Interview topic guide

Introduction

This will be an informal discussion.

The study is about how gender is being talked about in South Africa NGOs.

Can I have your consent to participate?

Can you tell me about your programme/ organisation/ role?

Gender in programmes:

- Why is gender important within your programmes/ organisational mandate?
- What do you think are the key issues related to gender in South Africa?
- Has HIV and AIDS played a role in how you work with gender issues?
- Have women's rights played a role in your work with gender?
- Has the emphasis on working with men played a role in your work?
- What do you think about this type of emphasis (on AIDS, rights, men)? Is it helpful?
- Can you give me an example of how you have used gender within your work on HIV?/
- Can you give me an example of how you have used rights to talk about gender issues?/
- Can you give me an example of how you have worked with men?
- How did you feel about this experience?

Gender in organisational policy:

- Has your organisation gone through gender mainstreaming processes?
- Do you have a gender policy?
- Gender training?
- International consultants?
- What has the process been like in developing a policy/ mainstreaming/ providing training?

Political support/ pressure

- From donors? Government? Other organisations?
- What kind of pressure or support?
- Can you give me an example of when you have felt supported/ not felt supported in your work with gender?
- Have you felt that there is a movement in South Africa on gender issues? Can you give me an example?
- What does the women's movement in South Africa look like from your perspective?
- What issues are being emphasised by women's organisations?

- Are gender or women's organisations working together?

Resistance

- Has there been resistance to your activities?
- Do you think donors understand the issues you're up against?
- What makes the fight for gender equality difficult in South Africa? Can you give me an example from your experience?
- Is gender equality a realistic goal?
- Can you give me an example of any progress you feel you've made?
- Do you think relationships between men and women have changed from the past?
- Are your programmes having an impact?
- What is/ is not working?

Closing

Is there anything else you want to add?

Who else should I talk to?

Thank you for your time.

Next steps...

Appendix 2: Consent Form

Gender interventions within South African organisations

Title of research: Gender interventions within South African organisations

What is the purpose of this research?

You are being asked to participate in an interview about gender interventions in your organisation. The purpose of this research is to hear from South African organisations what they think about gender as a concept and how they are using it in their organisational activities.

Why is this important?

This is important because organisations have rarely been asked how gender as a concept is being used in ways that are locally relevant to the South African context.

Do I have to take part?

You do not have to take part if you do not wish to, and there will be no negative consequences. If you do decide to take part, you will be asked to sign the consent form at the end of this document. If you decide to take part you are free to stop at any time and without giving a reason.

What happens to the information I give during the session?

The information you give during the session will be used by the researcher in order to complete a doctoral thesis and may be published or used in public presentations related to this work. All information will remain strictly confidential, meaning that your name will be replaced by a pseudonym in all published documents, and oral presentations arising from this research. There will be no connection made between the information you give and any publications of any kind.

If you have additional questions, please contact either:

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Gender interventions within South African organisations

Name:

Organisation:

Date of Interview:

If you agree to participate in the research, please initial each box below:

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information in this letter.
I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.
3. I give permission for the sessions to be audio recorded.
4. I understand that the results of the project may be published but I will not be identified.
5. I agree to take part in the above study.

<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>

Signature: _____

Appendix 3: Example of transcripts

Interview number: 26

Interview date: June 15, 2011

Interview location: Bloubergstrand, outside Cape Town

Duration: 47 min. 57 sec.

Self-identification (if mentioned): Afrikaans

Gender: woman

Approximate age: 40-50

(NOTE: 'True Colours' is the acronym used to replace the organisation in this example.)

I: I'm interested in getting a sense of what your organisation does and how your work fits into the broader scheme of gender within South Africa. Could you tell me a little bit about True Colours and what you do?

R: True Colours was started in 1993. Many of the staff members who started True Colours are still with us today. Many of them come from an abused background and that is the way the organisation was started. In the beginning, there were just eight or nine women together, since then it's expanded tremendously. We are now 80 people, who work across Western Cape, Eastern Cape, and Northern Cape. We are busy establishing a branch in Gauteng so we are expanding quite a bit in South Africa. Also in terms of the programmes: they started off with domestic violence that was even before the Act, just when the Act started to come out, the Domestic Violence Act. They started off with counselling as such, after that our staff has been trained the social development workers. We have 25 social auxiliary workers that are registered with the council at the moment. We also have a very strong court support program and that is our flagship at the moment, that is the one that we roll out in the other provinces. This is where we have a True Colours counsellor based in a court, the domestic violence court. They work very closely with the clerks of the court, the magistrates and they are basically the first person who would see the woman when they come and apply for protection orders. They would counsel her, they would take her through the process and what is to be expected, they would assist her in completing the forms and then once she is ready and the form is correct, she goes to a clerk of the court and then her case goes to court. So the attrition rate in the Western Cape, due to this programme, is about 93 per cent, so very little... Did I say that right? The attrition rate is very low? Yeah, sorry. The forms that actually succeed and go through court is about 93 per cent, which is very high. We've just had a call from the Gauteng to ask us to implement this program in Gauteng because their dropout rate is about 89 to 90 per cent, because women are illiterate and they do not know, they do not get any assistance, when they come to court. And as you say, to make use of the laws that are there to protect them and that is where we play a huge role in the

Western Cape. Now we are going to do that in Gauteng as well. They've never had that and most of the orders get thrown out because it's completely incorrectly... or people cannot communicate their story. But if there's a True Colours counsellor it goes through and the order goes through, so the implementation of the law and the benefits that are available gets implemented and utilised in the Western Cape. So I think that's where True Colours has a hugely important role.

The court counsellors, there are also 25 of them, in the Western Cape, they're based in all the courts and they operate together with the court staff completely, but True Colours has got its own identity there. We also work with other organisations, like Rape crisis or RAPCAN, but they do more, longer term counselling and counselling with children, and we focus on the containment counselling with them.

I: Containment counselling, can you explain that?

R: If a woman comes to court and immediately they're upset, they are traumatised and they have emotions and all of that. That is where True Colours comes in and will take it up, as a first instance and from there on. After the protection order has been granted it's not the end of the story. The woman has to go home, she needs to face the same perpetrator at home, it could even create more violence there because she faces him now and now she's got this court order. So we do have then, the social auxiliary workers that catch up, in the areas. There's a cross recall system and of course a rape cry says that it's a violent offence, then they would also come in there and play a big role with that. In our work, we do deal with sexual offences, but mainly in the Khayelitsha area. There we have a centre it's a Simelela centre which focuses on... it's a 24/7 service and it focuses on victims of sexual violence. So that is dedicated to that. In the other courts also, we do find them and then they work very closely with Rape Crisis. Khayelitsha that is our base for work in that. Both Domestic Violence Act and Sexual Offences Act there's a lot of debate about that, about whether the implementers have implemented or not implemented.

I: Can you expand on that?

R: These... police that are called out sometimes... are usually problematic, because I don't think all of the police at first hand deal with the victim. At the police station or where the case comes from, they're not always trained in exactly what they ask and why, for them to do. Yes, as part of their training, they do get a bit of training on it but not enough. Not enough to deal with it. There are always other important matters, murder or whatever. So, the way they treat the clients, for us is still a bit... or they would just show them away. They're not really that bothered with domestic violence issues coming to the police station. So we do have, in our planning, we do have a section that we want to focus, but that needs to be set up with the police, that we focus more on training police officers, it has happened in the past but it needs to happen continuously because their staff don't know. Sometimes police

officers are just overworked and they're dealing with such other traumatic issues that come to the police station that this is not always for them, an important part. Same with sexual offences, sometimes they call it... It's the secondary rape at the police station, the secondary, more emotional rape. They get queried, 'Why are you here? What are you doing here? It was your fault.' That type of thing. So the Act does provide for a different approach to the client but it's not always worth them to do that. But if you would lose that person, you would sometimes lose the life of that person because the person would go back, straight into the perpetrators home, and people can die.

So for us our programs are focused, yes on the counselling, the community counselling work that happens, outreach work, Lock and Drop's that we call giving out information, doing training with other peer groups, abused women groups, support groups, presentations at factories or other corporates; we would do, prisons, wherever we can. That is part of our outreach work, from the court program, which I've explained which is free. They work hand in hand or with a cross referral system, both of them can do both. Both sets of counsellors can do court work and outreach work. Then you have in Wynberg, they have a clinic, a sexual reproductive clinic, which is a comprehensive package. We do from family planning to TOP's everything. That's also... women might come to the court to... she might be pregnant, she might not want the pregnancy, or she's been raped, or she's been in an affair with another man and gets pregnant and the husband starts assaulting her. They come to the clinic, they get a TOP so... and there we also offer a counselling service. And that counsellor is trained in domestic violence, sexual violence, sexual reproductive rights and everything. So it's a more specialised counsel that they do out there.

- I: The whole premise that you're working with is that the Domestic Violence Act or the Sexual Violence Act that are in place is good, but the implementation is not working?**
- R: Implementation, yes, it's always the implementations. Although our counsellors are well versed in all the acts, they work not alone. They work in partnership with SAPS, Social Development. The [partner] staff are fine, they're very well trained. With SAPS: The South African Police service. To us, that set of training is a problem. Then with the other NGOs they work very close partnerships with all other NGOs. So for example TAC, which is the AIDS NGO, we were very close partnership with TAC. In the different focus groups, where the others work, they would pick up women who are subject to domestic violence and they would refer to True Colours. True Colours would pick up other issues, that another NGO would deal with and always refer that. So there's a very strong network between NGOs and the government departments. But we do have that issue around implementation. Currently we're looking at the National framework for implementation of Sexual Offences Act, which is a little bit outside of it, but very close really.
- I: So what are you looking at around this?**

R: There, is very much an issue around training. Training issues comes out all strong, I think in the most strongest of all the issues. There are other issues, like how the laws correlate to each other, for example, the child act. The Child Act, the Sexual Offences Act and the Domestic Violence Act – these talked to each one another – and also the Police Act and the Domestic Violence Act. So there are all sorts of discrepancies between the different sets of these Acts. It's law reform to a certain extent, but it's also an alignment of the services, to be able to implement all of this. It is all in the interest of the victim, but doesn't always get implemented in the interest of the victim.

I: Can you give me an example?

R: Maybe a controversial example would be the Child Act and Sexual Offences Act and the Domestic Violence Act. If we get a girl that has been raped, she's 15 years old and sometimes this happens in the families; so it's the mother's boyfriend. We often, not so often, but fairly regular would be give this example; so she's 15, sometimes 12 when she gets raped and now she's pregnant from the mother's boyfriend. She cannot go to the police through this. She's underage. If she goes to the police, the only thing the police do, within their mandate and their Act, they call in the parents. That's within their set of legislation; in the Child Act you have to notify the parents. When they come in terms of the Sexual Offences Act or even Domestic Violence, when they've been violated also on top of that, they come to us. They can have the termination of the pregnancy and counselling, we will do that. We would do that without contacting the mother, without contacting the police; definitely not. But based on counselling of this girl and then you take her through a counselling process. First our shorter term containment and refer for longer term if she needs serious, psycho-social support or longer term counselling, we would refer her. But that is the dilemma between Acts, because the Child Act is also in the interest of the child, but it demands that you talk to... to refer and report the case. For us, in terms of our Sexual Offence Act, that is a sexual offence and she has the right to terminate the pregnancy. They do not desire that. Of course, protection inside the home, because when she goes back, there's a good possibility that either the mother or the person who rapped her in the first place, could violate her again, if you want to know the truth, so to protect her, in that sense is what we want.

I: So in your professional experience, what do you think are the major issues facing gender in South Africa?

R: I think patriarchal systems are very much still in place, especially in the more traditional cultures, not even only there; everywhere. It's a system so entrenched, I don't how you can just address that in a simple manner; it's not possible. It is so entrenched in every walk of society. I must say, I don't think in True Colours; we are pretty aware of all those. The organisation is outside that framework. But all these people go back to homes where it is still entrenched, so we're always sensitive to that. We do have male counsellors in our office, we have male... not only females working there, we do have

males. We have a very strong male counselling programme and we are working to become even stronger. Currently we are in the final phases of editing and printing, the male counselling toolkit. This has been designed or developed in partnership, over three years. I think it's the longest one since I joined True Colours... with our funders in Holland; WPF. They also have an office in Indonesia, so they've partnered us and Indonesia to do half and half of this. Facilitators guide, trainers' guides and it's all a huge suit of documents. If I see what they do I don't know they've managed to complete all of that work and it's been edited by somebody in the States. It's quite a substantial piece of work that they're doing.

I: And what's the purpose around it? What's the objective?

R: That would be to train trainers, to train male counsellors to do male counselling as a full programme. Currently we have a little board, that they call, 'The Male Counselling Advisory Board,' consisting of various experts in the field of male counselling and one of our staff members is an expert on that. So she coordinates all of this, development of these documents. Apart from this they also want us to develop the Centre but in terms of family counselling, it takes the male counselling a bit further even.

I: Why do you think male counselling is important?

R: Very important because we regard men as our partners in the healing process. That's a motto in Mosaic; it's not a motto in all of the organisations. Many NGO's do not like that we say that. Many NGO's in this field are highly feministic or how do you say it? Highly feminine?

I: Highly feminist?

R: Highly feminist, yeah. Many do not work with men at all, especially from your sexual violence NGO's, where most of the rape perpetrators are men. Women are so highly abused that the whole issue of men is a little bit traumatic. Mosaic has a completely different approach and I think we're one of... maybe another one is Sonke. Sonke is also very strong with male counselling. Our approach and for us, the motto is definitely... and Sonke is also on this little advisory board that we have, so again, where we link up, we work closely with them. But our motto is definitely, 'Men as partners in the healing process.' You have to work with there, it's part of the prevention strategy, we work very strongly with young boys and girls, abuse awareness and all that sort of thing. Male counselling is not just males; it's boys as well, just preventative and treating people who are already in that position. That healing process is necessary for men to be included in the healing process of that and to restore the family.

Appendix 4: Example of field notes

Tuesday, November 19, 2010

I drove up to Jo'burg from Durban yesterday for the week to do more interviews with organisations this side. But before I actually start talking about the interviews themselves I feel like I need to give a bit of context to this whole experience. It's strange being back in Jo'burg. It's very familiar, almost as if I never really left. I've never really felt this way about a place before and I'm not sure if it's because nothing here has really changed or because the dynamics of me and this city haven't changed. Both are certainly true. The only thing that has changed is that I drove into the centre without thinking about an alternative. That's not true entirely, I did think about calling L, but I felt confident doing it and was able to separate myself from all the safety messages to just be able to see it as a city, with people going to work, shopping, etc. At the end of my last interview today with J from OD, she asked me if I felt scared here. I had to pause to think about it, and to think about the impact what I wanted to say would have on her. I said, 'I think my fear comes from the signs safety – such as the walls around the houses and the alarm systems, rather than an actually feeling that I should be scared.' I have never been a victim of crime, was how she put it, but this doesn't really sum up what I was trying to communicate. Everyone I have ever met here has been wonderful and no one has ever given me the feeling that I should be scared. South Africa is filled with 'good vibes' as S would put it. The only bad vibes come from those who seem to perpetuate this culture of fear, although there's obviously some truth to the statistics.

So the interviews themselves went very well, however challenging in their own way. Both interviews were with women who seemed to be removed from the higher level discussions I've had with others. Although the two interviews were starkly different. T is not really at all what I expected from her profile. I thought she would be another strong African woman, or fit the stereotype of that at least and although she did seem to be strong in her convictions, she seemed to pass a lot of the interview trying to tell me that she didn't agree with African culture. She was a little nervous at the beginning of the interview although by the end I started to wonder if she was just naturally shaky or if it was actually me that was making her nervous. It was very difficult to get her to talk about NGOs and she turned the majority of my questions back to generalisations about African culture, women, their clients at OD, etc. She seemed to be more comfortable with these topics rather than the NGO discussion at all. She did share quite a bit about her personal life with me, including the fact that her ex-husband had molested her daughter, which was quite incredible. For me this is still a rather private issue, and perhaps that is exactly what she is trying to overcome – this notion that there are issues that should only remain in the private realm and not be discussed. I certainly appreciated her openness. A general theme throughout the interview was the participations of men and what seemed to be a positive take by T on male involvement in programming because of their role as the primary perpetrators of domestic violence. I even raised the notion that this might be limiting the funding for women's programmes but this didn't appear to resonate with her.

This is what resonated with me in the two interviews today – the lack of critical thinking about these issues from both of these women. I didn't critique the emphasis on male involvement; she just assumed it was positive and that where the funding was going was obviously based on the right decisions being made by someone in authority. J had a very similar approach and kept referring to the fact that she hadn't read enough on the topic to be able to answer my questions, or hadn't been involved in funding so couldn't speak to that. Although when prompted she had very practical experiences that did allow her to answer my questions. I feel like both women were telling me what they thought I wanted to hear – T in how she disagreed with African culture, and J in her lack of willingness to engage in what she perceived as academic ideas that she wasn't worldly enough to know about. This bothers me and I wish I could undo these two perceptions but I guess it also acts as a reminder that whatever comes out of these interviews, as much as I may think they are something independent of me, still reflect a conversation I am having. No matter what the people I talk to are deciding what to tell me based on who they think I am rather than what they actually think. Maybe my question about whether they think how they would explain gender and how I would explain gender is still a relevant one. But then again they would just answer in the way they believe I would want them to respond. This is why telling stories in the context of interviews is so important as a methodology.

I also had a meeting with H and J from STR this afternoon. I think there are a number of interesting angles raised for how we could work together in the future. One is to go to Malawi and see how the gender mainstreaming process being implemented by GTZ is operating. I would conduct a process assessment for STR and come away with another case study for my research. I'm still trying to grapple with this. On the one hand I would love to beef up my results by looking at another country. The more interesting scenario would be to explore the gender mainstreaming replication project being started in Mozambique, but that involved a much longer process as well as translation and the whole bit of it. J mentioned that there would be researchers that I could use in the local context, and build their capacity so to speak, but I have no idea how I could teach someone to do the very open ended interviewing style that I've been using in a way that still addresses the key themes. Maybe it's a matter of teaching interview skills and then analysing the tapes that come out of that, no matter what they look like. The one thing that does sound like it should happen, and would be easier to implement would be having a staff member from each country conduct my gender mainstreaming survey with partner organisations. It would provide a baseline for STR and could be done with STR's partners in three countries. All I would need to do in this case is put together a 2-page methodology letter outlining how to use the survey, administer it, and analyse it for latter use.

Appendix 5: Coding framework*Policy sectors and basic themes*

Codes	Basic Themes
1. HIV/AIDS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communicating messages • Participatory theatre • Relating social issues to personal experience • Policy analysis • Running support groups • Explaining gender as roles • Explaining gender as relational • Mixing the genders (in interventions) • Engaging communities in discussions • Supporting home-based care work • Educating about gender and HIV • Encouraging women-only spaces • Making gender core to organisational practice • Creating awareness of injustice • Connecting power to personal experience
2. Violence against women (VAW)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educating about violence • Working with men to change violent masculinities • Empowering women • Providing legal information • Using rights to talk about gender • Participatory theatre • Support groups • Improving access to services • Using community-based facilitators • Women-only spaces • Counselling • Legal system support • Police training • Rape crisis services • Professional skills training • Educating about violence • Residential support for women

Codes	Basic Themes
3. Formal work and economic assets	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creating financial independence • Income generation interventions • Networking • Financial advice • Building skills • Financial literacy • Enterprise training • Agricultural training • Women-focused organising • Women in trade unions
4. Organisational development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Merging gender and HIV in organisational policy • Equal gender representation • Making gender core to organisational practice • Understanding personal relationship to power • 50/50 split • Integrating gender in all sectors • Creating a gender-sensitive environment • Gender evaluations of organisations • Encouraging personal reflection
5. Technology	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Advocating for internet security • Women-only spaces • Providing access to information • Digital storytelling
6. Justice and legislation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Taking test cases to court to test the system • Advocate to the government • Facilitate consultations between legal authorities and poor women • Employing mediators between legal authority and communities • Legal literacy training • Providing legal information • Discussing the constitution • Training of traditional leaders • Engaging communities in discussion • Creating awareness/ consciousness • Developing awareness videos

Codes	Basic Themes
7. Media	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creating awareness of injustice • Critiquing the portrayal of women in media • Sharing information with the media • Women's scholarships
8. Youth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Providing gender education • Talking about sex and gender • Counselling
9. Minority sexual identities (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support groups • Training module on sexualities • Creating awareness of corrective rape • Workshop on heterosexism • Engaging communities in discussions
10. Minority gender identities (transgender)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support groups • Advocacy • Building relationships with government • Working with refugees • Research • Medical conference • Counselling

Codes	Basic Themes
11. Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Life skills education • Financial literacy • Community-based facilitators • Human rights to talk about gender • Explaining gender as roles • Challenging gender roles • Encouraging debate on gender • Demonstrating gender equality • Challenging the cultural argument for gender inequality • Using stories to encourage discussion • Including girls in sport • Mixing men and women • Teaching goal-setting/ decision-making skills • Hiring both men and women • Participatory theatre • Relating social issues to personal experiences • Including boys and girls • Educating about feminism • Awareness of injustice • Encouraging career choices
12. Human trafficking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participatory theatre • Empowerment • Women-only programmes

Organising and global themes

Organising themes	Global themes (Networks)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Imparting information/ skills/ knowledge • Explaining gender • Setting examples of gender equality • Mainstreaming gender • Gender as a cross-cutting issue • Organisation-level awareness of gender • Teaching about human rights • Government system support/ training • Skills building/ training 	<p>(1) Improving knowledge about gender issues/ services (i.e. violence, inequalities, rights)</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Critical thinking about gender issues • Building community capacity • Rights analysis in sexual and reproductive health • Women’s unions • Empowerment programming • Inter-organisation collaboration 	<p>(2) Empowering women</p>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Addressing men and masculinities in policy • Increasing access to services • Mobilising changes in service provision • Addressing livelihoods • Ensuring economic gender equality • Women’s rights as an access point to gender 	<p>(3) Obtaining funding and support (legal, services and policy support)</p>

Organising themes	Global themes (Networks)
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Critical thinking about gender issues• Behaviour change• Inclusion of women and girls• Supporting women as a group• Community interventions• Facilitating organisational changes	(4) Challenging gender politics

Appendix 6: Ethics approval letter



07 July 2010

Miss J Mannell
c/o Heard
School of Economics
Westville Campus

Dear Miss Mannell

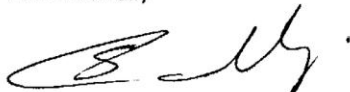
PROTOCOL: Interpreting Gender: A post-structural feminist exploration of gender mainstreaming among community organisations
ETHICAL APPROVAL NUMBER: HSS/0473/2010 D: HEARD

In response to your application dated 02 July 2010, Student Number: **200412716** the Humanities & Social Sciences Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been given **FULL APPROVAL**.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the school/department for a period of 5 years.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully



Professor Steve Collings (Chair)
HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES ETHICS COMMITTEE

SC/sn

cc: Prof. C Campbell (Supervisor)
cc: Prof. A Whiteside (Supervisor)

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