



South African Women as Champions of Change: A Civil Society Programme of Action for the African Women's Decade¹

Thematic Report on Key Issues facing South African Women

Prepared by



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PREFACE

South African Women in Dialogue (SAWID) is very pleased to have commissioned and participated in this research study on **South African Women as Champions of Change: A Civil Society Programme of Action for the African Women's Decade**.

This Thematic Report on Key Issues facing South African Women was commissioned by SAWID, thanks to a funding partnership with the Royal Norwegian Embassy and the International Women's Forum of South Africa (IWFSa) and the hard work of our researchers at the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), under Professor Margaret Chitiga-Mabugu, Executive Director and Dr. Selma Karuaihe, a Senior Research Manager in the HSRC Economic Performance and Development (EPD) Programme.

SAWID was first convened in July 2003 in order to create a platform for South African women, united in their diversity, and inspired by the spirit of *Ubuntu* and the values of self-reliance, integrity and tolerance, to make a difference and to propose more inclusive and sustainable solutions to the pressing challenges confronting women and their families in our country and on our continent.

From the beginning SAWID aligned its vision and actions to larger processes taking place within the African continent, including the African Union (AU), and the New Economic Plan for Africa's Development (NEPAD), and SAWID actively participated in providing feedback from women to the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) processes.

When women complained that they were still too poor to participate in the new democratic processes unfolding in South Africa, SAWID set out to assist government in finding sustainable solutions that would lead to self-reliance and sustainability at family and household level. Based on research into countries where poverty was successfully halved, SAWID started championing and lobbying for a Women's Ministry, a central Planning Ministry and an integrated and targeted anti-poverty strategy. SAWID also started implementing the Development Caravan action learning pilot programme in 2008: a holistic, psycho-social poverty eradication approach that recruits and trains local young men and women to become Social Auxiliary Workers over an 18-month period, and then employs them to assist identified poor families to be walked out of poverty by linking them to available services and resources, in partnership with local municipalities and other stakeholders in government, civil society and the private sector, overseen by trained social workers and site managers. The Development Caravan promotes a participatory development model that leads to people identifying their own problems and participating in solving them.

The present research is a continuation of the commitment of the women of South Africa to become agents of their own development, and to make valuable contributions towards the eradication of poverty and the establishment of sustainable, universal and funded early childhood structures in South Africa. In this way we believe we can make the most useful contribution to the agency and empowerment of African women in this African Decade of Women.

We release this study in the knowledge and hope that it will add to the many tools that development and government service delivery practitioners have at their disposal to deal with the challenges of unemployment, poverty and hopelessness in our society. As SAWID, we are the ones we have been waiting for. We envision a better world and we know that it will take all our collective hands to make it better for all!

Ms Thoko Mpumlwana
SAWID Trust Chairperson

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The South African Women in Dialogue (SAWID) would like to thank The Royal Norwegian Embassy and the International Women's Forum of South Africa (IWFSa) and the Independent Development Trust (IDP) for the financial support that enabled the commissioning of this study.

The authors wish to express their gratitude to a number of people and organisations for contributing to this report:

- Ms Thoko Mpumlwana, on behalf of SAWID for commissioning the study to the HSRC
- South African Women in Dialogue (SAWID), which commissioned this report and convened a workshop on 27–29 August 2012 to discuss the draft report; and
- Participants at the SAWID workshop who provided inputs and commented on the draft report, especially Dr Sazile Mtshali, Dr Lulama Makhubela, Ntjantja Ned, Marthe Muller, Mmabatho Ramagoshi, Nonhlanhla Mokwena and Elizabeth Petersen;
- Professor Vasu Reddy, Research Director at the Human and Social Development Programme of the HSRC and his team of experts – Hannah Botsis and Tracy Morison – for their contributions to the theme of violence against women and civil society co-ordination .
- Dr Miracle Benhura, Senior Lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand for her contribution on the poverty theme;
- Shirin Motala, Senior Research Manager in the HSRC's Economic Performance and Development Programme for her contribution to the early childhood development theme;
- Nthabiseng Tsoanamatsie, a research intern in the Economic Performance and Development programme of the HSRC.

Acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
ASGISA	Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative-South Africa
ASSA	Actuarial Society of South Africa
BMR	Bureau of Market Research
CBO	Community-based organisation
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CSOs	Civil society organisation
DBE	Department of Basic Education
DoE	Department of Education (now referred to as DBE)
DSD	Department of Social Development
ECD	Early childhood development
EPD	Economic Performance and Development programme of the HSRC
EPWP	Expanded Public Works Programme
GBV	Gender-based violence
GEAR	Growth Employment and Redistribution Policy
GRB	Gender-responsive budgeting
HBC	Home-based care
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IGP	Income-generating project
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMAGE	Intervention with Microfinance for AIDS and Gender Equity
INDISCO	ILO Interregional Programme to Support Self-Reliance of Indigenous and Tribal Communities through Co-operatives and other Self-Help Organizations
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation?
JIPSA	Joint Initiative on Priority Skills Acquisition
KYB	Kago ya Bana
KDF	Khayelitsha Development Forum
KWDT	Katosi Women Development Trust
MAP	Men as Partners
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MRC	Medical Research Council
NEF	National Educare Forum
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation? See above
NIP	National Integrated Plan for ECD
NPO	Non-Profit Organisation
NQF	National Qualifications Framework
NWGSO	National Working Group on Sexual Offences
OMC	One Man Can campaign
PEO	Project Extension Officer
PPASA	Planned Parenthood Association of South Africa
PROGRESA	Programa Nacional de Educacion, Salud y Alimentacion [Education, Health, and Nutrition Programme of Mexico]
PSCs	Public service contractors
PWMSA	Progressive Women's Movement of South Africa
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RWM	Rural Women's Movement
SACECD	South African Congress for Early Childhood Development
SADC	Southern African Development Community

SANCO	South African National Civics Organisation
SANDF	South African National Defence Force
SAWID	South African Women in Dialogue
SC	Street Committee
SEF	Small Enterprise Foundation
SGJ	Sonke Gender Justice
SETA	Sector education and training authority
SSADRI	Social Science and Development Research Institute
TAC	Treatment Action Campaign
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNGEI	UN Girls' Education Initiative
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNPFA	United Nations Population Fund
VCT	Voluntary counselling and testing
VO	Village organisations
WEDGE	Women Entrepreneurship Development and Gender Equality Southern Africa

Executive Summary

Four themes have been identified as the main issues facing South African women as part of a civil society programme of action for the African Women's Decade, co-ordinated by South African Women in Dialogue (SAWID), namely: 1) poverty eradication in the context of gender; 2) early childhood development (ECD) in the context of gender; 3) violence against women; and 4) co-ordination of civil society initiatives. A fifth theme which cuts across the others is employment creation.

This report is arranged in four sections which correspond with the thematic areas. Section 1 describes best practice in respect of poverty eradication in South Africa. Section 2 explores best practice in respect of ECD in the context of gender. Section 3 describes violence against women and what is being done about it. Section 4 explores the co-ordination of the efforts of civil society organisations (CSOs) in respect of these three central areas of endeavour. The final section concludes the report and presents the main recommendations.

The persistence of poverty among women is often viewed as a tragic consequence of unequal access to economic opportunities, gender biases in labour markets and lack of control over productive resources (UNDP, 1995; Chant, 2006; Bennett, 2009). According to a 2009 United Nations (UN) survey on the role of women in development, almost 52.7% of women workers were in vulnerable employment in 2007 (UN, 2009). South Africa is no exception – in 2007 women constituted 62% of home-based workers in the informal self-employment sector (Wills, 2009). South African poverty rates ranged from 4% (white female); to 11% (Indian/Asian females); to 33% (coloured females) and 72% (African females), while lower rates of poverty were found among their male counterparts in all race groups between 1993 and 2008 (Leibbrandt *et al*, 2010). This clearly shows that African females carry the brunt of the poverty burden, although it has been declining, albeit at a slow pace.

Patriarchy and lack of decision making power have played a central role in increasing poverty among women (Bentley, 2010). Furthermore, women suffer disproportionately from work-family conflict as they carry the triple burden of working, household management and child rearing. This leaves them with minimal time to improve capabilities through investing in human capital, and participating in meaningful economic activities and collective actions to help them improve their economic conditions (McFerson, 2010). Most poor women also lack security within their families and the broader society. They often experience domestic violence (Bennett, 2009) which has devastating effects on their well-being and the well-being of their children. This combination of adverse circumstances severely hampers the ability of women to actualise their potential.

Whilst acknowledging that the pivotal role in the fight against poverty is played by government, civil society organisations (CSOs)³ can contribute at local, national and global levels. Although most studies of civil society and poverty reduction focus on non-governmental organisations (NGOs), it should be noted that civil society also includes faith-based organisations, informal groups, co-operatives, recreational and cultural organisations as well as academics and the media (Ibrahim & Hulme, 2010). CSOs' role in poverty alleviation spans across three main domains,

³Civil society is 'the sphere of institutions, organisations and individuals located between the family, the state and the market in which people associate voluntarily to advance common interests' (Anheier, 2004:22).

that is: advocacy, policy change and service delivery (Korten, 1987; Van Rooy & Robinson, 1998; Clark, 1991; Lawson *et al.*, 2009; Ibrahim & Hulme, 2010).

The role of advocacy involves activities such as campaigning, lobbying, media and awareness-raising work. In this role, CSOs act as the ‘voice’ of the poor and advocate for, among others, rights of citizens, rights of informal workers, adequate infrastructure, service delivery and land tenure (Mitlin & Satterthwaite, 2004). This role requires CSOs to strengthen their bargaining power in order to defend their own rights, and also to enhance their capacity for organisation and collective action. The second role that CSOs can play in poverty reduction is to lobby government for policies that are pro-poor, for example, by calling for participatory and gender-sensitive budgeting (Ibrahim & Hulme, 2010). Such CSO activities have proved to be fruitful in countries like Peru where the indigenous people’s movements lobbied for the right of prior consent before economic activities take place on their lands (Bebbington *et al.*, 2009). By building working relationships and dialogues with the government, CSOs are capable of affecting the formulation of poverty reduction strategies. However, their success in affecting policies depends on their ability to understand policy processes and their capacity to work at the policy level (Hughes & Atampugre, 2005). The third main role that CSOs can play in poverty alleviation is in direct service delivery in such areas as shelter, access to credit, improving community infrastructure and training (Ibrahim & Hulme, 2010; Lawson *et al.*, 2009; Mitlin & Mogaladi, 2009). CSOs can also engage in research and provide networking services to strengthen communication and exchange systems between organisations and/or individuals.

The report discusses various examples of CSO work in societies throughout the world and South Africa in particular. The examples are meant to highlight best practice gender-sensitive work aimed at poverty eradication, early childhood development and reduction of violence against women. The findings clearly reveal the extent to which CSOs have played a role in addressing challenges affecting grassroots (local level) South African communities (these include both men and women) across the four thematic focus areas of the study.

Recommendations on poverty eradication

An effective approach to poverty eradication requires:

- Public education, awareness-raising and an enabling environment to address poverty through the establishment of strong cooperatives and self-help groups;
- Government incentives for CSOs to continue contributing to poverty eradication;
- Strong collaboration between the state, CSOs and communities.

Recommendations on early childhood development (ECD)

Effective ECD requires:

- Providing access to affordable, accessible, comprehensive and holistic ECD services and programmes;
- Strengthening institutional collaboration between state (departments of health, social development and education) and non-state role players in the delivery of ECD programmes;
- Monitoring and evaluation of both organisational and programmatic interventions and their impacts;
- Information and knowledge value chain including sharing of information on ECD policies and practise among stakeholders including government, community and CSOs;
- Enhancing human resource capacity to deliver ECD services;
- Support to the NPO sector to contribute towards the provision of ECD services; and

- Engendering ECD policy and practice among all stakeholders and in all ECD programmes.

Recommendations combating violence against women

Effectively combating of violence against women requires:

- A need for eclectic perspectives, which include a rights-based perspective, and the Ubuntu perspective, among others;
- A multi-faceted approach within an ecological framework;
- The adoption of a critical and nuanced view of gender;
- Gender transformative programmes in dialogue with feminist principles; and
- Locating efforts to combat violence against women within broader economic empowerment programmes.

Recommendations for civil society co-ordination

Facilitating the co-ordination of civil society efforts requires:

- Regular dialogue;
- Capacity building and enhancement programmes for women;
- Incentives and financial support;
- Strengthening co-ordination;
- Convening a donor funding conference to facilitate and manage funding for civil society; and
- The development of criteria for co-ordination to help ensure successful implementation of civil society programmes.

Finally, the following criteria for co-ordination need to be taken into account when working toward CSO co-ordination models in South Africa (adapted from Hodes *et al.*, 2011):

- Broad representation, including under-represented groups such as rural women, and the economically disadvantaged. This is crucial and should be encouraged at all times;
- The capacity, influence and expertise of stakeholders, that can work across contexts should be taken on board;
- The capacity building of civil society across all areas (human, financial and skills resources) is needed;
- Leadership needs to be able to build consensus, and work with a range of stakeholders;
- Funding and resources need to be provided to facilitate the logistics for any form of co-ordination ;
- Building on existing networks, to increase influence and efficacy ; and
- Frequent communication inclusive of all stakeholders.

1 BEST PRACTICE MODEL FOR POVERTY ERADICATION IN THE CONTEXT OF GENDER

1.1 Introduction and background: Engendering poverty

This section presents a poverty eradication model for South Africa, based on best practices from other countries. Since the transition into the post-apartheid era, the South African government has been striving to redress the challenges of poverty and inequality. Despite these efforts, increasing and persistent poverty remains. Many households continue to be marginalised, vulnerable and fail to meet their basic needs (Desai, 2005; Edigheji, 2007). While men and women share many burdens of poverty, they often experience it differently because of biological differences and gender roles, and in turn are affected differently. The various dimensions of poverty are often more severe among women than men in respect of income poverty, asset poverty, poverty of opportunities, access poverty and time poverty (Mubangizi & Mubangizi, 2005; Bhorat *et al.*, 2006; Heng, 2008).

The persistence of poverty among women is often viewed as a tragic consequence of unequal access to economic opportunities, gender biases in labour markets and lack of control over productive resources (UNDP, 1995; Chant, 2006; Bennett, 2009). According to a 2009 United Nations survey on the role of women in development, almost 52.7% of women workers were in vulnerable employment in 2007 (UN, 2009). South Africa is no exception – in 2007 women constituted 62% of home-based workers in the informal self-employment sector (Wills, 2009). Patriarchy and lack of decision making power have also played a central part in increasing poverty among women (Bentley, 2010). Furthermore, women suffer disproportionately from a work-family conflict as they carry the triple burden of working, household management and child rearing. This leaves them with minimal time to improve capabilities through investing in human capital, and participating in meaningful economic activities and collective actions to help to improve their economic conditions (McFerson, 2010).

Most poor women lack security within their families and the broader society. They often experience domestic violence (Bennett, 2009) which has devastating effects on both their well-being and that of their children. This combination of adverse circumstances severely hampers the ability of women to actualise their potential. Whilst acknowledging that the pivotal role in the fight against poverty is played by government, CSOs can contribute at local, national and global levels. Although most studies of civil society and poverty reduction focus on NGOs, it should be noted that civil society also includes faith-based organisations, informal groups, co-operatives, recreational and cultural organisations as well as academics and the media (Ibrahim & Hulme, 2010). CSOs' role in poverty alleviation spans across three main domains, that is: advocacy, policy change and service delivery (Korten, 1987; Van Rooy & Robinson, 1998; Clark, 1991; Lawson *et al.*, 2009; Ibrahim & Hulme, 2010).

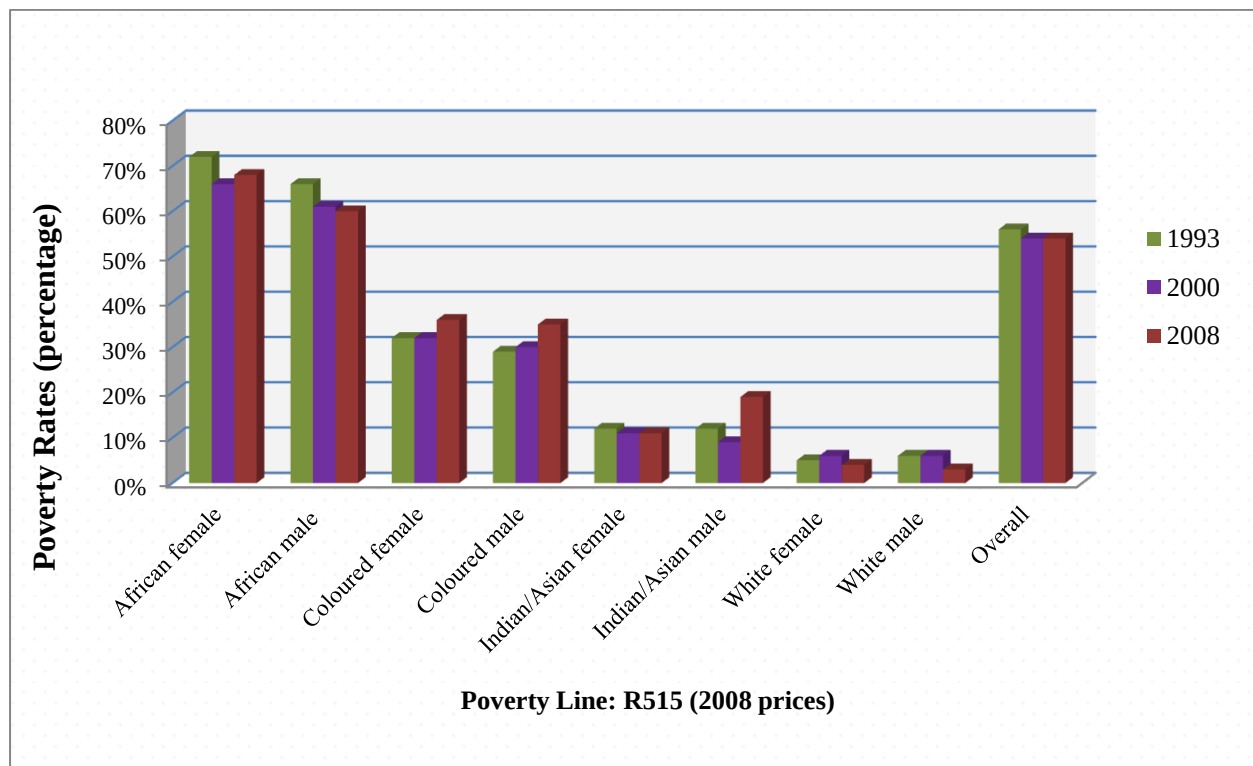
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1.2 Poverty in South Africa

This section gives a brief overview of poverty in South Africa and how CSOs have sought to address it. Previous studies have shown that, in post-apartheid South Africa, poverty has spatial, racial and gender dimensions. Figure 1.1 illustrates the marked race and gender characteristics of poverty. Generally, women are more likely to be poor than men, and African women residing in rural areas are the most vulnerable. This situation has not changed despite the post-apartheid government's wide-sweeping endeavours. Several reasons have been cited for this differential including: gendered access to productive resources such as land and credit; gender-neutral national poverty reduction strategies; unemployment; low levels of skills development; undervaluation of the reproductive and caring role of women; and domestic violence (Posel & Rogan, 2009; Bennett, 2009; Karlsson, 2009; Nadvi, 2009; Kleinbooi, 2009).

Figure 1:1: Headcount poverty by gender and race 1993–2008



Source: Constructed from Leibbrandt *et al.* (2010):35–6.

Posel and Rogan (2009) investigated whether trends in income poverty had been gendered over the ten year period 1997–2006. The study found that women were more likely to reside in poor households than men. Poverty rates declined slightly over the same period, primarily due to the

extension of the social grants system. Nonetheless, the fall in poverty rates was lower for women than for men, which widened the gender differential in poverty rates over the period. This was attributable to higher levels of unemployment and lower earnings among women, as well as changes in household structure; a decline in marriages; and the effects of HIV/AIDS. Furthermore, these authors found that female-headed households had a higher risk of income poverty than male-headed households. The latter experienced a larger decline in the extent of poverty than the former. The study argues that, depending on the employment status of household members, substantial variations in poverty risks existed within female-headed and male-headed households. Those with a larger proportion of unemployed members suffered more from poverty and vice versa (Posel & Rogan, 2009).

Nevertheless, female-headed households in other parts of Southern Africa and in East Africa are not necessarily poorer. According to the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), household budget surveys in those regions have shown that female-headed households are no poorer than male-headed households, particularly in rural areas where there is shared poverty. In some cases, female-headed households are [no] less poor than male-headed households (IFAD, 1999; Klaasen *et al.*, 2011; & O’Laughlin, 1997). Similarly, a study conducted by Mtshali (2002) in rural KwaZulu-Natal found that female-headed households were not necessarily poorer than male-headed households. This is due to the fact that, in female-headed households, women have more access and authority over available assets and resources than those in male-headed households. Together with their children, they have movement flexibility to engage in diverse income-generating activities as they do not need to ask for permission from men. Further, Klaasen *et al.* (2011) found that female-headed households are somewhat better off in terms of current consumption using a unique panel dataset of over 4 000 rural households from Thailand and Vietnam. In addition, there is very little evidence that female-headed households are more prone to shocks, less able to smooth their consumption or more vulnerable than male-headed households” (Klaasen *et al.* 2011:1).

However, Mtshali (2002) showed that differentiation by subgroups of headship remains important, since especially widows and singles are generally worse off than female heads with a spouse who has migrated. On the contrary, women in male-headed households face restrictions as a result of falling under the authority of men; something that frequently co-occurs with limitations on decision making and restricted access to resources. Irrespective of gender, vulnerability in rural households is due to the lack of, or a weak asset and resource base. The extent of poverty in rural areas has led to the creation of ‘new family or household forms’ that have emerged, e.g. child-headed households which are poor and vulnerable (Mtshali, 2002).

Another factor worth noting in respect of poverty in rural areas is that there is high unemployment across all age groups. Adults in the age group 16 to 64 years of age are not necessarily economically productive even though they are regarded as a part of the economically active population in national statistics. Child-headed households often labour in kind to neighbours in order to make a living and support their siblings. National statistics do not regard a person above 64 years as economically active (i.e. not a breadwinner with dependants), but in rural areas many pensioners support dependants who range from their own children to their grandchildren and other relatives. Therefore, in order to formulate an approach to eradicating poverty, critical intra-household processes should be understood (Mtshali, 2002).

Given the gender differential in the extent of poverty in South Africa, some studies analysed whether the national poverty reduction strategies account for this disparity. In particular, Bennett (2009) provides a gender analysis of South African national poverty reduction strategies over the

period 2000–2008. She concludes that a full understanding of gender dynamics rather than women's poverty has never been integrated into national strategy (see for instance, Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) 1994, Growth Employment and Redistribution Policy (GEAR) 1996 and Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA) 2006). The national poverty reduction strategies suffer from major omissions. For instance, the role of women in unpaid reproductive and care work is persistently misconstrued, which preserves the non-transformative and pro-poverty gender stereotypes in our society. A similar conclusion was reached by Moorosi (2009) who argues that Joint Initiative on Priority Skills Acquisition (JIPSA) is gender-neutral, even though skills development is necessary for eradicating poverty among women.

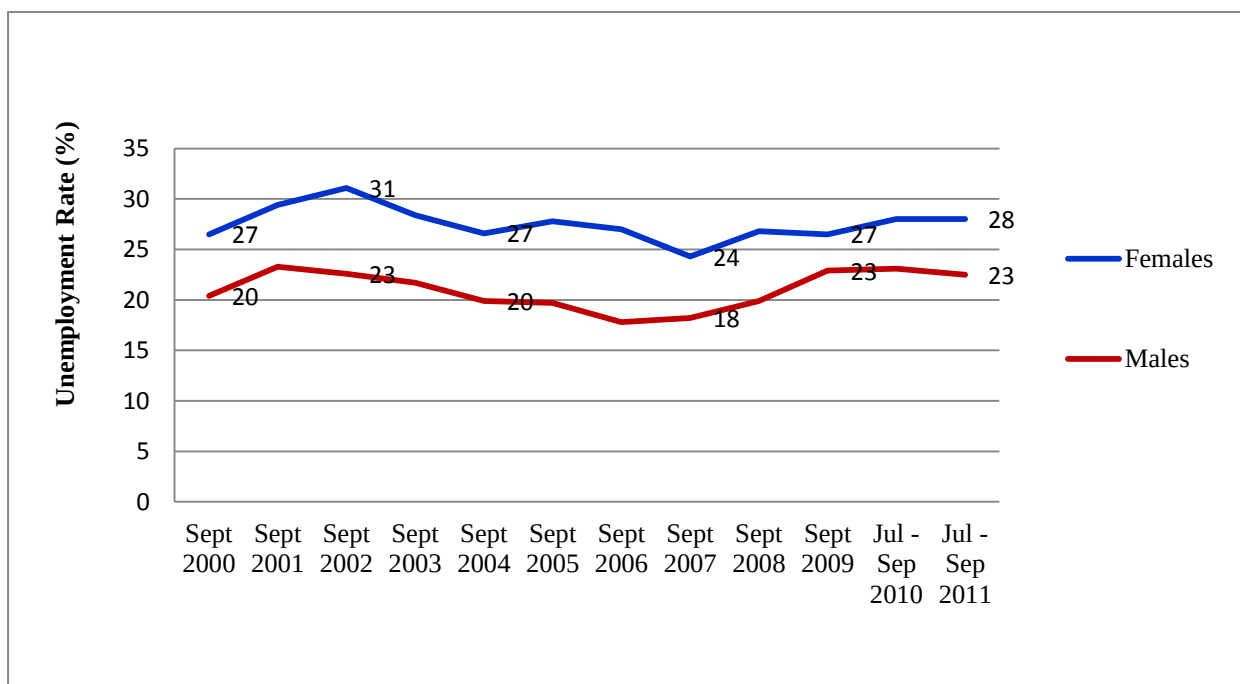
Because of the linkage between gender equality, poverty and education, Karlsson (2009) investigated how role players in the South African education sector understood these relationships, and the strategies they pursued to reduce poverty. She found that education managers and gender advocates envisaged a link between poverty and gender inequality. This manifested as educational, macro-economic and professional deficits. Another finding was that individuals, households and the government pursued some gender-related poverty reduction strategies. Unfortunately, individual and household strategies such as allowing for transactional sex could lead to teen pregnancy which interrupted girls' schooling. At times, this was ameliorated by the education department's strategy that girls should return and continue their studies. Importantly, the department also sought to organise and empower poor women economically by establishing women's co-operatives that serviced school feeding schemes.

Other researchers explored the living conditions of poor women in informal settlements. For instance, Nadvi (2009) investigated the situation of those who resided in informal settlements in eThekweni, KwaZulu-Natal. She documented that women and children bore a disproportionate burden of the social challenges associated with these communities, especially poverty, lack of effective service delivery, HIV and AIDS, and gender-based violence (GBV). For instance, when there was a lack of clean and safe water and electricity, women had to look for alternatives, owing to their reproductive and care-taking roles. Some of the settlements in this study had portable communal toilets which did not cater for menstruating women. Worse still, toilets are located far from the dwellings, so that some women were raped en route to the toilet. In light of this, she argued that women's voices must be heard in activist groups which try to voice concerns to government as women are affected in different ways to men.

Some studies maintained that rural women in South Africa were more likely to be poor than their male counterparts due to a patriarchal system of property rights, especially ownership of productive resources such as land. For instance, Kleinbooi (2009) showed that women in the rural reserves of Namaqualand mostly gain access to land for residential and production purposes through dependent relationships with husbands, fathers and sons.

1.3 Unemployment in South Africa

South Africa is a middle income, emerging economy, with a high unemployment rate averaging 24.9% by June 2012, with 27.5% and 22.8% unemployment rates recorded for women and men respectively between April and June 2012 (Stats SA, 2012a). Figure 1.2 shows the rate of unemployment in South Africa by gender between 2000 and 2011.

Figure 1:2: South Africa's unemployment rate by gender 2000–2011

Source: Constructed from data by Stats SA, 2012a

Results show that the female unemployment rate has been disproportionately high compared to that of men over the decade under review. This is another indication of how women in South Africa carry the burden of poverty through fewer employment opportunities, partly limited by having to care for family while seeking employment. With such a high unemployment rate among women, civil society organisations have been playing a crucial role in lessening the burden for women through various activities as indicated throughout this paper.⁴

1.4 Literature review

1.4.1 Best practice models from other countries

In recent years, several CSOs have taken a leading role in the fight against poverty with special attention being given to women. These range from financial assistance to advocacy for pro-poor policies. The main lessons drawn from the best practices discussed below hinge on the poor people – particularly women's active participation in poverty eradication activities. Examples of such spirited initiatives include:

⁴ CSO activities are summarised in the Appendix.

Best Practice: Infrastructure Provision Model

Katosi Women Development Trust and Women for Water Partnership-- Uganda

Katosi Women Development Trust (KWDT) is an NGO in Uganda. Its goal is to uplift the living conditions of poor rural peasant communities, particularly women. Since 2002 one of its development initiatives has been the provision of clean water, sanitation and empowerment of poor women in the rural areas of Uganda. As such, the organisation raises women's awareness of the benefits of practising good hygiene and sanitation practices, and gives them skills to train other community members. This includes skills in tank masonry, knowledge to lead water user committees, as well as advocacy and lobbying skills. This programme has improved women's and communities' access to clean water through rain water harvesting, and construction of clean safe wells, and given them jobs. This has emancipated women from time poverty – they now have to spend less time fetching water, and instead more time is spent in income-generating projects, agricultural productivity also improved. Furthermore water-borne diseases have been reduced.

Source: www.womenforwater.org/openbaar/index.php?paginaID=530.

A lesson from this project is that CSOs can identify the infrastructure needs of marginalised communities and spearhead projects which provide the communities with services they lack. Also poor women can actively participate in the delivery of these services if the CSOs support them to develop the requisite skills and provide them with the necessary guidance. This also helps to improve the socio-economic lot of women as the availability of clean water improves the health of their families, frees them from the burden of having to fetch water, and enables them to start small businesses which require water, among others.

Best Practice: Funding Model

The BRAC Microfinance Model – Bangladesh

BRAC⁵ is an NGO in Bangladesh whose microfinance operations started in 1974. It covers all districts of the country. The organisation provides collateral free credit for investment in income-generating activities at the doorsteps of its target population – the landless poor (marginal farmers and vulnerable small entrepreneurs most of whom are women). It also provides a platform for poor women in the villages to gather and form village organisations (VOs), each with 30–40 women, where they can access the microfinance. The loans are customised to the varying needs of the borrowers. BRAC's way of providing financial services to the poor is based on the credit-plus approach. This encompasses financial assistance, skills development and measures which strengthen the supply chains of their clients' output to improve access to quality inputs and markets. These interventions are offered by BRAC's social enterprises. The programme also allows VOs to provide an opportunity for poor women to discuss and raise awareness on issues pertaining to their social, legal and daily well-being. So far BRAC has provided small loans amounting to US\$6 million to 7 million borrowers who have invested in, e.g., restaurants, grocery stores and the production of rice, maize and vegetables.

Source: www.brac.net/content/microfinance.

Important lessons can be drawn from BRAC's funding model. First, poor women can contribute to the betterment of their lives, communities and the economy at large if given an opportunity to participate in economic activities. As such they should not be excluded from accessing micro finance by being treated as 'unbankable'. Trust in the poor is the foundation for lending; paper

⁵ Formerly known as the Bangladesh Rehabilitation Assistance Committee and then as the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee, BRAC is no longer an acronym.

work, legal instruments and collateral become secondary issues. Second, given that their enterprises are often small, repayments of their loans should be tailored to small instalments. Third, CSOs can set poor women on the path to self-reliance by providing them with financial assistance, skills and other support which facilitates their involvement in sustainable income-generating activities. A final lesson from this initiative is that amidst adversities, women should be proactive and dedicated in the fight against poverty.

Best Practice: Community Based Initiatives and Others

Employment Creation: The development of tribal people's co-operatives in Orissa, India

Tribal communities, especially women, are among the most disadvantaged population of the rural Indian state of Orissa. They are unskilled marginal farmers in an area which has abundant opportunities for the growth of cottage industries. Consequently, the International Labour Organisation's Interregional Programme to Support Self-Reliance of Indigenous and Tribal Communities through Co-operatives and other Self-Help Organizations (ILO-INDISCO) with its NGO partner, Social Science and Development Research Institute (SSADRI) set up pilot development projects which focused on ten villages with a total population of over 3 000 people. The focus was on income-generation for women. Initially, meetings were held in the villages to identify the people's needs, and their socio-economic situation and life-styles. The first project began with a sal leaf/ cup-making scheme, because the women had some experience of this and it needed minimal working capital. Self-help groups (called *mahila mandal*) were formed in each village, organised by the women. They received training and started making leaf cups and plates for sale. The project expanded to include electrification, setting up of work sheds, and installation of machines. Then training courses were held to extend into silkworm rearing, weaving and marketing. The project then moved on to longer-term investments such as a one-year typing course and training in tailoring. The project also intensified its training topics including: the role of the *mahila mandal*, the multipurpose co-operative society; understanding of the by-laws and roles of office-bearers; how to apply for government grants; gender issues; and monitoring and evaluation. The key to sustainability was a revolving loan fund. This enabled individual rope-makers to buy more raw materials and thus boost their output. The increased income led to investment in other industries such as vegetable cultivation, the garment industry, and animal husbandry, and to individuals starting businesses such as grocery, cycle repair, and beekeeping. Participatory self-evaluations enabled the villagers to take part in the measurement of progress and the identifying of impediments to action. This project enabled the poor rural women to overcome poverty.

Source: Birchall, 2003.

This case study shows how participatory development should be carried out (Birchall, 2003). First, motivating people to organise themselves is an important participatory step in promoting development among the poor. Second, to effectively help the poor climb out of poverty there is a need for a bottom-up approach. Support should be offered for projects that the participants are able to undertake. Third, NGOs can support these self-help groups by providing training, funding and or infrastructure building, among others.

1.5 South African civil society models of Poverty Eradication

Given the above literature, it is crucial to have an understanding of the various civil society initiatives in their efforts to reduce poverty in South Africa. There are a myriad CSO activities

geared towards poverty reduction and employment creation. A few examples of successful poverty eradication models in South Africa⁶ are highlighted below.

South African Women in Dialogue (SAWID)

South African Women in Dialogue (SAWID) has been among the leading CSOs to play a significant role in addressing poverty in various communities. SAWID advocates for pro-poor policies, mobilises local resources, and increases the capacity of individuals and families in poor communities to be self-sufficient. It works with the government to formulate poverty reduction strategies. For example, in response to an expressed need by women attending the first SAWID dialogue in July 2003, between 2005 and 2008 SAWID developed the Development Caravan (DC) model to directly tackle extreme poverty in identified poverty nodes.⁷ With the help of social auxiliary workers (SAWs)⁸ recruited from the same poor communities and trained over 18 months using Health and Welfare Sector Education and Training Authority (SETA) funds, and other supporters like the Independent Development Trust, various government health and welfare services, and the NEPAD⁹ Spanish Fund for Women Empowerment, the DC was first implemented in Fetakgomo and KwaMbonambi municipalities in Limpopo and KwaZulu-Natal provinces. This model is currently transforming the lives of 600 families leading to multiple benefits for participants, while employing 59 SAWs, 2 site managers and 3 registered social workers at local level. Further, as noted by the Southern Hemisphere Consultants (2012), SAWID and its partner Ponahalo De Beers Disadvantaged Women's Trust are currently replicating the DC model in Viljoenskroon in the Moqhoka Municipality in the Free State. So far the project in Viljoenskroon has registered a few successes as it is still underway, with the first 21 SAWs successfully completing their training in September 2012. To date, this project has received support and buy-in from the local municipality, and beneficiary families are already being assisted with access to social security, and have gained access to such services as mobile clinics.

Source: Silinda, 2009.

Progressive Women's Movement in South Africa (PWMSA)

The Progressive Women's Movement in South Africa provides a platform for South African women to speak with one voice and address their concerns relating to poverty and other challenges. To date the movement consists of more than 35 organisations which work widely on poverty.

Source: www.pwmsa.org.za

⁶ A summary of the roles of the various CSOs is given in table 1 of the Appendix to this document.

⁷ 'A nodal area is deemed to be an area which suffered severe neglect and represent the largest concentrations of poverty in the country' (Silinda, 2009:120). A total of 22 'presidential poverty nodes' were identified by the Department of Provincial and Local Government (now the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs) in 2001.

⁸ According to Silinda, (2009), a unique feature of the DC programme is the appointment of Social Auxiliary Workers (SAWs) who work as family development workers for at least 36 months to provide psycho-social support to people who have become depressed by deprivation, link poor families to government services and use a case-work approach to restore family systems to achieve identified minimum conditions which include health, education and employment.

⁹ New Partnership for Africa's Development.

Rural Women's Movement (RWM)

The Rural Women's Movement advocates for rural women's land and property rights, while lobbying for public policy changes through poverty reduction and women empowerment. The organisation consists of 500 indigenous women's organisations involved in small-scale projects to address poverty challenges. In some instances, the RWM has managed to secure land rights for rural women and to ensure that they are involved in legislative processes.

Source: www.rwm.org.za

Small Enterprise Foundation (SEF)

The Small Enterprise Foundation (SEF) started its operations in 1992 and operates in Limpopo province. Its main goal is to alleviate poverty in a sustainable manner by assisting the poor with microcredit and the accumulation of savings. By December 2007, SEF had disbursed 412 820 loans to the value of R532 million with a very high repayment rate. The SEF started its first programme known as the Microcredit Programme (MCP), and the specially targeted program known as the Tšhomisano Credit Programme (TCP) in Limpopo, providing microcredit to poor women based on the Grameen Bank model originally used in Bangladesh. At the end of March 2008, the programme served 47 560 self-employed clients. Currently, 99% of SEF's clients are female. Typical enterprises include the hawking of fruit and vegetables and new or used clothing, small convenience shops, and dressmakers. Most project beneficiaries were indigent when they first engaged with SEF.

Source: www.sef.co.za

Itlhabolole Waste Management Co-operative

This co-operative is owned by women of Ikopeleng village, in North West, focusing on income-generating activities. The participating women collect bin-destined waste and recycle it into clothing, shoes, handbags, mats and other materials for sale. The co-operative has received funding from many governmental agencies and NGOs and has expanded its scale of production and client base and now participates in expos. It has succeeded in helping women to create employment and sustainable livelihoods by harnessing their skills.

Source: Nkosi, 2009.

Enablis Entrepreneurial Network

Enablis supports development of entrepreneurial talent in South Africa. Its main activities are skills development, networking, mentorship and access to finance to ensure economic stimulation as well as entrepreneurial sustainability. Since 2006, Enablis member entrepreneurs have created an estimated 18 731 full-time and part-time jobs of which approximately 33% of beneficiaries are female. The organisation was awarded R34 million to support and enhance the job creation skills of 2 500 South African entrepreneurs over the next three years by the Development Bank of Southern Africa's Jobs Fund.

Source: www.enablis.org.

1.5.1 Analysis of CSO activities in South Africa

From the examples given above, it is clear that CSOs play crucial roles in addressing the challenge of poverty among various communities in South Africa. These role range from formulation of strategies to reduce poverty like the efforts of the SAWID DC, to forming community organisations through mobilisation, to establishing small and medium enterprises, among others. While the role of CSOs in respect of employment creation has been indirect, their

track record clearly shows the extent to which micro-finance and other initiatives can create job opportunities for people in impoverished communities.

1.6 Challenges and Opportunities from a Civil Society Perspective

A lack of financial resources is one of the challenges currently faced by CSOs in South Africa. According to Du Toit (2010) and Kabane (2012), most CSOs rely on a combination of international funding, corporate social investment, donations from individuals and support from government, sources which are steadily diminishing. Traditional funding sources for NGOs are drying up and those which receive grants are finding those grants are being reduced (Agenda, 2009). Also, the fact that South Africa is viewed as a middle income economy has resulted in decreased opportunities to raise funding.

CSOs also face human resource constraints as fewer people with the right skills are available to work for these organisations. Often, people with the ability to be activists or CSO administrators are scarce and or too expensive to attract or retain in the current funding environment. For instance, SAWID's Development Caravan (DC) programme suffers from a shortage of experienced social workers to supervise its auxiliary social workers (Silinda, 2009). Also, due to lack of intellectual capacity to deal with the complex socio-economic and political issues that are core to the national agenda, CSOs' contribution to policy formulation and engagement with government is in decline.

CSOs in South Africa also find it difficult to identify sustainable projects that participants, especially local people, are willing to accept. Sometimes, it is difficult to gain the trust of communities. Therefore, sustained engagement and building credibility is essential in order to secure the commitment of local communities to development projects. In addition, collaboration between the different CSOs and policy makers pose an important challenge in the South African context. This is attributable to a lack of unity of purpose and a lack of accountability between CSOs and the government. The lack of effective coalitions often leads to duplication of efforts and wastage of resources (Agenda, 2009). Further, many CSOs do not appear to participate in policy and law making, suggesting that channels for communication and consultation during decision-making processes are still inadequate to ensure more participation at a grassroots and community level (Fleming *et al.*, 2003). To overcome this problem, effective dialogue and partnerships can be fostered through the creation of thematic groups within the CSOs and government. These can act as a link between the two and facilitate their effective and efficient communication.

1.7 Proposal of best practice model for poverty eradication in South Africa

The poverty eradication model proposed in this report is a hybrid of some elements of SAWID's D C model and the case study on the development of tribal people's co-operatives in Orissa, India by ILO-INDISCO with its NGO partner SSADRI. Recognising the high level of unemployment among the poor in South Africa and the fact that most poor people are often depressed and have given up on participating in their communities and economy at large, the proposed model attempts to directly address these two aspects by building upon the DC model through incorporating the co-operative or self-help group model. The model is designed to utilise the capacities of beneficiary families to help their households to reduce poverty across various dimensions. The model consists of poor families, particularly those located in poverty nodes as the main beneficiaries. The conceptual framework for the proposed model is presented in Figure 1.3.

1.7.1 How the model works

At the initial stage CSOs dispatch representatives to targeted poverty nodes for mass awareness and motivation campaigns to impart knowledge of possible ways in which the poor can organise themselves to fight poverty through co-operatives, self-help groups or other mechanisms. Once the campaign has been successful in encouraging the poor to actively participate in the fight against poverty, CSO representatives can help community members to organise themselves into small self-help groups.

The individuals activate the intervention programme by signing a self-help group contract agreeing to participate in the programme and committing themselves to work towards improving their living conditions. Households of the self-help group members are also required to sign a contract formalising their commitment to the project's endeavours. Participating families commit themselves to working towards overcoming the most precarious factors in their lives and responding to the necessities which they themselves have identified, making use of the opportunities that the social network and self-help groups offers them (c.f. Cañas 2006). The CSOs assume the responsibility of making a set of support systems available to the family and self-help groups.

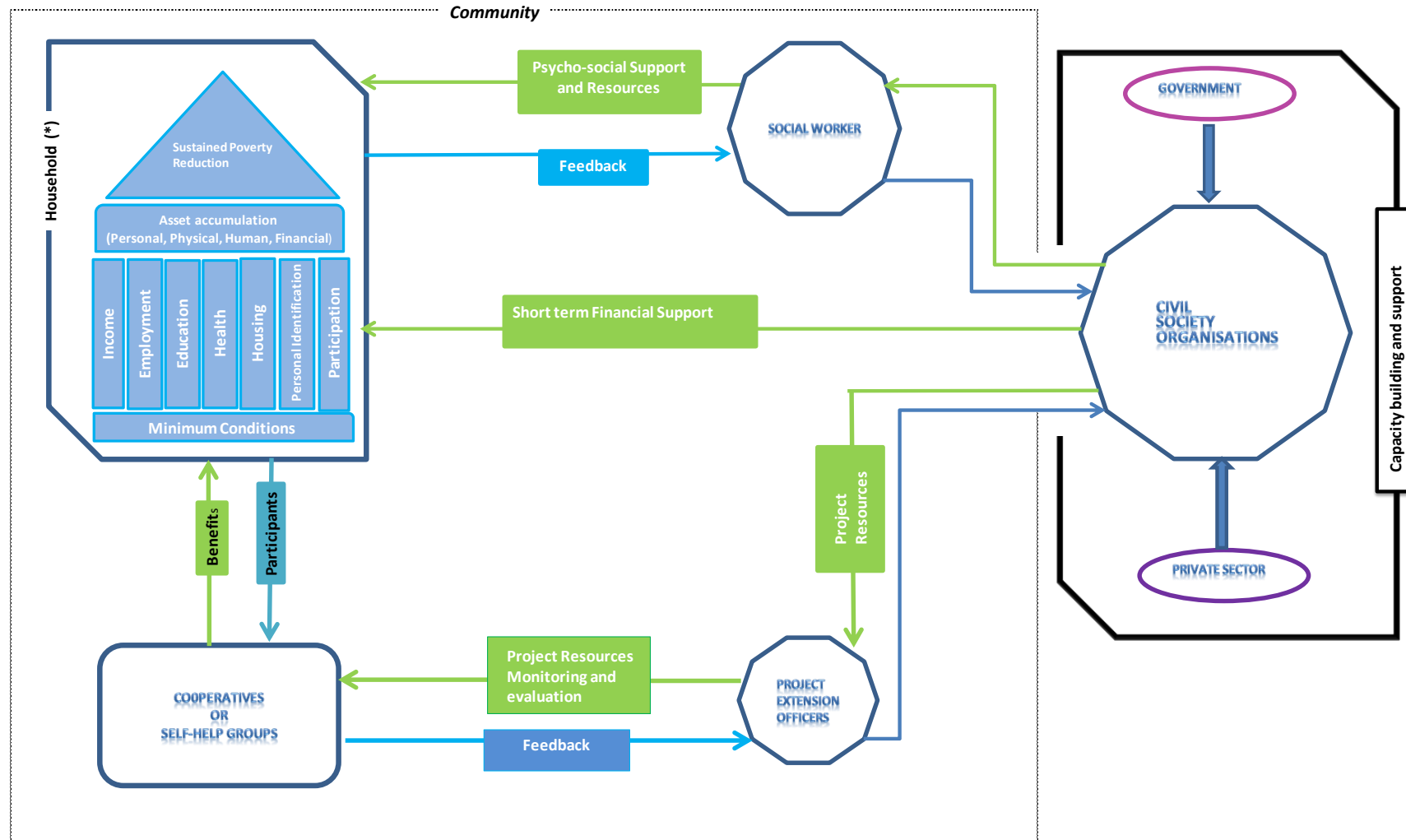
1.7.2 Components of the model

The two main components of the model consist of psycho-social support and formation of co-operatives or self-help groups. The CSO will appoint and/or train social workers who will provide psycho-social support aimed at guiding and providing counselling to households during the lifespan of the intervention programme. For the second component that is, the formation of co-operatives or self-help groups, CSOs appoint a project team and managers who will provide technical support, guidance and training to the co-operatives or self-help groups.

Psycho-social support

The psycho-social support component consists of assigning a family support counsellor who works with the family to complete a series of work sessions during home visits. The fundamental role of this counsellor is to link the families with the public and private network of services in the areas of personal identification; health; education; housing conditions; employment; income; capacity-building; improvement of academic and occupational competencies; domestic violence prevention and support services, among others. This accompaniment continues for 24 months as a stimulus to develop the strengths within the family (c.f. Cañas 2006; Silva, 2004).

Figure 1:3: Conceptual framework of the proposed model



(*) The household concept has been inspired and adapted from Loewen (2009).

Co-operatives / self-help groups

With the assistance of project extension officers (PEOs), self-help groups and/or co-operatives are set up as a way of establishing a source of livelihood among the unemployed. Participants decide on the projects that they will embark on depending on their capabilities and market conditions. These self-help groups could engage in projects such as horticulture, poultry rearing, animal husbandry, weaving, sewing, handcrafts, bee-keeping or grocery shops. After formation of these groups, the PEOs will help participants to write project proposals with in-built mechanisms for the project's self-motivated expansion and growth. The proposals are assessed for funding by the relevant CSOs. Drawing from BRAC's funding model as well as the Grameen Bank model (used by SEF in Limpopo, South Africa), group credit can be provided without collateral for investment in income-generating activities. The group guarantees collectively for the loan and organises repayment between the members. This will foster discipline and a sense of commitment among group members as noted by D'Silva and Bysouth (1992). In instances where there are donated funds, they can be used to help in the establishment of these self-help groups and co-operatives.

Like in the Orissa project, PEOs who have technical knowledge in the proposed projects will have regular meetings with the self-help groups and mentor them. Mentorship will encompass many aspects of the various projects. For example, in a poultry project, the extension officer could provide training on how to look after the day-old chicks, feed them, prevent outbreak of diseases, network and access markets. Since access to markets depends on infrastructure, it is crucial for PEOs to identify the infrastructure requirements of the projects during the planning phase, so that participating CSOs are able to facilitate timely provision of the necessary infrastructure through lobbying and partnering with the local and regional governments and international donors.

Given that most income-generating activities fail due to a lack of sustainable funding, the model requires that, during the initial stages of the projects, all profits should be used for re-investment and loan repayment. Thus the CSOs or government should meet the basic needs of the self-help group members' households until the businesses are established. This requires the PEOs to regularly monitor and evaluate the projects and, if necessary, devise strategies to foster growth. Incentive structures such as competitions which reward those who register the largest growth at the end of the year could be used. Thereafter the incomes generated from the projects will be channelled to eradicate poverty among participating households. Using the knowledge gained through the psycho-social support sessions, they can create personal family budgets and plans on how to meet the minimum conditions set out in the programme.

1.7.3 Expected Results

The expected results of the programme are that the income generated from the self-help groups will be able to lift targeted households out of poverty along seven dimensions illustrated in the framework in Figure 1.3, namely; health, education, housing, personal identification, participation, employment and income. Monitoring and evaluation will be based on a set of identified minimum conditions. Drawing from the Chile Puente programme, the following set of minimum conditions presented in Table 1.1 are generic recommendations to be used as guidelines for monitoring and evaluation of a household's progress.

Table 1:1: Minimum conditions for the proposed model

Dimension	Minimum conditions
Personal identification	• All members of the family must be incorporated into the Civil Registry and have an identity card. • Members of a family who have a disability should be registered for the disability grant.
Health	• The family must be registered in the Service for Primary Health Care. • Children under six years of age should have their vaccinations up to date according to the guidelines established by the Ministry of Health. • Members of the family who suffer from chronic illness should be under the supervision of a doctor from the local health centre. • All members of the family should be given general health information.
Education	• If the mother works and there is no other adult to care for the children, children under six years of age should attend a day care programme. • Children under 15 years of age should attend an educational institution, or be in the process of reintegration if they have previously dropped -out. • The adults should be able to read and write (or those who desire to learn to read, write should be in the process of learning).
Housing conditions	• Have access to clean water, an adequate energy system, and adequate sewage and waste disposal systems. • The home should not be susceptible to leaks and humidity problems. • Each member of the family should have a bed with sheets, blankets and a pillow. • The family should have basic kitchen and dining materials to meet its needs. • The environment around the home should be pollution-free.
Employment	• At least one member of the family should have a regular job and a stable salary. • No child under 15 years of age should leave school in order to work.
Income	• The family should have an income above the line of extreme poverty. • The family should have a budget organized in terms of their resources and priority needs.

Source: Cañas (2006)

After three years one would expect the self-help groups to have mastered the art of doing business. The PEO will then mentor them on how to diversify their products, on requirements for expanding scale of production, and on seeking new markets. At this stage they should be weaned from the programme as they should have graduated from a state of indigent poverty to one of self-reliance.

1.7.4 Suggested roles of CSOs in implementing the model

It is envisaged that the various participating CSOs will play a central role in applying this model. Since the model is community-based, CSOs should liaise and partner with local government or municipality to ensure smooth implementation. CSOs also have to advocate for the provision of infrastructure, enabling legal environments as well as policies that are pro-poor. It is also important for CSOs to outsource, among others, financial support, skills to run projects or provision of training to self-help group/ co-operative members. CSOs could form alliances with micro-finance institutions and make arrangements to enable self-help groups/ co-operatives to access loans for investment in their projects.

Another important role that CSOs should play is organising and providing institutional support for the implementation of the programme. This includes appointing and or training social workers, identifying and appointing competent project managers, and providing required resources to support social workers and managers in their jobs. CSOs could also be responsible for supervising the selection of targeted families and communities as well as evaluating the progress of the programme. In addition, CSOs should play the important role of identifying

potential problems within the programme as it is implemented in a given locality and solutions to those problems. Finally, CSOs could engage in intelligence-gathering through consulting academics and research centres for up-to-date information and skills acquisition for the projects they embark upon.

1.8 Recommendations and policy implications for poverty eradication

This section presents a summary of recommendations and policy implications relating to poverty eradication. For the proposed model to succeed, the larger public should be educated about the role of co-operative enterprising and self-help groups in poverty alleviation. This should be effectively backed by a suitable legal environment and structures which represent the interests of co-operatives and self-help groups at community and national level. Government policies that provide an enabling legal environment and a regulatory system that boosts economic viability of co-operatives are essential. Legal frameworks must ensure independence of co-operatives as well as voluntary membership and participation, while regulatory frameworks should promote less stringent co-operative registration and licensing procedures than are currently required.

The government should give support and incentives to entities which support co-operatives and self-help groups, as well as skilled individuals who make their services available for the development of these groups. Given that most co-operative initiatives fail due to lack of capital, there is need for government policy to incentivise banks and or micro-finance institutions to provide loans to co-operatives. An example of such an incentive is to provide tax rebates or tax breaks to institutions that provide loans and other support to co-operatives. Such a policy will go a long way in promoting the development of sustainable co-operative projects.

It is also important for local and national government budgets to prioritise infrastructure development in poverty nodes to enable self-help groups and co-operatives to access markets and service providers at minimal cost. Further, government should give grants to members of self-help groups and co-operatives in the initial stages of their projects so that they can afford to reinvest their profits and grow their businesses. This is crucial because in some cases the co-operatives will be the sole source of the members' household income. There is a risk that the meagre incomes received in the initial stages of the projects will be spent on meeting households' basic necessities which will destroy the chances of reinvesting into the projects.

Generally, for poverty alleviation programmes to be successful, strong collaboration between CSOs and the local and national governments is essential. A collaboration framework can be designed to provide guidance on procedures that CSOs and government should follow during the design, implementation and evaluation stages of their programmes. For example, at the design stage, the framework could stipulate the consultation procedures and the participants who should be consulted before a programme begins. Participants could be community heads and officials from local and provincial government. Such collaboration guidelines could help to reduce duplication of efforts between government and CSOs.

1.9 Conclusions on poverty eradication

This section discusses the gender dimensions of poverty, and taps into existing literature to propose a best practice model for poverty eradication in South Africa. This is critical because colonialism, culture and apartheid meant that South African women are relatively poorer than men, especially African women who dwell in poverty nodes. Although poverty alleviation has been high on the post-apartheid South African government's policy agenda, poverty remains a

stubborn problem. Gender activists are therefore lobbying for a different approach where civil society organisations spearhead initiatives to eradicate poverty in South Africa.

The proposed model acknowledges the multidimensional nature of poverty. It aims to eradicate poverty from the grassroots following a bottom-up approach. This entails civil society organisations partnering with small groups of poor people within communities and helping them to take initiative and start self-help income generating projects with in-built mechanisms for monitoring, evaluation, self-expansion and growth. At the same time, members of the participants' households will receive psycho-social support so that they can overcome the psychological barriers associated with poverty and unite towards initially being able to meet their basic needs and then achieving measurable self-reliance. Achieving these goals, however, requires collaboration between the poor, the government and CSOs.

2 EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF GENDER

2.1 Introduction and Background

Section two of this report focuses on early childhood development by highlighting examples from South Africa and the role of civil society in the context of engendering Early Childhood Development (ECD). The section reviews current thinking and debates on ECD as a priority sector in respect of gender empowerment and contextualises a strategic response by civil society to ECD within a gendered framework.

The latest national household expenditure survey by Statistics South Africa paints a gloomy picture of ECD performance. More children in the age group 0–4 years receive no ECD services of any kind than children in that group who do (Stats SA, 2012b). This is partly due to high poverty rates, which disproportionately affect black women and children. Large numbers of women and children in South Africa live in abject conditions of poverty and vulnerability and evidence suggests that there are 14.3 million food insecure people in South Africa, constituting 38% of the population (Jacobs, 2010). The 18.6 million children in South Africa constitute more than a third (37%) of the population and approximately 5.2 million of these children are under the age of 5 years. Nationally 64% of children live in conditions of poverty and vulnerability (Biersteker, 2008a). Government's commitment to investing in human capital is central to eradicating intergenerational transmission of poverty. Broadly defined, ECD traditionally refers to services to children between 0 and 9 years of age (Children's Act 38 of 2005). However, this section focuses on children under the age of 5 years since this is the age category of children prioritised by the South African government as being in greatest need (DSD & UNICEF, 2005). Government policy and legislative commitments in post-Apartheid South Africa have clearly signalled gender empowerment and ECD as key priorities as reflected in various policies, legislative and programmatic initiatives. These include among others; the implementation of the Child Support Grant in 1998, the introduction of free health care for young children, the development of the National Integrated Plan for ECD (NIP) (2005), the promulgation of the Children's Amendment Act of 2007 and the inclusion of ECD in the Social Sector Plan for the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) (Department of Social Development *et al.*, 2004). Gender and ECD as priorities are also embodied in South Africa's commitment to progressively realising its Millennium Development Goal (MDG) targets with several of the MDGs directly or indirectly related to addressing gender and ECD (UN, 2005). This priority has been further elaborated on more recently in the National Development Plan 2030 which recommended that all children have at least two years of preschool education (National Planning Commission, The Presidency, 2012)

The objective of this study is to identify opportunities for civil society to contribute to improving outcomes for children while at the same time increasing women's participation in the ECD sector focusing on children aged 0–4 years as part of a broader focus on poverty eradication and reduction of inequality. The first part of this section provides a context for understanding ECD and gender and includes definitional issues, followed by a synthesis of literature both local and international research pertaining to ECD and gender. The section continues to highlight challenges and opportunities for civil society in respect of advancing gender equity objectives through a focus on ECD and concludes with recommendations and policy implications for consideration as well as possible areas for further research.

2.2 Understanding early childhood development and definitional issues

The Children's Act 38 of 2005 (Section 91: 25) defines ECD as:

“processes of emotional, cognitive, sensory, spiritual, moral, physical, social and communication development of children from birth to school going age”. The term is used to refer to a comprehensive approach to policies and programmes provided to children from birth to nine years old with the active participation of their parents and caregivers aimed at promoting the rights of the child to grow and develop holistically (DoE 2001; Children's Act 38 of 2005). Although legislative and policy development in South Africa has reflected a high level of government commitment towards ECD, results on the ground show slow progress in expanding access to and quality of ECD and related services to children in the 18 years since democracy.

The National Integrated Plan (NIP) for ECD which focuses specifically on children in the age category 0–4 years takes forward government's policy commitments to young children (DSD & UNICEF, 2005). Early and sustained investments in quality ECD have been shown to contribute towards improving human development outcomes and reducing inequalities (Biersteker, 2008b). Children living in compromised environments may struggle to attain developmental milestones which can have a direct bearing on their mortality, their later educational and occupational attainment and even their future economic potential (Biersteker & Motala, 2011; Streak & Norushe, 2008). There is, however, a recognition that well planned, age appropriate, good quality and targeted interventions in early childhood can offset negative trends (Biersteker, 2008b).

A 1 000-day window of opportunity from conception to 23 months is identified as a critical period in the development of a child and failure to address the needs of children during this period has an irreversible impact on the child's future well-being including later education and occupational attainment and future economic potential (Nelson, 2000 in Biersteker, 2008b). Similarly, Richter *et al.* (2012) identify a range of services that are seen to promote and protect the development of young children including social services, nutrition, citizenship, health care, social security, education, parent and family support and access to basic services such as housing, water etc. These services are delivered in various forms including formal ECD programmes (crèches, day care facilities and preschool centres) and home and community-based ECD programmes (playgroups, home visiting and parent support programmes).

Two key challenges confront government in enhancing ECD services in South Africa, namely access and quality. It is estimated that between 26% and 29% of children in the 0–4 age cohort participate in some type of ECD service outside the home (GHS 2009 & NIDS 2008 in Motala *et al.*, 2011), which is less than half of the NIP target of 2.6 to 3 million children (DSD & UNICEF, 2005). More importantly, in 2007 only 10% of poor children nationally received the Department of Social Development ECD subsidy with vast provincial variations (Gustaffson, 2010).

Evidence from the Western Cape suggests that quality of ECD is poor with only half of all ECD centres offering a programme which met basic quality standards (WCDS, 2009) and it is likely that the situation is similar or worse in other provinces. Improving quality is largely dependent on a supply of capacitated and motivated practitioners, an issue explored later in this report. According to Biersteker (2008b), ECD practitioners encompass a wide category of workers including ECD educators, caregivers, child-minders, outreach and family-based workers such as community development practitioners, home visitors, parent educators, family fieldworkers, family and community motivators, home and community-based carers, child and

youth care workers and training provider staff, including assessors, moderators, trainers and lecturers.

2.3 Legal and Service Delivery Framework for ECD in South Africa

The Constitution of South Africa and international legal instruments ratified by our government including the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) provide an overarching framework for service delivery to young children.

All three spheres of government in South Africa have obligations to provide services to young children 0-4 years with national government's role being largely to develop policies and for monitoring and implementation of such policies at the lower levels of government. Three national departments are specifically responsible for ECD policy development namely; Department of Social Development (DSD), Department of Education (DoE) and Department of Health (DoH). Provincially these departments have responsibility for service delivery including, registration of ECD facilities and programmes (DSD), funding for reception year (Grade R) services and educator training (DoE) and provision of health care services to young children.

Section 152 (Chapter 7) of the Constitution outlines the specific objectives of local government in providing services in a sustainable manner, promoting social and economic development and providing democratic and accountable government for local communities. Within this mandate it is constitutionally empowered to regulate the provision of child care facilities and may provide child care facilities although this is not mandatory (Biersteker & Streak (2008).

Below is a list of functions which may be delegated/assigned to municipalities by the Department of Social Development in respect of partial care facilities and early childhood development services as outlined in the Children's Act 38 of 2005:

- registration of ECD facilities;
- application for registration and renewal of registration;
- consideration of application;
- conditional registration;
- cancellation of registration;
- notice of enforcement; and
- record and inspection of the provision of partial care facilities and drop-in centres.

The core functions include recording the type and number of ECD facilities, compiling a profile of the children at the facilities, facilitating the establishment and operation of sufficient facilities, prioritising those most urgently required and identifying and providing suitable premises.

The key instrument utilised by local government to fulfil its constitutional obligations is the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) through which it manages its budgets and identifies and sets out priorities and targets to be achieved during the term of office of a particular Local Authority or Municipal Council. A challenge in the development and implementation of IDPs is the need to get all spheres of government working together. Historically the three social cluster government departments mentioned earlier have focussed on ECD to the exclusion of other departments or local government. Central to the development of quality IDP's is involvement of the communities in defining problems and needs and to strengthen and

facilitate the identification of relevant strategies that respond to the challenges in their respective communities. This requires interaction between communities and with the different spheres of government in order for a holistic plan to emerge (UNICEF, 2010).

A core feature of the NIP is the need to promote integrated and holistic ECD. Central to expanding quality and accessible integrated ECD services and programmes is the need for partnerships between all spheres of government and between government and other stakeholders including civil society, non-profit organisations and the private sector. The problem has been that historically many of the role players outside the social cluster in ECD policy and programming were excluded. The lack of coordination is problematic because much of the responsibilities around children's wellbeing and development are not perceived as core responsibilities of local government and have raised real and perceived concerns over "unfunded mandates".

2.4 Contextualising ECD within a gendered framework

According to feminist thinking (Razavi, 2010; Williams, 2010) ECD and gender intersect in the several ways. Firstly ECD, like much of care work, is highly feminised with the bulk of work carried out by women. Work is often precarious and low-paid, although there is a steady global shift from ECD being unpaid to it being paid work. A nationwide audit of ECD provision in 2000 found that 99% of the 54 503 ECD practitioners across South Africa, were women with a mean age of 38 years and a majority (68%) were African. Only 12% had the relevant qualification, 23% had no training, and 43% had received NPO training, which was mainly unaccredited. The audit also found that salary levels correlated strongly to qualifications with those untrained earning much less (DoE, 2001).

Secondly, the demand for ECD is increasing as women's role in the labour market increases. Currently, more women participate in paid employment than at any other time in history, although they tend to be concentrated in lower-quality, more precarious forms of paid work (Nadeau *et al.*, 2011). Access to childcare enables work-seeking and is associated with increased maternal employment and enrolment in educational activities (UNICEF, 2004). The National Planning Commission's target of creating 11 million new jobs by 2030 will require expansion of affordable, high-quality childcare to enable caregivers to look for and secure work (NPC, 2011).

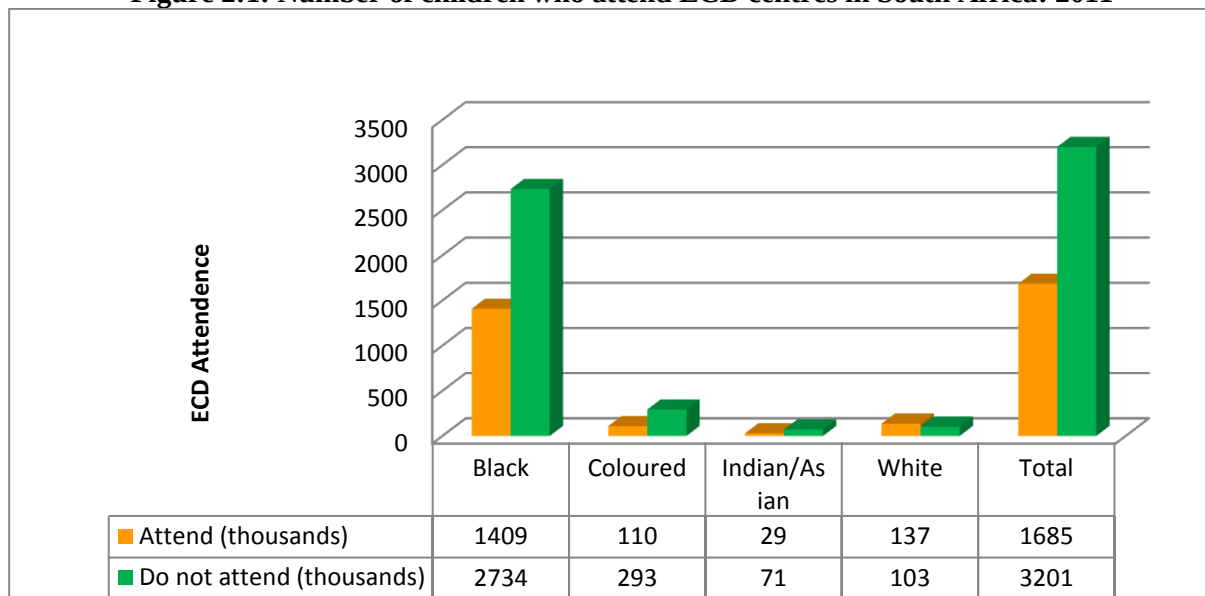
A third issue relates to the content (curriculum) and praxis of early childhood education which can reinforce gender inequalities. Gendered stereotypes and value systems are fostered and reproduced during these formative years. Fourthly, ECD access contributes to gender empowerment. Educating girls and women has an impact on the economy in terms of increased agricultural productivity and improved per capita growth rates (UNICEF, 2004; Lair & Erwin, 2000). Research suggests that there is a clear link between female labour-intensive employment and actual poverty reduction (Razavi, 2010).

2.5 Access to Early childhood development in South Africa

Approximately 27% (5.2 million) of all children in South Africa are between the ages of 0-4 years, with the largest concentration of children to be found in Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal and Eastern Cape (Stats SA, 2012b). Results from the national general household survey conducted by Statistics South Africa in 2011, paints a gloomy picture on ECD with black children having the highest number of non-attendance in ECD centres as shown in figure 2.1.

Data showed that in 2011, out of a total of 3.2 million children in the 0-4 age cohort who did not attend an ECD centre, approximately 2.7 million were black children compared to 293 000 coloured children, 103 000 white children and only 71 000 Indian children respectively as presented in Figure 2.1 (Stats SA, 2012b).

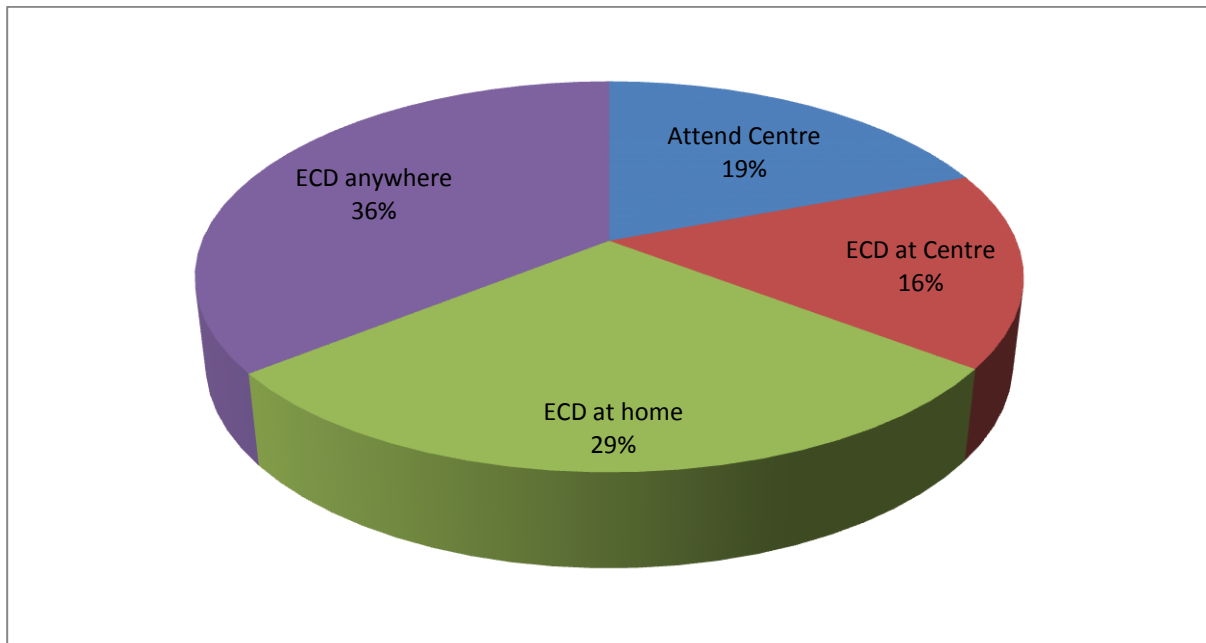
Figure 2.1: Number of children who attend ECD centres in South Africa: 2011



Source: Constructed from Statistics South Africa, 2012b

The household survey results also shows that the proportion of children attending ECD at centres is the lowest at 16%, while those attending ECD at home account for 29% and those attending ECD anywhere represent the largest proportion of 36% as shown in Figure 2.2.

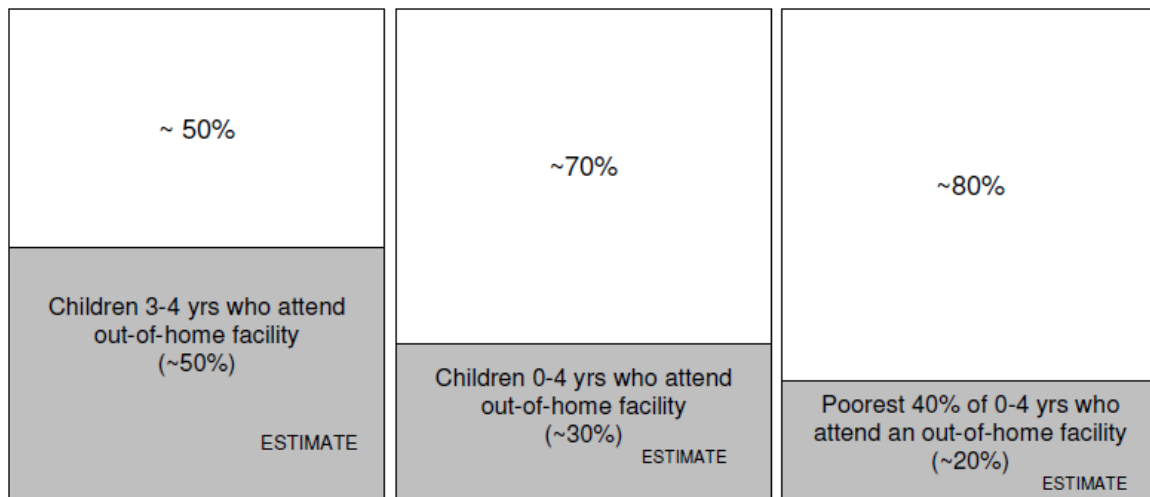
Figure 2:2: Percentage of children attending learning centres in 2011



Source: Constructed from Statistics South Africa, 2012b

Further, there seems to be a declining trend in access to ECD services as shown in Figure 2.3.

Figure 2:3: Declining access to ECD services by socio-economic status



Source: Richter *et al*, 2012

Estimates of ECD access are derived from two sources namely the National Income Dynamics Study of 2008 and the General Household Surveys (2002-2010). The data suggests that approximately one million children in the 0- 4 years age cohort have access to some form of ECD either in centre based or out of home care. However if this data is disaggregated further we find the following (Richter *et al*, 2012):-

About half (50%) of children aged 3-4 years are accessing ECD, less than a third (30%) of children in the 0-4 age cohort access ECD; and Only 20% of the poorest 40% of children in the 0-4 age cohort access ECD (Richter *et al*, 2012).

According to Richter *et al*, (2012), of those children accessing centre based ECD programmes, about 467 000 receive a state subsidy. As illustrated in figure 2.3, the current funding model excludes the most disadvantaged.

2.6 The role of CSO in promoting and addressing ECD

While there is a body of knowledge about civil society in South Africa and its contribution to social services work and ECD, there is little gendered analysis of such work. Social services in South Africa have traditionally been provided through faith-based, non-profit and community-based organisations in response to the failure of the apartheid state to directly deliver services (Patel, 2009). A 2002 audit of non-profit organisations (NPOs) conducted in South Africa estimated that there are just under 100 000 NPOs involved in a wide range of services and activities, making the NPO sector a strategic one for ECD and other community services. The sector was found to employ approximately 600 000 full time staff and contribute 1.2% to gross domestic product in 1998. The audit estimated that 23% of these NPOs were involved in social services and a further 20% were engaged in development work, both areas under which ECD was likely to be provided. The NPO sector also harnessed the volunteer potential of 1.5 million people representing 316 000 full time jobs and 49% of the non-profit workforce. The findings revealed that this level of volunteerism was well over the international average. If it were assigned a monetary value, it would be worth R5.1 billion in 1999 (Patel, 2009).

NPOs are not a homogenous group and include public service contractors (PSCs) which deliver services on behalf of government, those funded by donor community, faith-based organisations (FBOs), which tend to be a hybrid of the first two types and community-based organisations (CBOs), most of which receive little or no government or donor support.

2.7 Literature review on engendering ECD

There is little research available locally or globally which systematically analyses civil society organisations role in ECD through a gendered lens and the gendered notion of care as essentially being women's work. Many of the programmes described below were not developed with an explicit gendered lens, although they provide valuable insights around how CSOs are engendering ECD services. In this section, examples from international experiences as well as South Africa are presented. Most of these programmes share common objectives including enhancement of a child's development early in life, a holistic approach, as well as a focus on supporting and educating parents and caregivers and empowering ECD practitioners.

2.7.1 Global experiences: Best practice civil society models on engendering ECD

Citizens have for centuries been engaged in activism to redress inequalities particularly in relation to children. Some of the earliest programmes which have engendered ECD practice come from social welfare policies adopted by developed countries (Heinz & Lund, 2012).

Example from Lesotho – The National Council of Women of Lesotho

This organisation established the first organised form of early childhood provision during the 1970s, which was subsequently supported by international donors.¹⁰ This led to the formation of the Lesotho Preschools and Day Care Association in 1985, an umbrella body for all preschools in Lesotho. The Association's main objective was to advocate for recognition and absorption of the ECD programme into government, which it succeeded in doing in 1995 when the ECD programme was absorbed into the Ministry of Education (UNESCO, 2006a).

This example demonstrates the role of civil society in catalysing responses, in demonstrating practically how to deliver, and then advocacy work to ensure that services are delivered at scale, which is where government has to step in. A number of the interventions around maternal and child health have shown how investments in women's and children's health and education have had positive gendered and child well-being outcomes.

Example from Bolivia – The Warmi Programme

This programme was initiated by women in Bolivia in 1990 with the aim of improving maternal and child health through involving communities in health care and child well-being. Warmi was a project of Save the Children, Bolivia, a voluntary organisation with links to the international Save the Children donor network. The three-year project funded by international donors enabled the women to organise themselves in groups in 50 communities in the Inquisivi Province of Bolivia. Interventions implemented included training of birth attendants and husbands in safe birthing practices, innovative information-sharing on child birthing and child care and ensuring that pregnant women attended prenatal programmes at the clinic earlier and regularly. A key outcome of the project was the decrease in peri-natal mortality from 117 deaths per 1 000 to 44 deaths per 1 000 (Nadeau *et al.*, 2011).

Programmes directed at parents are also an important component of ECD as shown in the global example of home intervention presented in the case study below.

Example from Turkey – The Home Intervention Program for Preschool Youngsters (HIPPY)

The Home Intervention Program for Preschool Youngsters (HIPPY) is an international programme established in 1969 and operating in many countries and which supports parents to get their children ready for schooling. In Turkey HIPPY is established as a non-governmental organisation implementing a programme of parent-education and participation in their children's pre-schooling.

The programme was specifically adapted taking in account cultural practices and values of family kinship which empowered women. Impact assessment study undertaken 19 years later found that participation in the programme had significant positive associations for the children in terms of higher school attainment, entrance into workforce later, and higher occupational status (Nadeau *et al.*, 2011).

The HIPPY programme has been extended and replicated in other countries around the world, including South Africa.

¹⁰ Bernard van Leer Foundation and UNICEF.

Home care programmes for youth and parents have also borne positive results in countries where they have been implemented. They improvement in the welfare of participating families have led to improvement of ECD in general.

Example from Kenya – The MwanaMwende Child Development Centre

The MwanaMwende (Treasured Child) Child Development Centre is an NPO that has been operating in Kenya since 1997 with funding from the Bernard van Leer Foundation (BVLF). The Centre is involved in care for young children and youth and the welfare of families. Expansion of ECD occurred with President Jomo Kenyatta's introduction of the *harambee* ('lets pull together') initiative aimed at mobilising the community to actively participate in development. As a result, today 80% of preschools are run by local communities. The programme recognises that children in many African societies are communally raised and hence it targets teenage and young parents, siblings, as well as elderly grandparents taking care of orphans. It established caregiver support groups to facilitate mutual support and learning. Assistance to support group members included initiating income generation and food security activities, and recruitment from among support group members of people to serve the community as health care workers and home and community-based care providers. A tracer study undertaken eight years after children had exited the programme indicated that it had provided an opportunity for ensuring holistic development of children and freed their parents to engage in other activities, particularly income-generating activities. It also enabled pre-school educators to enhance their skills and capacities and promoted community mobilisation around development issues in general (Njenga & Kabiru, 2001).

These examples illustrate a key message about the critical need for programmes to be culturally sensitive and adaptable to local conditions. There is increasing concern about the lack of understanding of the value of indigenous knowledge in relation to ECD and care work in general. Fasoli *et al.* (2004) argue that the most effective carers are those who come from the very same community as the children and are well known and respected by the community. More importantly they suggest that the services rendered must foster strong cultural identity and that establishing trust between carers and community members is more important than formal training of ECD practitioners. Fasoli *et al.* (2004) further suggest that indigenous children need services that support a strong cultural identity and which reflects the needs of local communities, families and children. Hence a one-size-fits-all prescription for ECD will not work.

Example from Argentina – Infrastructure Project

The construction of a pre-primary school in Argentina showed that ECD interventions also impact on labour markets through employment creation for women. A massive three year pre-primary school infrastructure construction programme in Argentina had the, perhaps not intended, consequence of a 7–14% increase in employment for women together with the impact on 15% increased enrolment in ECD over a 10-year period (Nadeau et al, 2011).

There are few examples of programmes that specifically address anti-bias education at ECD level are few, but one success story comes from Germany.

Example from Germany –The Kinderwelten Programme

The Kinderwelten (Children's Worlds) is an anti-bias programme focused at ECD level and implemented by a German NPO INA/ISTA. The programme which begun in 2000 emerged from work in Berlin neighbourhood where there were large numbers of migrants had to find a way to access ECD services for their children. Drawing inspiration from Paulo Freire's 'pedagogy of the oppressed', the project pioneered its 'prejudice-aware education' intervention. The education and training has since its inception been provided to hundreds of early childhood teachers and provides practical knowledge and skills for ECD educators on how to change daily routines and learning environment; how to communicate respectfully; and how to address prejudice and biases with children, parents and colleagues. (BVLF, 2010)

Networking and partnerships are critical to advocacy work in civil society.

Example from Brazil – The National Early Childhood Network (known as the RNPI)

In Brazil, NGOs, government, multilateral and business organisations work together to promote young children's rights under the RNPI umbrella. About 18 organisations set up the National Early Childhood Network (Red Nacional de Primera Infancia – RNPI) in 2007 and membership has grown to over 90 members. A key milestone for the RNPI was the development and presentation to the national government of Brazil in December 2010 of a National Plan for Childhood 2010 to 2022 which included recommendations for ensuring the realisation of rights of children less than 6 years of age. The plan is bold, calling for 50% of children under 3 years to be enrolled in such schools by 2020(BVLF, 2010).

Implementation of integrated national ECD programmes has emerged as a key priority globally.

Example from Albania – The Gardens of Mothers and Children Programme

This programme in Albania consists of low-cost community-based centres that serve children from birth to 6 years as well as their families. The programme emerged in response to the collapse of Albania's social services network in the 1990's. This is a community-based programme initiated by local communities and partner organisations in spaces donated by families or local government. The centres offer social and educational services and provide children with pre-school education and the opportunity to play, learn and to interact with their peers, while at the same time, mothers and other women in the community participate in training and discussions on child health and development, nutrition, play, and children's rights. This programme is doing a great job of replacing a social service network with only 49% of children nationwide having access to pre-school education, with wide regional variations. (BVLF, 2010)

Working with local government, as the sphere of government closest to households where basic services are delivered is crucial to ECD.

Example from Serbia – The Center for Interactive Pedagogy

In Serbia an innovative partnership between a research institution, Center for Interactive Pedagogy funded by international aid, five local NPOs and five of the most disadvantaged municipalities is playing a key role in reaching children aged 0–6 years in especially difficult circumstances with special attention to Roma communities and all other minority and disadvantaged groups (ethnic minorities, children with special needs and children from foster families). The programme focuses on awareness-raising, capacity building, and networking targeted specifically to minority groups such as the Roma communities. The programme operates from the principle that ECD services should follow children and their families in order to reach children at risk. The project demonstrates the importance of shared responsibility of stakeholders namely government, civil society and private sector in enhancing the well-being of children. (BVLF, 2010)

Kabeer (2009) points to evidence which confirms that women's participation in economic empowerment interventions can have positive benefits for both women and children including increased social status, entry into the labour market, reduced risk of HIV and even reduction in violence from male partners, aside from the benefits of the income itself. Almost all of the programmes reviewed earlier provided employment for women in ECD interventions or freed women to seek employment. Promoting gender equity in relation to childcare and wellbeing is a major challenge to ECD in general.

Example from Brazil – The Network of Men for Gender Equality (RHEG)

In Brazil the Network of Men for Gender Equality (RHEG), a national network of non-governmental organisations, initiated a campaign in 2008 known as '*Dá licença, eu sou pai*' meaning '*give me leave, I'm a father*' to raise awareness of the need to involve men in childbirth and child care. The high profile campaign involved awareness-raising activities using mainstream media and involving prominent celebrities as well as placing visual material in strategic places such as schools, hospitals and transport hubs. The impact was to influence labour policy in relation to male parental leave for child caring responsibilities. This reflects a material approach to involving men in child birthing and care work within the family. (BVLF, 2010)

The global experience of case studies cited above give good lessons on ECD programmes that work at the community level and which South Africa could learn from. Although only a few of these provide an explicitly gendered focus on ECD, the international experiences reflected here provide some valuable insights into the key catalysing role of civil society in advancing ECD globally.

2.8 Experiences from South Africa: Civil society organisations, ECD and gender

The common characteristics of CSOs is that they are involved in collective action, that participation is voluntary and that there is a shared moral responsibility and motivation to act to address some need (Civicus, 2012). According to Razavi (2010), NPOs constitute one component of the 'care diamond' alongside the state, market and households/ families in the provision of care. In the ECD sector in South Africa in particular, this 'care diamond' is skewed with the bulk of the service delivery work, innovations and to a large extent even resourcing traditionally coming from civil society.

Patel's (2009) work on gender and care is one of few studies that focus on the gender dynamics of ECD of care work in the South African context. However, there has been an increasing

awareness and responsiveness among some NPOs of the gendered nature of ECD work, with sufficient literature documenting the range and scope of ECD innovations and interventions implemented in South Africa (Dawes & Biersteker, 2011).

Provision of ECD programmes is diverse in nature and in its delivery. Formal ECD programmes are mainly centre-based and include crèches, day care facilities and preschool centres while home and community based ECD programmes are described by Biersteker (2008c) as having multiple elements and with an emphasis on integrated and holistic services. Biersteker categorises them into the following types -:

- *Location-based integrated ECD strategies*
- *Community child protection strategies*
- *Use of ECD centres as supports for outreach work*
- *Service hub*
- *Parent education courses*
- *Playgroups*
- *Home visiting*
- *Toy libraries*
- *Support to child minders*
- *Care and support for HIV-infected and affected children*

Although in the section below, specific types of services are highlighted for each CSO, in practice many of these organisations implement multiple types of interventions including stimulation programmes, parent education and support interventions, ECD practitioner training and broader community development support.

2.8.1 Early Childhood Development Education and Training

The Little Elephant Training Centre for Early Childhood Development (LETCEE) based in Msinga District of KwaZulu-Natal is one of the shining examples of ECD training in South Africa.

The Little Elephant Training Centre for Early Childhood Development (LETCEE)

LETCEE is an NGO based in Msinga District of KwaZulu-Natal working with two rural communities. It is implementing the Siyabathanda Abantwana ('We love the children') and Sikhulakahle ('We are growing well') interventions. These programmes are aimed at providing poor and vulnerable children with education and development opportunities in order to break the intergenerational cycle of poverty and vulnerability. These interventions include a toy library programme and a home visiting programme. ECD trainers and facilitators are recruited from the community and after training are provided with stipends to facilitate the programme in their communities. Toy library facilitators carry a backpack of toys and often walk distances to reach remote households in deep rural Msinga. LETCEE's intervention model recognises the child as part of a larger system and if the family system is in distress, or is rendered vulnerable due to a complex set of circumstances, real help to the child is only possible if the caregivers become more empowered and affirmed in their care-giving roles. The family based model has won recognition as a model of excellence from UNICEF and an innovation award in the KwaZulu-Natal Absa/ Sowetan/ UNICEF 2009 ECD Awards. A key component of LETCEE's work is its commitment to building local capacity. In 2010 alone LETCEE provided ECD training to over 700 people, mainly women including approximately 300 people who received accredited skills training. (LETCEE, 2010)

The Parent Centre – Cape Town

The Parent Centre in Cape Town provides parenting support and training to vulnerable parents, particularly teenage parents. It targets vulnerable pregnant girls and supports them for at least 6 months after the birth of the baby and its fatherhood parenting programmes target young men as fathers. (Budlender & Motala, 2010).

2.8.2 Home and community-based programmes

Home and community-based programmes are an effective means for reaching very young children who would ordinarily not be attending an ECD programme. They include parent support, home help, health monitoring, cognitive stimulation and playgroup programmes. As mentioned earlier, these programmes provide an opportunity to intervene in the life of the child from birth. Some successful home visiting programmes are described below.

Home visiting programmes for ECD

The *Early Learning Resource Unit*, an ECD NGO based in the Western Cape, implements a Family and Community Motivator Programme and Khululeka Family Home Visiting Programme which focus on caregiver support, child stimulation and linking families to services. A 2011 evaluation showed that parents in this programme had improved access to service and there was a marked improvement in hygiene and safety in the home as well as with caregiver coping abilities (Dawes & Biersteker, 2011).

The Underberg-based *Family Literacy Programme* addresses the need to support caregiver and child literacy. Caregivers, mainly grandmothers, are enabled to improve their literacy skills while developing an understanding of CIMCI [community integrated management of childhood illness] health messages. An external evaluation indicates that caregiver health practices have changed positively and that caregivers demonstrated an ability to implement several of the key CIMCI messages (Kerry, 2007).

High Hopes is an early intervention and support programme for families of children with special needs, namely deaf and hard-of-hearing infants (0–3 years). The programme uses parent advisors (professionals from different fields including education, social work and audiology) as home visitors. During weekly home visits, parents are supported and given information on language and communication options, play, behaviour and child development. Results of a small pilot study showed that the child's expressive language increased by 5.1 months and receptive language increased by 4.2 months over four-month language assessment cycles (Störbeck & Pittman, 2008).

2.8.3 Playgroup programmes

These are programmes that involve caregivers and their children and they are equally important for ECD. A few examples of such programmes are presented below.

Playgroup programmes

The ***Lesedi Educare Association***, a Free State-based NPO aims to address the needs of vulnerable children and families through its Rural Family Support Programme. Lesedi's Playgroup and Toy Bus programmes include a core focus on transferring community development skills to parents and community development practitioners. The community development practitioners work with local government to address local needs. The self-help groups that are formed promote economic self-sufficiency and food security for vulnerable households (LETCEE, 2010).

The ***Foundation for Community Work***, a 30 year NPO operates a flagship intervention known as the Family in Focus programme. Its work in urban townships and commercial farming communities is aimed at providing parents and caregivers with access to ECD and support with child rearing. The programme is implemented through home visiting, training and awareness programmes and stimulation programmes for children. An evaluation found that the benefits of the programme included early identification of at-risk children and the implementation of strategies to mitigate harm and risk to children (FCW, 2009).

2.8.4 Networking, knowledge sharing and advocacy

In addition to the service delivery practice models presented above, it is important to recognise civil society initiatives which facilitate and support networking, knowledge sharing and advocacy in the ECD sector. A few examples are given below.

Networking, knowledge sharing and advocacy

The **ECD Learning Community** (ECDL) is owned by 16 ECD NPOs in South Africa which, with support of the Bernard van Leer Foundation, have established a collaborative network. Its purpose is to improve the quality of practice in the field and to seek ways to co-operatively and positively influence policy-making and implementation. One of the key innovations is an electronic newsletter and website for the sharing of documents, resources, toolkits and stories.

Ilifa Labantwana is a national ECD programme established in 2008 and funded by three large donors – the DG Murray Trust, Elma Philanthropies and UBS Optimus Foundation. The objective of the project is to contribute to the (ECD) sector by providing real-life examples for taking integrated quality ECD services to scale, focusing on the most underserved rural communities. It does this through funding ECD service delivery and evaluation of ECD models in key communities across South Africa; supporting grassroots innovations in the ECD sector; and enabling research, advocacy, and public communications about key issues in respect of ECD (Ilifa Labantwana, 2012).

South Durban Basin (SDB) Creche Forum and ECD Training Programme is an initiative which emerged out of an local government hosted ECD Indaba in June 2009 which brought together a wide range of ECD stakeholders with the aim of providing a platform for networking, partnership development and catalysing new responses. The South Durban Basin is one of the priority areas identified by the EThekweni Municipality to improve service delivery and address inequality and which has adopted an Area Based Management (ABM) approach to local development. . The SDB ABM is committed to making the SDB a better place to live, work, play and learn and it was against this backdrop that the idea of an ECD Indaba was born. An area based ECD Forum was established, involving ECD community stakeholders from South Durban Basin Communities in 2009.

Save the Children programme is initiated by the Kwazulu Natal (KZN) provincial government as a capacity building programme responsible for the provision of accredited training for ECD service providers and the development of a resource kit to enable ECD centres to navigate through the onerous and complicated registration processes. In order to respond to food and nutrition security challenges it has provided training for crèche cooks and gardeners and more recently implemented a water, sanitation and hygiene programme to reduce spread of infections at crèches. Other innovations implemented have included training community leaders in crèche governance and capacity building for ECD staff to assess developmental outcomes of children participating in ECD programmes (Save the Children, KZN, 2012).

2.8.6. Partnerships and collaboration between civil society and government

Some of the CSOs operating in various communities have established working relations and good collaboration with government. Examples of such best practice models can be drawn from the Hollard Foundation, which focuses on the wellbeing of children, operating in Midvaal municipality,. The focus of the best practice model is on the Midvaal municipality. The Hollard Foundation is a funding and development institution established in 2006 to contribute to interventions mitigating against child vulnerability, strategies focused on community partnership, support to NPOs and innovation through advocacy for long-term partnership. The

foundation was established in 2006 through a corporate social investment initiative of Hollard Insurance, the Hollard Trust, through donations from the Patrick Enthoven Family.

In 2007 the Foundation initiated a partnership with the Midvaal Municipality in the Sedibeng District with the aim of enabling the municipality to play an active role in service delivery to vulnerable children. They launched the Kago ya Bana (KYB) programme aimed at supporting local government, province and civil society to enhance service delivery by developing an effective and integrated local system of child care and support. This is done through provision of food, education and primary health care to vulnerable children and more importantly, through enhancing collaboration between stakeholders and different service delivery mechanisms. Achievements of the Hollard Foundation include reaching over 3000 children through 23 ECD centres, training 74 ECD practitioners, procurement of learning materials and play equipment and capacity building of ECD centre. This enabled 14 of the centres to meet DSD minimum requirements for ECD registration. In recognition of the need to enhance care for children home and community based care particularly targeting very young children they have piloted an important innovation in strengthening the quality of care provided by Day Mothers. Currently 18 day mothers and 108 children are benefiting through training, referral services, food supplementation and procurement of equipment for play (Ned, 2012).

A key outcome of the food and nutrition interventions for children attending ECD centres in Sedibeng was that health screening of 1268 children was undertaken and 380 were found to be severely malnourished. Following 4 months of intervention this number was reduced to 91 children (Ned, 2012). Other achievements of the Hollard Foundation include the development of a Draft ECD Policy for Sedibeng and the development of a Framework for Assignment of Functions from provincial to local government as per the Children's Act, which is under consideration by the Gauteng DSD and the Sedibeng District Municipality.

2.9 The role of CSOs in ECD-related employment creation

Expansion of the ECD sector has significant job creation and career development potential against the background of South Africa's high unemployment and poverty levels. In 2008 Altman (2008) estimated that there is potential to create up to 345 000 ECD jobs, at a cost of about R7 billion by 2009 based on norms and standards of the time (ratio of child to ECD practitioners) if South Africa was to meet its NIP target of reaching 2,6 million children.

South Africa is currently implementing one of the largest public employment programmes worldwide aimed at scaling up service delivery while at the same time expanding the service delivery capacity in the country. Two unique features of this programme which distinguish it from others globally is its focus on the social sector Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP),¹¹ which aims at creating ECD-related jobs and home-based care as well as the inclusion of the non-state sector in the implementation of the EPWP (DSD, 2012).

¹¹ Although the work of EPWP listed here is meant for ECD projects, not all work involves CSOs, but the authors thought it would be worth highlighting some of the key examples for lessons for CSOs.

The Non-State Sector Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP NSS) launched in 2009 is the vehicle for non-profit organisations to develop programmes which could provide an income for participants through engagement in socially constructive activities. Initially it was limited to ECD and home and community-based care work, but has been extended to other work such as literacy education. The programme uses wage subsidies to enable non-state sector bodies to provide training and skills development for participants while they work. The growth of the NSS EPWP was reflected in the 4th Quarter EPWP Report for 2011/12. There were 144 NPO projects operating as at 31st March 2012, which had created 39 552 work opportunities and 9 901 full time work equivalents with more than 70% being women and more than 50% being youth (EPWP Summit, 2012). In this current phase the EPWP 2 has a budget of over R4.5 billion, representing a substantial funding stream for the social and non-state EPWP sectors.

The Department of Social Development Strategic Plan and Budget Vote 2012/13 to 2014/15 outlined a plan to expand access to ECD and child and youth care services through the national roll out of the National Association of Child Care Workers (NACCW) Isibindi Programme. It is envisaged that 10 000 child and youth care workers will be recruited, trained and employed to implement the Isibindi programme through the non-state sector using a social franchise model. A budget of R21 million has been allocated over this period to fund the roll out of the Isibindi Programme. Isibindi currently operates in eight provinces in 55 sites and reaches over 50 000 children. The model is based on the recruitment and training of unemployed community members as child and youth care facilitators to service families and households in their area, under the supervision of qualified professionals. An integral component of the Isibindi programme is its ECD interventions. This is an excellent example of how a civil society initiative has been taken up by government and how such a programme enables government to meet its own delivery targets in respect of job creation (Kvalsvig *et al.*, 2008). One of the challenges limiting civil society work is lack of funding and Isibindi has been cited as one of the shining examples where public-private partnership through civil society co-ordination can be strengthened. By allocating financial resources to Isibindi, government can become effective in service delivery and improve the efficiency of services through a civil society organisation.

The Social Sector EPWP has been the largest provider of ECD training opportunities at levels 1, 4 and 5 on the National Qualifications Framework (NQF) through the provision of learnerships and stipends. This is addressing training backlogs as well as upgrading existing provisioning and has targeted unemployed and unskilled people. Training grants are made available to the NPO trainers to facilitate training. Research undertaken by Carter *et al.* (2009) found that in the Western Cape 65% of ECD training opportunities at different NQF levels was provided to poor women through EPWP. This is significant in enabling access to skills development, particularly of poor women, many of whom are based in rural areas and would not otherwise have been able to access such training. The EPWP has been key to enabling access into the labour market for low-skilled and marginalised women (Carter *et al.*, 2009).

The EPWP Social Sector Plan has been a major driver of job creation despite the high job losses in the economy. According to Jacobs *et al.* (2010), between 2009 and 2010 there was a net loss of 833 000 jobs across all industries with the exception of the transport and community and social services sectors where 16 000 net jobs were created.

A study conducted by Anatopolous (2008) analysed the impact of scaling up EPWP social sector jobs through a simulated gender-disaggregated Social Accounting Matrix (SAM). The model was based on a budget allocation of R9.2 billion and a proposal of providing full-time employment for poor and ultra-poor household members with a wage of R500 per month. The findings of the simulation exercise revealed the following results:-

- Approximately 571 000 new jobs would be created, 540 000 of them allocated to unskilled poor people;
- 60% of these jobs would be allocated to women;

This would indirectly lead to the creation of a further 200 000 jobs elsewhere in the economy. Most of these jobs would be created in NPOs and CBOs. Based on the above, the study said that expanding public employment programmes as part of a mixture of strategies to address unemployment and poverty would be both desirable and feasible (Anatopolous, 2008).

2.10 Challenges and opportunities for civil society in advancing gender equity goals through ECD

2.10.1 Challenges facing ECD

There are many challenges for civil society organisations in expanding ECD access and quality and these are integrally linked to challenges in addressing gender equity goals. Some of the main challenges are described below.

Gendered nature of care work

Gender is not an explicit consideration in the design of ECD programmes despite the fact that ECD workers are typically women and care work in any form is generally considered an affront to men's dignity. The low status of care work in the economy is reflected in the low levels of pay, lack of effective career paths and the absence of social protection for workers. There is a need to find meaningful ways to break down gender stereotyping in care work through promoting men's involvement in this field.

Scaling up access to and high-quality ECD services in South Africa

In the context of high levels of poverty, unemployment, low income levels, chronic illnesses and high maternal mortality, there is a critical need to ensure that larger numbers of poor children are reached more rapidly through interventions at a household and community level. Such a scale of expansion will require considerable investments in human and financial resources and a strong partnership between the state, civil society and other stakeholders.

Integrated and co-ordinated ECD provisioning

The draft ECD Diagnostic Review identified several priority areas for improvement of ECD services including (Richter *et al.*, 2012):

- maternal and child nutrition and health in the first 1 000 days;
- provision of early antenatal care;
- emergency obstetric care to prevent maternal deaths;
- early and ongoing development screening of children;
- preventing and treating maternal depression; and
- early identification and support for children and families with special needs, including disabilities.

To deliver on these priorities requires an integrated and co-ordinated approach involving many different role players in all spheres of government, private sector and civil society. This remains a major stumbling block to an effective response to the needs of young children. Of particular importance is mainstreaming ECD into local government IDP's as outlined earlier in this section and the development of a framework for the assignment of functions relevant to the Children's Act from provincial to local government.

Training and support to ECD practitioners in civil society

The low level of skills in the sector points to the need for a major expansion in training opportunities. NPOs were identified in the ECD Audit (DoE, 2001) as the largest providers of training to ECD practitioners. Expansion of EPWP training has not kept track with the backlogs. A Western Cape study found there were more than 10 000 practitioners in that province alone with 57% of practitioners not having accredited qualifications (Biersteker, 2008b). The development and retention of sufficient trained ECD personnel is essential for expansion of access and quality. The training capacity needs to grow geographically, as it is heavily urban-based and in need of improved access to funding.

Resource mobilisation for ECD service expansion

Funding for the delivery of ECD services by CSOs has been generated through three main sources, namely subsidies and grants from the state, donor funding (both local and international) and user fees. Funding for training programmes implemented by NPOs has come from donors, SETAs and the EPWP.

There is a lack of credible data on the scale of donor funding channelled to NPOs for ECD in South Africa, although it is clear that this source is drying up. Although government funding of subsidies and grants to NPOs for ECD services has increased in the last decade and currently exceeds R1 billion, most of these funds have been expended in expanding centre-based ECD provision (Proudlock & Budlender, 2011) and is totally inadequate. A report commissioned by the Funding Practice Alliance found that access to philanthropic funding has been further compromised due to the alleged inefficiencies in the manner in which the National Development Agency and the National Lotto operate (FPA, 2011). Given the historical role that the sector has played in service delivery and the challenges of expanding the state's role in service delivery, finding ways to protect the functioning of this sector is an urgent matter.

Wage and employment conditions in the ECD sector

The HSRC ECD costing study found that salaries paid to ECD practitioners: *ranged from levels below minimum wages, to in very few and extreme cases acceptable levels* (Carter *et al.* 2009:80). This has to change if this sector is to be able to attract and retain skilled personnel in the 0–4 age ECD sector, particularly younger people (Carter *et al.* 2009; Streak & Norushe, 2008; Biersteker 2008b). A recent development has been the gazettement of minimum wage and labour protection conditions in 2012 by the Department of Labour for those who are employed in public employment programmes in this sector. However the challenge in complying with these minimum standards is that NPOs rely heavily on fees for income, which if too high will exclude many poor children.

ECD as an economic enterprise

There has been a mushrooming of privately-operated ECD centres owned and developed by poor women and serving poor communities often as an income-generating initiative but offering an important service to communities. They generate a small income largely through user fees. Most often the quality of provisioning in these centres is poor and in some instances

harmful to children. Due to their ‘private’ nature they are unable to access state support for infrastructure and other improvements. An effective model for public-private partnerships should be designed to support these social sector entrepreneurs.

Support to the non-profit sector

The NPO sector has and continues to play a major role in the provision of ECD services in South Africa as this study has illustrated. The funding challenges for the sector have been dealt with above. In addition to funding, support in terms of administration and management is critically needed. Carter *et al.* (2009) found that the lack of appropriate administrative and management skills and capacities of ECD centres impacted negatively on their ability to mobilise funding from both the state and donor sectors.

2.10.2 Opportunities for ECD

South Africa in 2012 provides a number of meaningful opportunities for responding effectively to need to scale up ECD. A high level of political commitment to ECD has been articulated in policy, legislation and in national strategic priorities and national development plans (NPC, 2011a; Department of Economic Development, 2010). It is equally reflected in international commitments to children. An organised and co-ordinated civil society response is necessary to champion new funding and delivery models for ECD.

The linking of ECD to the 5 million job creation target through the expansion of Public Employment Programmes as announced by Minister of Finance, Pravin Gordhan, in the 2012 Budget provides an opportunity to leverage funding to scale up ECD services. Finally the linkage of the twin goals of scaling up quality ECD and gender empowerment with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) is an opportunity that must not be lost. Antonopoulos (2008) suggests that leveraging public employment programme resources as a way of bridging the funding gap can enable South Africa to strive towards achieving the MDG targets.

The recent South African ECD Conference hosted by the Minister for Social Development in March 2012 resolved to develop a national action plan for ECD which would amongst others: “*review and strengthen the National Integrated Plan for ECD (NIPECD) that includes a matrix of enforceable roles and responsibilities for all spheres (including relevant stakeholders) of government*” (DSD, 2012c: 15). Subsequently a draft of the ECD National Action Plan 2012 (although not yet available to the public), was presented to Cabinet in October 2012. It would be important for civil society to review the contents thereof and to ensure that the National Action Plan responds to the various resolutions taken at the March 2012 Conference.

2.11 Recommendations, Policy implications and conclusions for ECD

2.11.1 Recommendations

There is no single model or practice that can promote gender-sensitive ECD service delivery, although a few outstanding examples have been highlighted. While some of the proposals are not explicitly gendered, they can contribute to a more gender-sensitive response. In the section that follows a number of recommendations are made which individually and collectively can promote a gender-sensitive model of ECD.

Strengthening institutional collaboration, integration and coordination between direct ECD programmes (health, social development and education) and other government programmes

There is a need for strengthening inter-sectoral partnerships and collaboration between the state and civil society at all levels in the delivery of ECD. Cross-sectoral collaboration needs to be enhanced as it could contribute to more holistic response to ECD, and increase efficiency and effectiveness in the implementation of programmes as well as reduce the costs of implementation. The example of collaboration between government and CSOs such as, Isibindi and the Hollard Foundation should be strengthened and expanded to other key players to make public-private partnership more effective. By providing resources including finance, government can improve efficiency and effectiveness in service delivery.

Assigning of functions and funding to local government to fulfil specific ECD related obligations needs to be pursued actively by civil society in partnership with local government stakeholders including the South African Local Government Association (SALGA).

Monitoring and evaluation of quality of interventions and impact

ECD programmes need to be intentional about measuring impacts of ECD services on young children and on caregivers. Monitoring and evaluation could promote better targeting of interventions to the most vulnerable and helps improve effectiveness of implementation. There is considerable wealth of experience and accessible models and tools for measuring quality ECD services. These need to be effectively utilised to enable researchers and other stakeholders to assess the difference that ECD makes. Issues that require on-going monitoring include targeting of ECD subsidies and access to training and support for the poorest quintiles and rural households. Demystifying monitoring and evaluation and creating awareness of its value is the first step to addressing this challenge.

Information and knowledge dissemination

There is limited understanding and awareness among policy makers, parents and the public at large of the key role that ECD services can play in enhancing the lives of young children and empowering women. National awareness campaigns can go a long way to enabling parents to identify quality in ECD service delivery and to make informed choices to support their children's well-being. This lack of knowledge and understanding is not limited to community level stakeholders but extends to policy makers as well.

Focus on ECD programmes holistically

Evidence suggests that in countries with high maternal unemployment, less than 20% of children are likely to attend formal ECD facilities. The need to reach out to the other 80% of children remains critical. South Africa has a rich tapestry of non-facility-based ECD models which have been evaluated (UNICEF, 2009).

Providing access to affordable and accessible services

The Statistics South Africa General Household Survey of 2009 estimated that 32% of women with children 0–4 years old do some form of work outside the home and about 1.4 million 0–4-year-old children have parents who could require assistance with child care due to employment, involvement in full-time study or due to illness/ disability. If the 5 million job target is to be reached, then creating affordable access to quality child care will be essential.

This includes meeting the needs of workers who work shifts or at night. Current ECD provision does not give this due attention.

Enhance human resource capacity to deliver ECD services

While it is sensible to expand human resource capacity in line with financial capacity, it would mean that only a fraction of poor and vulnerable children will be reached, limiting future participation. It is argued that through leveraging resources across different government programmes, it is possible to scale up capacity. The Draft ECD Diagnostic Review (Richter *et al.* 2012) proposes the development and implementation of a strategy to fund ECD personnel, improve qualifications and retain staff. Further, it calls for the development of a job hierarchy and career development opportunities as well as incentives to improve skills and qualification. There is also a need for better articulation between qualifications across practitioners in different sectors and across different cadres of community-based workers.

Support to the NPO sector

Expanding ECD services requires government to take the lead. However, the role and contribution of NPOs as key drivers for implementing ECD services and in the innovation and testing of new models of delivery as well as in advocacy around ECD needs to be recognised and supported.

2.12 Policy implications

A key policy shift that is required is to move away from a strategy that relies on market and voluntary provision of care that is at most informal and exploitative to one that nurtures professional, decently paid and compassionate forms of care. This will go a long way towards enhancing ECD outcomes and advancing gender equity objectives.

To give effect to many of the recommendations requires more than high level policy commitments to ECD. It requires institutional mechanisms at the highest level of government to champion and monitor the delivery of ECD services. The location of a co-ordinating structure in the office of the Presidency with a clear and explicit mandate to drive the integration and co-ordination across line function departments and other role players based on a model similar to that of the South African National Aids Council (SANAC).

2.13 Conclusions for ECD

In South Africa, the burden of ECD care work lies with women and the civil society sector. Efforts to lessen the burden of care must be viewed in a positive light. Recognition of the contribution that care work, care workers and the civil society sector makes to the economy as a whole and to development priorities is the first step towards a gender-sensitive response to ECD expansion and quality provisioning in South Africa.

3 VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.1 Introduction and background

Our interpersonal relations are written – shall I say it? – in blood. Our identities stitched together against brutal conditions (Ratele (2003) cited in Peacock *et al.* 2006:73).

The only true non-racial institution in South Africa is patriarchy (Judge Albie Sachs).

Section 3 looks at civil society efforts in addressing violence against women in general, by highlighting success case studies or models in South Africa. The levels of death and injury that arise from violence in general in South Africa are incredibly high for a country not at war. One of the key drivers of violence in the country is gender-based violence (GBV), as noted by Seedat *et al.* (2009). GBV is commonly taken to comprise

physical, sexual, and psychological abuse from intimate partners, sexual violence by non-partners, sexual abuse of girls, and acts such as trafficking women for sex (Dunkle *et al.*, 2004b:230).

Men may be targets of such violence due to sexual orientation and other factors (see Mkhize *et al.* 2010). However, women constitute the vast majority of people experiencing gender-based violence and men the majority of perpetrators (Womankind, 2007:8). Perpetrators are, in fact, most likely to be intimate male partners and the most common form of violence against adult women is intimate partner violence (de Vylder, 2004). According to Seedat *et al.* (2009:1011), violence in South Africa is thus ‘profoundly gendered’. This is supported by local statistics which show that women carry the brunt of violence in the country. While South Africa has made large strides on raising awareness through campaigns to prevent violence against women and through the role of civil society, the country continues to top international rankings of incidence of reported rape and sexual violence (Britton, 2006:145).

The country has amongst the highest levels of sexual and domestic violence perpetrated against women globally, despite its progressive legislation and commitment to a number of binding international treaties which oblige the government to promote gender equality and address violence against women (SGJ, 2007a). Young men aged 15–29 years are disproportionately engaged in violence both as victims and as perpetrators, reducing the chances that those who are supposed to protect women in general will become sensitised at an early age and making it less likely that a fundamental change in community attitude will become deeply rooted. According to Seedat *et al.*, (2009) half the female victims of homicide are killed by their intimate male partners and the country has an especially high rate of rape of women and girls. It is estimated that in South Africa a woman is raped every 26 seconds (Womankind, 2007) or killed by her intimate partner every six hours (SGJ, 2007a). This homicide rate of women by their partners is reportedly six times the global average (Seedat *et al.*, 2009).

Further, in the South African context sexual orientation, or perhaps more correctly heterosexuality, is a salient factor with regard to violence against women. This is attested to by the increasing number of so-called ‘corrective rapes’ of lesbians in the country (Mkhize *et al.*, 2010). The significant under-reporting of such crimes, within the bounds of a patriarchal society, makes an effective assessment of such crimes and the level of violence limited and difficult. However,

“it does not matter what the reported statistics are or what multiple is then used to determine the ‘actual’ number of rapes, whatever the number, it is simply too high” Any amount of violence against women is a human rights violation of the most fundamental kind that

undermines the support for gender equality given by the South African constitution” (Britton, 2006:146).

Definition of terms¹² and the cycle of violence

The term ‘gender’ refers to the social difference relations between men and women, which are learned, vary widely among societies and cultures and change over time. It is worth noting that the term gender does not replace the term ‘sex’, which refers exclusively to biological differences between men and women. Broadly, *gender* refers to the *socially* given attributes, roles, activities, responsibilities and needs connected to being men (masculine) and women (feminine) in a given society at a given time, and as a member of a specific community within that society. Gender-based violence occurs when someone is abused because she or he is female or male and this is often related to society’s version of what constitutes acceptable masculine or feminine behaviour. *Abuse* refers to a pattern of behaviour used to establish power and control over another person through fear and intimidation, often including the threat or use of violence, which may include emotional, economic or sexual threats, isolation, intimidation, using children, using male privilege and a variety of other behaviours used to maintain fear.

Stages of violence

There are several forms and phases of violence using power and control as illustrated in Figure 3.1.

¹² These definitions presented here and the stages of violence in next section are taken from the presentation on gender-based violence by Mmabatho Ramagoshi from MFWD/IAW at the SAWID workshop.

Figure 3:1: The wheel of power and control



Source: <http://www.turningpointservices.org/Domestic%20Violence%20-%20Power%20and%20Control%20Wheel.htm>

The power and control wheel presented in figure 3.1 is an illustration of how men use various reasons to maintain control over women and how those reasons become barriers for women to leave abusive relationships. Some of the reasons cited by women for not leaving include lack of resources; unemployment; lack of access to property and cash; fear of losing children; and an expected decline in living standards. Three stages of violence have been identified as crucial. Phase 1 is known as the tension building stage. Phase 2 is known as the acute/abuse stage, reflecting the acute level of abuse where women are subject to prolonged levels of abuse, especially emotional abuse. Phase 3 is known as the Honeymoon stage and comes in the form of physical abuse that can heal easily, unlike the scars of emotional abuse that women tend to carry inside.

In this section, the term gender-based violence is used interchangeably with 'violence against women' (or 'men's violence against women'), in order to highlight the gender inequality in which much violence is embedded (Keesbury & Askew, 2010). Section 3 of this report begins by looking at the research that has tried to ascertain the causes of GBV, highlighting gender

norms and power relationships as a significant factor. It then focuses on the South African context, sketching the broad backdrop against which GBV occurs and draws links between inequity, violence and gendered poverty, showing the interconnection between the disproportionate number of women and girls who live in poverty and the various forms of violence that is directed at them (Reddy & Moletsane, 2009). A review of literature on this topic is provided in order to draw lessons from other countries. The costs and consequences of addressing violence against women is a pertinent issue when violence is viewed within the context of poverty reduction. This is followed by good practice examples of civil society interventions to reduce violence against women, both internationally and locally. Thereafter, some of the challenges and opportunities encountered by civil society are discussed and, in closing, recommendations are provided for future good practice models.

3.2 Gender-based violence in South Africa

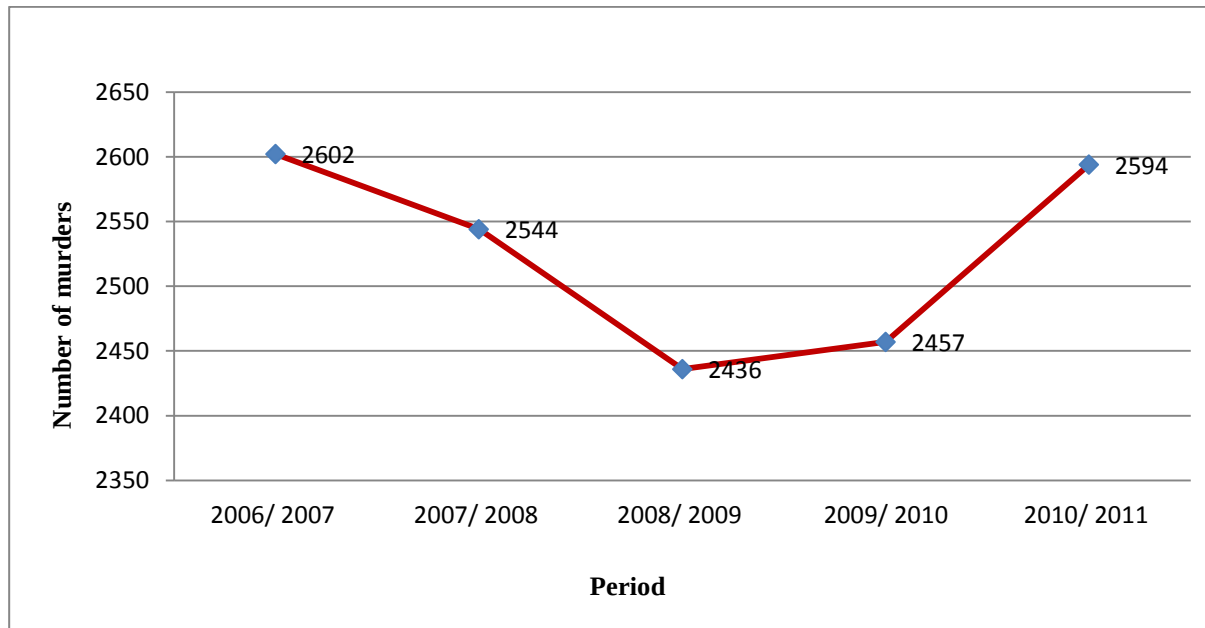
In order to highlight the rate of violence against women in South Africa, it is necessary for us to show some indicators to alert policy makers and draw the attention of the key players in the field, in particular in civil society. The crime statistics released by the South African Police Service every year show that there was a decline in all crime categories between 2006/2007 and 2008/2009. However, the crime against women increased from 2008/2009 for all categories, with some modest improvement in 2010/2011 for all sexual offences and common assault as shown Table 3.1 below. The decline in the rate of violence against women for some crime categories could be attributed to national campaigns and publicity in which CSOs play a crucial role. Examples of CSO activities to combat violence against women show significant impacts in the communities where they are active, although that may not be reflected fully in national statistics for crimes against women.

Table 3.1: Crimes against women: Total number of cases

Crime Category	2006/ 2007	2007/ 2008	2008/ 2009	2009/ 2010	2010/ 2011
Murder	2 602	2 544	2 436	2 457	2 594
All sexual offences	34 816	31 328	30 124	36 093	35 820
Common assault	100 390	94 286	91 390	94 176	89 956

Source: Constructed from South African Police Service Crime Report 2010/2011

In respect of murder cases committed against women, statistics show that there was a decline between 2006/2007 and 2008/2009 as shown in Figure 3.2, but the cases increased significantly between 2008/2009 and 2010/2011 reaching 2 594 cases of murder of women reported in 2010/2011 alone. The data show that violence against women is on the rise.

Figure 3:2: Number of reported cases of murder of women

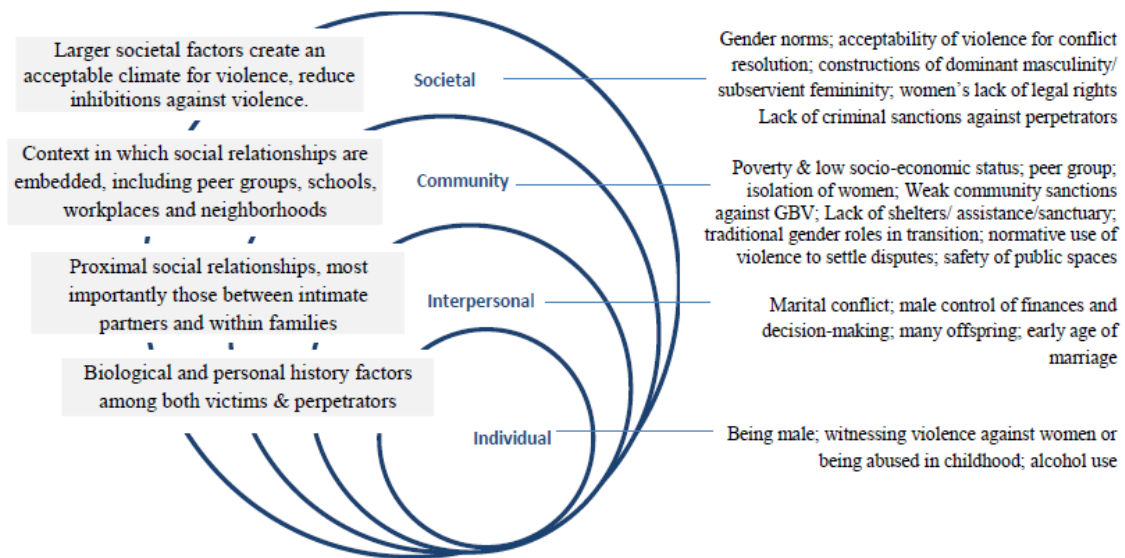
Source: Constructed from South African Police Service Crime Report 2010/2011

3.3 Literature review

3.3.1 Causes of GBV

Violence against women is a complex and multi-layered issue, shaped by forces that operate at different levels. Socio-cultural norms play a significant role in levels of violence, which implies that the issue cannot be dealt with in isolation from social factors (Guedes, 2004). The social factors driving the problem, which are addressed in depth in the following section, include, among others, patriarchal notions of gender, and poverty. Though these two issues are discussed separately, they are inextricably interlinked and in turn related to other individual risk factors which act as drivers, such as the inter-generational cycling of violence, exposure to violence, alcohol and drug abuse, the proliferation of firearms and weak law enforcement (Seedat *et al.*, 2009).

Figure 3:3: Ecological model of factors associated with violence against women



Source: Adapted from Taft (2003) and Bott et al. (2005)

Due to the interconnection of causal factors, an ecological approach that combines individual level risk factors with community and society level factors is advocated. This model is illustrated graphically in Figure 3.3. Many researchers have used an ecological model as a way to examine the combination of risk factors that increase the likelihood of violence against women in a particular setting (Bott et al., 2005). Such an approach, endorsed by the World Health Organization (WHO), captures the inter-relationships of all potential influences on men's motivation to abuse women, including the wider impact of forces within the community and society (Taft, 2003).

At the most fundamental level, endemic violence against women is inextricably interlinked to gender norms regardless of the form the violence takes (i.e., physical, sexual, or psychological) and it is related to the low social status and deep-seated devaluation of women and girls (Heise, 2011; Vogelmann & Eagle, 1991). The relatively high rates of violence against women in South Africa can be contextualised and explained against the historical backdrop of hostility and inequity entrenched by colonial and apartheid patriarchies (Britton, 2006; Moletsane et al., 2010). As a result, black women have suffered the multiple oppression of being black, poor and female. Nevertheless, all South African women, irrespective of racial categorisation have historically been publicly silenced and 'obstructed from participation in formal political life' as noted by Britton (2006:148). Women were relegated to the private sphere of domesticity and childrearing, while men, especially white Afrikaners who enjoyed the economic freedom of paid employment, as well as the relative power and status that this brought along (Morrell, 2006).

Significantly, GBV is both a consequence of gender power inequities and a means for maintaining inequities (Jewkes et al., 2010; Bloom, 2008). Men use violence to maintain dominance over women and other men, in situations where homosexuality is common. For instance, in South Africa, rape functions as a way of keeping women and homosexual people in check and perpetuates a status quo of benefit to middle-class, homophobic renditions of manhood (Britton, 2006).

Though men are overwhelmingly the perpetrators of violence against women, research indicates that South African men are not a homogenous group and thus hold a wide range of opinions about violence against women and a significant number want to be proactively involved in reducing this violence (Peacock & Levack, 2004; SGJ, 2007a). In addition, patriarchal gender norms have a 'double-edged nature' (Peacock & Levack, 2004:177) and also affect men's health negatively; for example, promoting risky behaviours, promiscuity and preventing medical help-seeking (Ringheim & Feldman-Jacobs, 2009). Thus, patriarchal gender norms also compromise men's health and well-being (SGJ, 2007a; 2007b). Hence, men also experience vulnerabilities and needs as a result of gender norms, though these cannot be equated with women's challenges and do not negate the global, aggregate power imbalance between women and men (Barker *et al.*, 2010).

Attaining gender equality and fostering healthier gender norms requires a nuanced understanding and a consideration of the broader socio-economic context, including the ways that gender-based power, poverty and violence intersect. Power inequality, GBV and gendered poverty are interlinked (Moletsane *et al.*, 2010). In this vein, it is important to recognise that in South Africa, these gender norms and relationships are situated within a socio-economic context characterised by high levels of inequality, limited social welfare services, and high levels of generalised violence (SGJ, 2007a). Research indicates a strong relationship between socio-economic inequalities and violence, particularly the risk of GBV as it is more problematic in impoverished and less developed settings (Seedat *et al.*, 2009). Women living in poverty, especially in rural or remote communities, are particularly susceptible to violence (Benjamin, 2007; Womankind, 2007). Lack of economic rights and the concomitant economic dependency of women on men increase their vulnerability to violence, particularly of a sexual nature (Greig *et al.*, 2008).

Despite the connection between poverty and GBV, in South Africa, little consideration is given to violence reduction efforts within broader socio-economic forces as part of the context in which men's violence occurs. The connection between men's violence, HIV/AIDS and broader socio-economic forces requires greater attention. It is also critically important that attention is focused on women who are poor and/or marginalised in some ways. These women may suffer inordinately due to the economic costs of violence perpetrated against them, for instance due to the costs of medical treatment or foregone earnings due to absence from work (UNFPA, 2005 & 2006; de Vylder, 2005).

In addition to economic costs and consequences, violence affects women's health, both in the interim (e.g., chronic, undiagnosed pain, forced pregnancies, sexually transmitted infections) as well as indirectly or in the long-term leading to problems like depression, mental health issues and attempted suicide (UNFPA, 2005 & 2006; de Vylder, 2005). Sexual and reproductive health is a particular concern and men's constructive engagement, which is discussed more fully later in this section, is seen as integral for promoting women's sexual and reproductive health (Ringheim & Feldman-Jacobs, 2009). There has also been increased attention to men's health as an equally significant concern (e.g., Alan Guttmacher Institute, 2003). It has been noted, for instance, that same norms that promote violence against women also drive men's risky behaviours and make both women and men vulnerable to HIV infection (Ellsberg & Betron, n.d.; Ferguson *et al.*, 2004; Greig, *et al.*, 2008; SGJ, 2007a & b; WHO, 2010).

Globally, studies confirm the link between violence against women and HIV (WHO, 2010). *GBV is increasingly recognised as a critical driver of the HIV epidemic in many settings, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa where the incidence of HIV infection is growing at*

alarming rates among women in particular (Ellsberg & Betron, n.d.:1). Research indicates that GBV makes females especially susceptible to infection, through rape, coerced sex and the inability to negotiate appropriate contraceptive use. In addition, stigma and shame related to both violence and HIV may prevent them from seeking timely medical intervention, if they seek help at all¹³ (Ellsberg & Betron, n.d.). Not only are women at greater risk of being infected, they are also disproportionately affected, since they bear the greater care and support for those with AIDS-related illnesses (SGJ, 2007a). The connection between GBV and HIV has also been confirmed by South African studies (Abrahams *et al.*, 2004; Dunkle *et al.*, 2003, 2004a & b; 2006 2007; Jewkes *et al.*, 2006; Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002; Jewkes *et al.*, 2010; Jewkes *et al.*, 2003; Jewkes *et al.*, 2000; Jewkes *et al.*, 2009; Wood *et al.*, 2007, 2008). There is therefore a need for integrated strategies that address GBV within the context of HIV (Ellsberg & Betron, n.d.; Jewkes, *et al.*, 2006) and most experts maintain that primary prevention of GBV is a more effective strategy for reducing both GBV and HIV prevalence (Ellsberg & Betron, n.d.).

Violence against women is correlated with high social, health and economic costs not only to the individual but also to society at large (Abrahams & Jewkes, 2005; de Vylder, 2004; Heise, 2011; UNFPA, 2005; Womankind, 2007). It is therefore imperative – from the perspective of individual human rights and societal well-being –that GBV is addressed. Civil society has played a major role in doing so. CSOs are critical partners for government’s strategies to reduce violence against women. There has been at least a decade of sustained collaborative work between civil society, including NGOs and researchers and a number of statutory sectors, particularly the health sector, justice system, and the police service (Seedat *et al.*, 2009). Grassroots organisations, coalitions and government-civil society initiatives have united to provide a range of services, including training sessions, empowerment programmes, face-to-face and group counselling, shelter and intervention services, legal assistance and rape crisis centres (Britton, 2006).

This task has been challenging, owing to the violent legacy of the apartheid state as well as governmental budgetary limitations. Partnership with civil society, NGOs and the business community has alleviated some of the resource constraints (The Presidency, 2007). Furthermore, CSOs are frequently at the forefront of direct work with survivors, providing them with shelter, psycho-social and legal support and other services (UNIFEM, 2012). In addition to their role as strategic partners, CSOs have conducted much research that has significantly contributed to understandings of violence and ensuring effective responses (The Presidency, 2007). Some organisations like Men as Partners Network and Sonke Gender Justice have also been involved in policy and advocacy work (Peacock & Levack, 2004). We now look at efforts to *prevent* future partner violence, that is, primary prevention.

3.4 What works to prevent men’s violence against women?

Primary prevention goes to the heart of the issue and attempts to change the low status of women, gender roles and power imbalances by targeting the underlying norms, attitudes, and behaviours of individuals, communities and society (Mullick *et al.*, 2010). The rationale for concentrating on primary prevention is because many experts agree that it *is a more effective strategy for reducing both GBV as well as HIV prevalence* (Ellsberg & Betron, n.d.:3) than secondary or tertiary prevention strategies that concentrate on ameliorating the effects of violence. However, primary prevention is an aspect of programming that has

¹³ See Campbell *et al.*, 2008 for more on this topic.

received less attention within existing programmes and in the evaluation literature (Heise, 2011) and the South African government's attention has been largely focused on tertiary prevention (Seedat *et al.*, 2009). This is most likely because interventions that aim for the primary prevention of GBV are the most challenging to implement and assess (Mullick *et al.*, 2010).

In considering which prevention programmes work for violence against women, this section first reviews promising international practice and then highlights South African experiences. In so doing, it is important to note that there is a lack of rigorous programme evaluations and thus a general lack of data to support recommendations for best practices in the field. In addition, most of the programmes lack quality assurance systems for monitoring and evaluating their progress (Bloom, 2008). There have been some reviews which identify effective programmes that do monitor and evaluate and highlight those which appear to be promising. In particular, on the basis of a review of the evidence gleaned from evaluations, AIDSTAR-One (2012) has identified a number of gender transformative¹⁴ programmes aimed to address GBV, which are categorised as interventions: 1) with preliminary evidence that reflects emerging promise; 2) with intermediate evidence reflecting good promise; and, finally, 3) with good evidence that reflects high promise. These programmes are presented in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Promising gender-transformative interventions for addressing violence against women

Name of Programme	Category	Country
Bridges to End Violence	1	Nigeria
Intervention with Microfinance for AIDS and Gender Equity (IMAGE) Study	1	South Africa
Kivulini Mobilizing Communities to Prevent Domestic Violence	2	Tanzania
Memory Book Project	1	Zimbabwe
One Man Can	1	South Africa
Programa H – Promoting more Gender-equitable Norms and Behaviours among Young Men	2	Brazil
Refentse Project ("Resilience in the face of adversity"): Post Rape Care	3	South Africa
Stepping Stones: Promotion of Life Skills and Sexual Well-being in Rural Communities through a Standardized Training Package	2	Uganda

Taken from: http://www.aidstar-one.com/promising_practices_database/search?tid=206&x=27&y=10 (July 2012)

3.4.1 Experience from global practice on violence prevention

Evaluations of international interventions highlight five key lessons.

Lesson 1: Gender-transformative prevention programmes

Gender-transformative programmes, which aim to transform gender roles and promote equitable female-male relationships, are generally more effective than programmes that do not acknowledge the importance of gender roles (gender-neutral) or that are merely 'gender-sensitive'. For instance, Barker *et al.*, 2007 found that gender-transformative programmes had a higher rate of effectiveness than other interventions aimed at men and boys. Significantly, however, successful gender-transformative interventions are also based upon a critical and nuanced understanding of gender (Macleod & Tracey, 2009). Such an understanding would translate into the following features, as identified by Barker *et al.*, (2007):

¹⁴ For details on this see (USAID Interagency Gender Working Group cited in Heise, 2011:17).

- Take an explicit/implicit social constructionist approach (i.e., they understand sex and gender to be socially constructed rather than based on a biological reality);
- Critically discuss or question traditional, inequitable attitudes about gender within the intervention; and
- Take into account the other power dimensions and social realities facing participants.

Example from Brazil – Programa H, Brazil [Category 2]

This programme has been replicated in several parts of Brazil and throughout the world. As Table 3.2 above indicates, this intervention is rated by AIDSTAR-One (2012) as having intermediate evidence and good promise on reducing GBV. The goal of this programme is to encourage young men to question some of the patriarchal norms related to manhood, including the costs related to such constructions, as well as the benefits of gender-equitable behaviours.

According to AIDSTAR-One (2012), Programa H

‘uses educational workshops, lifestyle campaigns, innovative approaches to attract young men to health facilities, using a culturally sensitive impact evaluation methodology’ (unpaginated).

The core components include a validated curriculum (with a manual series and an educational video); a social marketing campaign; a research-action methodology for reducing barriers to young men’s use of clinic services; and a culturally relevant validated evaluation model (the Gender Equitable Attitudes in Men (GEM) Scale)

One of the key lessons learned from this programme is that, although it might take time, gender-related attitude and behaviour change is possible, as discussed in the following sub-section.

Lesson 2: Cultural norms programme

Contrary to the widely-held view that it is unfeasible to attempt to transform community gender norms, or that the process is too lengthy, evidence suggests that it is possible for well-designed programmes to effect tangible and measurable change within a programme’s time-frame. Examples of such models are given below.

Examples from Uganda and South Africa – Stepping Stones, Uganda [Category 2]; IMAGE, South Africa [Category 1]; SASA!/Raising voices, Uganda

Both Stepping Stones and IMAGE have been shown to be particularly effective in reducing sexual and gender-based violence and have subsequently been rolled out in other locations, including South Africa (Mullick *et al.*, 2010). The SASA!/Raising voices project is a community-mobilisation project designed to alter gender power relations and thereby address both violence against women and HIV (Heise, 2011). This programme illustrates the importance of emphasising the link between GBV and HIV in people’s actual experiences in order to change people’s attitudes (Ellsberg & Betron, n.d.).

Lesson 3: Comprehensive, multi-faceted strategies work best

Owing to its multi-faceted nature, addressing GBV requires comprehensive, multifaceted strategies that heed structural factors (like poverty, education, housing, unemployment) and socio-cultural one. Rather than stand-alone themes/projects, a co-ordinated, complementary response promotes change at multiple levels (Guedes, 2004). Joint programming of this kind can:

- contribute to progress towards achieving a broader range of the UN Millennium Development Goals;
- improve the effectiveness and coverage of HIV-prevention programmes and thereby contribute to universal access to prevention, treatment, care and support;

- advance other areas of social and economic development, including reducing poverty and increasing educational attainment;
- advance the promotion and protection of human rights and thereby contribute to a decrease in violence against and an increase in access to necessary services; and
- address other important health outcomes beyond HIV: sexually transmitted infections and infertility, unwanted pregnancy, maternal morbidity and mortality, child health, mental health, substance use, education and economic productivity (WHO, 2010:25).

In particular, violence against women, gender inequality and HIV are cross-cutting issues.

HIV programs would be wise to integrate components to address gender-based violence (Guedes 2004:86).

Including violence against women and gender inequality as central programmatic components of HIV prevention increases the overall impact of these programmes, including their cost efficiency (WHO, 2010). Such approaches necessitate strengthening multi-sectoral collaboration.

Examples from Nigeria and Tanzania – Bridges to End Violence, Nigeria [Category 1]; Kivulini, Tanzania [Category 2]

Two examples of promising interventions that take a joint approach are the Nigerian Bridges to End Violence programme and the Tanzanian Kivulini programme (see Table 3.2). These programmes used a combination of community-based approaches, including awareness, education, engagement, and outreach as well as legal advocacy. The Kivulini project, which reached over 75 000 people in one year, also incorporated economic empowerment and capacity building into the intervention, while the Bridges to End Violence intervention established community fora and hotlines to the Ministry of Women Affairs and police stations. Both included HIV/AIDS-related education or information (AIDSTAR-One, 2012). The SASA! Project, mentioned above, also takes a joint approach and is currently under evaluation (Heise, 2011).

Lesson 4: Community mobilisation is effective

Community mobilisation is a part of many promising interventions. This approach works within an ecological model, because it reaches beyond the individual level to the social setting, including relationships, social institutions, gatekeepers, community leaders and so forth (Barker *et al.*, 2007). Such approaches comprise a range of social change strategies and should expand upon workshops and community education approaches (SGJ, 2007a). According to Baker *et al.*, (2007:5): integrated programmes and programmes within community outreach, mobilization and mass-media campaigns show more effectiveness in producing behaviour change.

This approach is deemed to be effective because it:

- shifts gender violence into the public sphere;
- reduces community tolerance for such violence; and
- creates an environment where perpetrators fear their actions (Guedes, 2004).

Involving communities in combating violence against women is important for changing the perception that this issue is a simply a women's issue. Based on this premise, involving men in programmes is seen as vital. Along with men's greater visibility, advocacy approaches to

demand an end to men's violence against women have also been noted to be successful (SGJ, 2007a).

Example from Uganda – Stepping Stones, Uganda [Category 2]

This successful programme uses participatory learning activities based on adult education theory, Freirean models of critical reflection and conscientising (WHO, 2010). This methodology is based upon the premise that education and critical reflection is a means of raising consciousness in order to liberate people from a 'culture of silence' and is particularly relevant to impoverished communities.

Lesson 5: Rights-based and empowerment approaches are crucial for success

Women's empowerment is crucial for reduction of violence against them and to conscientise them regarding their rights (Holmes *et al.* 2010). It is important that:
both men and women feel capable and empowered to act on changed attitudes in their own personal lives as well as in their communities (Ellsberg & Betron, n.d.:3).

One way of achieving this is to help people to feel capable and energised by concentrating on their strengths and community assets as well as solutions and potential action strategies. Since men have frequently been stigmatised and stereotyped as risky or as 'the problem' in relation to violence against women, the challenge is to promote responsibility for sexism but to do so in a respectful way without labelling all men as violent and blame-worthy.

Supporting and challenging teachers and other mentors of young men are crucial to successful outcomes (Ringheim & Feldman-Jacobs, 2004:36–7).

The rights-based approach, which underpins South African legislation and policy, can be a useful way of assisting men to appreciate and comprehend how contemporary gender roles infringe human rights, which were hard won during the country's struggle for democracy. It is possible to demonstrate how oppressive gender power relations mirror historical and class race relations. It is especially important to involve young men – and youth in general – and to address norms and behaviours before they become fixed (Guedes, 2004).

Examples from Uganda and South Africa – Puntos de Encuentro; SASA!/Raising voices, Uganda; One Man Can, South Africa

Puntos de Encuentro and SASA! provide tools for dialogue in everyday life that do not require an expensive new project or a highly skilled facilitator. The South African One Man Can (OMC) programme provides action toolkits.

3.5 Local case studies for the prevention of violence against women

A range of interventions have been conducted by South African civil society including media campaigns to raise awareness and shift gender norms, peer training and community-based workshops, and gender transformative programming (Heise, 2011; Seedat *et al.*, 2009). This section deals with successful approaches and discusses examples actual interventions, as summarised below. Note, however, that approaches are not necessarily mutually exclusive and in practice there may be overlap between the various programmes.

Table 3:3: Overview of approaches reviewed in this section

Type of intervention	Example of actual programme
Awareness campaigns	Soul City
Community-based interventions	Men as Partners (MAP)
Gender-transformative programmes for men	One Man Can
Gender-transformative programmes for youth	Stepping Stones
Gender-transformative programmes for women	IMAGE

3.5.1 Awareness campaigns

Awareness and advocacy campaigns (also referred to as social marketing campaigns or Behaviour Change Communication) are one of the most common strategies used to prevent GBV in low- and middle-income countries (Guedes, 2004; Heise, 2011). Their campaigns are useful for ‘breaking the silence’ about violence against women (Heise, 2011; Womankind, 2007) and they provide a platform for advocacy projects (Heise, 2011). On the other hand, awareness campaigns can be disadvantages since they are:

generally ill-suited to the complex task of shifting social norms ... [because they] are seldom intensive enough or sufficiently theory-driven to transform norms or change actual behaviours. (Heise, 2011:14–5)

A number of South African campaigns have been conducted in, many utilising the edutainment (or education-entertainment) strategy, to address the issue of GBV. This entails the purposeful design of media messages that simultaneously amuse, entertain and instruct, so as to increase the knowledge of audience members, create favourable attitudes, alter social norms, and convert behaviours. The advantage of such an approach is that it may be especially appealing to younger people and affords the opportunity to target those who are still being socialised (Guedes, 2004). Consequently, awareness-raising campaigns are frequently used in schools (Womankind, 2007).

Soul City

Description: Soul City is an NGO that attempts to promote social change, health and development (Usdin *et al.*, 2000). On the basis of research, the campaign integrates social issues into popular, high-quality entertainment formats (Guedes, 2004). Its multi-media awareness campaign is estimated to reach between 12 million (Macleod & Tracey, 2009) and 16 million (Guedes, 2004) South Africans. This is achieved *through a prime time television programme, a daily radio drama, booklets on health topics, a publicity campaign that keeps Soul City within public awareness, and adult education and youth life skills materials* (Macleod & Tracey, 2010:56).

The fourth series of Soul City, in which GBV was a major focus (Usdin *et al.*, 2005), reached 16.2 million people. This series tackled a range of issues such as domestic violence, sexual harassment and date rape (Guedes, 2004).

Strengths: A capacity-building focus that serves to foster of cultural relevance and appropriate local solutions through the recruitment of local staff (WHO, 2010).

Challenges: ‘the potential for divided loyalties, issues of brand association and responsibility for impact, and building and retaining adequate local skills’ (WHO, 2010:22).

Evaluation: Soul City was identified by a number of sources as a promising programme (Guedes, 2004) and as ‘effective’ (Barker *et al.*, 2007). An evaluation of Soul City 4 shows a “consistent association between [the series] and positive change” (Usdin *et al.*, 2005:2443). Both qualitative and quantitative evaluations indicated that the series is associated with: increased knowledge and awareness after exposure to the series positive impact on attitudes

around violence were also affected (e.g., the private nature of violence against women, appropriate responses to such violence and attitudes about its seriousness). Increased interpersonal communication about the violence against women and help-seeking behaviour increasing women's self-efficacy by informing them of their rights and facilitating access to services, as well as raising general awareness about gender roles and equity facilitating the creation of an environment conducive to social change (e.g., implementing a help-line and other services).

However, as is the case with awareness campaigns, evaluators have not been able to determine whether an actual change in violent behaviour toward women occurred and important attitudes regarding gender roles and the cultural acceptability of violence toward wives remained unchanged (e.g., as head of the home a man may beat his wife; it is culturally acceptable for a man to beat his wife) (Guedes, 2004).

3.5.1 Community-based interventions

Community-based work with men and boys, as well as with women and girls, is widely implemented and seeks to promote new gender ideals aimed at eliminating the use of GBV (Greig, *et al.*, 2008). Though community-level interventions vary considerably, ranging from one-off workshops to training that is incorporated into existing platforms (e.g., clubs or micro-finance groups) in order to be successful, it is imperative that such interventions should be embedded in a larger programme of sustained intervention and engagement and based on thorough formative research (Heise, 2011).

The Sonke Gender Justice Network – Men as Partners (MAP)

The Sonke Gender Justice Network promotes gender equality and aims to stem the impact of HIV/AIDS. The network understands men to be part of the solution to combatting gender inequality, and instituted the Men as Partners (MAP) programme across the country. This is a unique example of civil society co-ordinating its efforts at a programme level to improve the status of women in South Africa. MAP was started in 1998 by the Planned Parenthood Association of South Africa (PPASA), and received technical support from Engender Health (an American reproductive health organisation). In partnership these two organisations trained a number of civil society organisations as well as government departments including the South African National Defence Force (SANDF), Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), Aids Consortium and CBO affiliates, among others.

Description: The MAP programme is a community intervention that adopts a rights-based approach and has men at its centre (Peacock & Levack, 2004). The programme has a broad focus based on the recognition that gender inequity contributes to both AIDS and violence against women in South Africa and that men have a personal investment in challenging harmful and restrictive gender roles (Bott *et al.*, 2005; Guedes, 2004).

Working with individual men in community a setting, the programme emphasizes the link between gender violence and HIV and AIDS and promotes active male involvement in reducing both epidemics in South Africa" (UNICEF, n.d., p. 43). It aims to (1) transform the attitudes and behaviours that compromise men's own health and safety, as well as the health and safety of others; and, (2) to encourage men's active responses to GBV and the HIV/AIDS epidemic. (Peacock, 2007).

This programme involves community-based education workshops conducted by female and male facilitators with men and mixed gender audiences, at workplaces, trade unions, prisons

and faith-based institutions and so on (Botts *et al.*, 2005; Guedes, 2004). Community action teams (CATs) also comprise an integral part of SGJ's approach and encourage transformation at both individual and community levels (SGJ, 2007a &b). The processes adopted are *participatory and non-directive, acknowledging the experiences that all participants bring with them. Central to any MAP workshop is the discussion of gender issues – reflecting on participant values about gender, examining patriarchal gender roles, understanding the power dynamics that exist based on gender, assessing gender stereotypes, and sharing male and female perspectives on gender* (Peacock, 2007:4).

Challenges: Some of the challenges particular to this programme are reported by Guedes (2004). These include resistance within communities; women's and men's deeply rooted patriarchal and conservative attitudes; and dependency of peer educators and community action teams on programme stipends.

South African Faith and Family Institute (SAFFI)

The mission of the South African Faith and Family Institute (SAFFI) mission is to create a co-ordinated, multi-sector, culturally competent movement to end violence against women, where religious leaders and faith communities play a pivotal role in holding perpetrators accountable; offering opportunity for truth telling and healing of individuals and families. SAFFI challenges GBV from a theological perspective, patriarchal traditions, and other root causes which violate the image of God in women, children and men introducing scriptural and theological truths, which encourage intimate relationships that set people free to live their full potential in supportive unions.¹⁵

SAFFI offers various services to religious leaders in the form of domestic violence training and consultation services. Some of the services offered include: (i) development of a co-ordinated response and nurture partnerships, which involves the creation of safe spaces for dialogue, engagement and networking between religious leaders, GBV sector and other stakeholders; (ii) education and training, which involves domestic violence and faith issues workshops; and (iii) training to be offered at various training institutions where religious leaders are trained, as well as offering the same training at universities and theological training colleges. Other services are in the form of talks, seminars and conferences by bringing together religious leaders from various faith traditions, government, GBV practitioners and advocates. SAFFI focuses on unpacking the faith issues and drawing on the wisdoms, insights and resources to expand safety options for abused women and their families, whilst holding perpetrators accountable. Capacity building services include professional services and technical support to faith communities such as denomination-specific policies and intervention guidelines; educating GBV and government sectors on the violence-related faith issues and how to collaborate with religious leaders and faith communities. Gender reconciliation involves the creation of safe spaces for healing the gender wound between women and men, which is done in partnership with Satyana Institute Research and Advocacy for legislative reform which expand safety options for abused women and accountability and personal transformation for GBV perpetrators.

SAFFI makes use of pilgrimages to Robben Island to invite women from all walks of life, in both rural and urban areas. It makes use of the opportunities to help women strengthen their capacity to use religion in the context of GBV, while enjoying the opportunity to reflect and

¹⁵ www.saffi.org.za.

understand South African history (the political meaning of the Island), especially for those women who cannot afford a trip to the Island on their own.

3.5.2 Gender-transformative programmes

Research indicates greater efficacy for interventions aimed at transforming ideas about gender than those interventions that are individual-focused and target risk behaviours alone (Dunkle *et al.*, 2007). Implementing agencies have also recognised that changing gender norms necessitates working with both women and men – even if they are addressed separately in same-gender groups. Consequently, there has been a general injunction to adopt ‘gender-synchronised’ approaches; i.e., using the same programmatic umbrella or partnering with other organisations to address: a) men and boys; b) youth; and c) women (Heise, 2011).

Working with men and boys

Global evidence indicates that men need to be actively engaged in supporting women’s empowerment as well as the health and well-being for families if violence against women is to be eradicated (Ringheim & Feldman-Jacobs, 2009). South Africa is widely recognised as a leader of some of the most significant interventions and research focused on men and gender equality and pioneering work with men to achieve gender equality is occurring in South Africa (Peacock *et al.*, 2006; SGJ, 2007a). Yet, for the most part, *work to involve boys in achieving gender equality currently receives very little attention from either government or civil society*” (SGJ, 2007b:7).

In addition, the following shortcomings have been noted in the past (SGJ, 2007a):

- adoption of overly narrow approaches; and
- use of one-off workshops that do not duly consider audience or seek community involvement.

Such an approach cannot promote sustained change and attempts have since been made to do so, notably by Sonke Gender Justice’s (SGJ) Network’s flagship project, One Man Can (OMC), which builds upon the MAP programme (discussed above) (Peacock, 2007). SGJ is a South African-based NGO that works across the continent to reinforce government, civil society and citizen capacity to support men in taking action to promote gender equality, prevent domestic, sexual and GBV, and reduce the transmission and effects of HIV/AIDS. The organisation focuses on providing support to ensure that men’s commitment to preventing violence against women is sustained.

OMC

is a multifaceted, multisectoral, multimodal mass media and community mobilization campaign . . . that explicitly promotes activist and rights-based collective action and links with the historical anti-apartheid struggle and post-apartheid emphasis on building a human rights culture” (WHO, 2010:23). It attempts to simultaneously address the risk of GBV and HIV (WHO, 2010). A particular strength of this campaign is its multisectoral collaborations. These include partnerships with other NGOs that have made a significant contribution to the field as well as with government departments (Peacock, 2007). The intervention makes use of interconnected participatory social change strategies, which are ‘mutually reinforcing, generate important synergies and promote multi-sectoral approaches (Colvin & Peacock, 2009:12) and informed by extensive formative research.

The Sonke Gender Justice Programme: One Man Can (OMC) Campaign

The following are outstanding features of the OMC programme:

Empowerment and advocacy: The founding premise is that men can be constructively involved in curbing violence against women. Positive messaging and constructions of masculinity are intended to mobilise men and boys to take action to end violence against women, reduce the spread of HIV, and to promote equitable relationships between women and men (WHO, 2010; Feldman & Ringheim-Jacobs, 2009). The campaign encourages men to work together with other men and with women to take action, to build a movement, to demand justice, to claim our democratic rights, and to change the world (SGJ, 2007a:33).

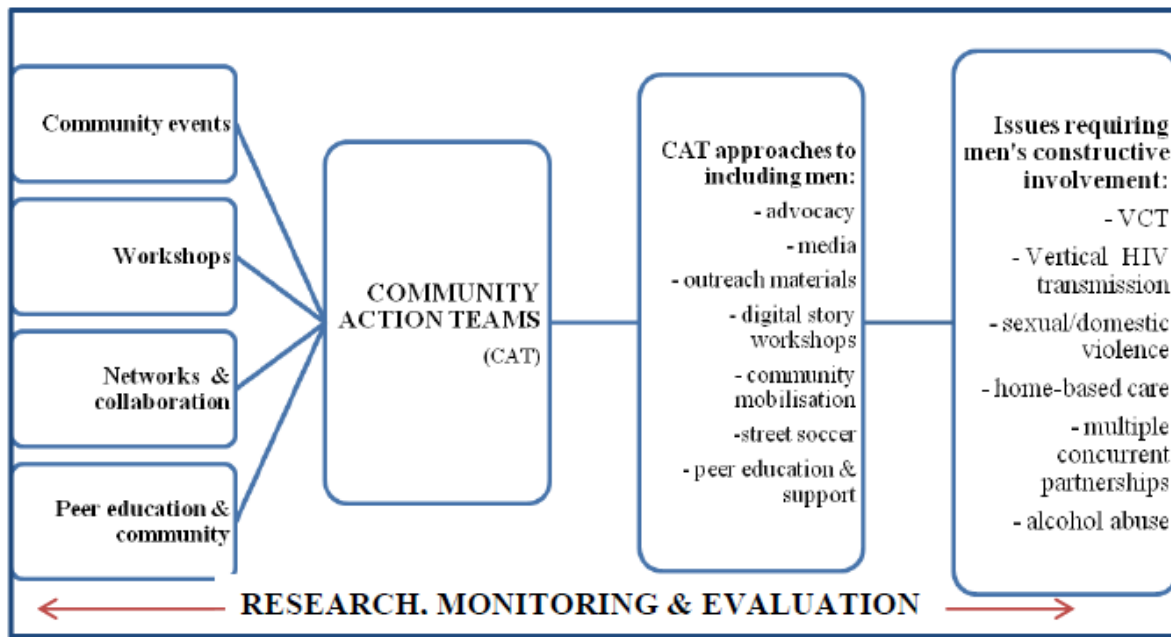
Ecological approach: Based upon an explicit human rights approach, the campaign uses a social ecological model (discussed above) and is thus built upon a spectrum of change that occurs across several levels, including:

building individual knowledge and skills, strengthening organizational capacity, building effective networks and coalitions, community education, community mobilisation, and working with government to promote change in policy and practice (WHO, 2010:23).

This approach is graphically illustrated in Figure 3.4. This model shows the relationship between community education and mobilisation, training, and changes in men's gender-related practices.

Sustaining participation and commitment at the social, political and economic level: The campaign goes beyond prevention and awareness workshops to actively co-opt males into advocacy and care work. Materials, resources, and definite strategies are provided to participants in the form of an action kit (SGJ, 2007a). The programme has reached tens of thousands of people and has been identified as a 'promising practice' (AIDSTAR-One, 2012). A number of indicators were predetermined and targets set in order to monitor and evaluate its impact. The 2009 programme evaluation reported 'very positive' findings overall (Colvin & Peacock, 2009). While the main findings of the impact evaluation indicate that the OMC Campaign was effective in changing behaviour and attitudes at both the individual and community levels, the findings are limited in that they relied on a self-report format and qualitative data. It was therefore not possible to ascertain long-term changes in attitude or behaviour (SGJ, 2009). However, assessments of the programme's impact are on-going and suggest that men who had attended at least one One Man Can event were likely to ... intervene if they witnessed an act of gender-based violence (WHO, 2010:23).

Figure 3:4: One Man Can community mobilisation model



Source: Colvin & Peacock, 2009

Working with youth

A substantial body of South African research on young people, coerced sex and violence, especially within the context of HIV/AIDS has emerged in recent years (Jewkes *et al.*, 2006; Jewkes *et al.*, 1999; Wood & Jewkes, 1997; Wood *et al.*, 1998; Wood *et al.*, 2007; Wood *et al.* 2008). These studies highlight the need to address the underlying gender and power dynamics that contribute to violence against women (Dunkle *et al.*, 2006). Globally, approaches to address GBV among young people have adopted various models, including empowerment of girls and addressing gender norms among female and male teenagers and youths. Programmes that target the youth can assist in changing gendered norms and behaviours before they become firmly established. They may not only limit the amount of GBV that occurs at schools, where sexual violence is more common than many believe, but also set an example for the community about what is acceptable behaviour. Finally, youth programmes may also disrupt the inter-generational cycling of violence (Guedes, 2004).

Stepping Stones

This programme was originally developed for use in Uganda in 1995 and has since been used in more than 40 countries, including South Africa. It is

a participatory HIV prevention programme that aims to improve sexual health by building stronger, more gender-equitable relationships and through this process seeks to reduce gender-based violence (Seedat et al., 2009:1017).

The programme utilises participatory learning approaches, based on adult education theory and Freirian models, involving critical reflection, role play, and drama in man-only or women-only groups and attempts to incorporate everyday realities faced by participants' lives into the sessions (WHO, 2010). An assessment conducted by the Medical Research Council (MRC) showed significant reduction in intimate partner violence (SGJ, 2007a; Seedat et al., 2009; Dunkel et al., 2006, 2007). This is the only intervention outside of North America to show a decrease in male perpetration of GBV (WHO, 2010). There were also changes reported in HIV risk behaviours, such as transactional sex and problem drinking (Greig et al., 2008; WHO 2010). The reason for the efficacy of this programme is that Stepping Stones *addressed gender norms and provided communication skills that could be used to build better relationships, which was seen as a valued outcome by both men and women (Greig et al., 2008:37).*

This project also draws attention to the role of interventions with women that empower them with relationship skills and questions the acceptability of GBV and ideals of femininity grounded either on subservience to men or promiscuity (Greig et al., 2008).

Empowering women

Women empowerment and the development of their capabilities is closely related to their economic self-sufficiency (UNFPA, 2006). The lack of a means to earn an income limits the choices available to women, especially those who are already in abusive relationships. However, assisting women financially is not a simple matter, owing to widespread and deeply-rooted ideas regarding gendered labour roles as discussed at the beginning of this section (Moletsane et al., 2010). Evidence of the impact of micro-finance/micro-credit schemes on the status and power of women within the home and farther afield suggests that micro-financing and/or credit programmes seem to work in two directions simultaneously. On the one hand, these initiatives 'reduce women's vulnerability to violence by strengthening their access to resources and making women's lives more public', but on the other hand, initiatives may 'increase the risk of violence by challenging patriarchal norms and escalating conflict in the household' (Bott et al., 2005:42). The effects of income or employment, as well as property ownership, on women's risk of violence vary contextually. In some settings they serve a protective function, while in others the opposite (Heise, 2011). In South Africa, a meaningful decline in men's violence toward women has subsequently been related to women's participation in an economic and social empowerment initiative (Kim et al., 2007).

The challenge, therefore, is to find ways to maximise the benefits of micro-credit programmes, while mitigating or minimising risks. Programmers must never lose sight of the fact that gender norms play an important role in determining whether economic autonomy may actually increase women's authority and relative power. Research – particularly in relation to sexual and reproductive health –has shown that heterosexual marriage in particular functions as a site of male dominance and is a significant intervening factor in women's autonomy, regardless of income or education (DeRose et al., 2002). Thus, advocacy work might be needed to raise

awareness about issues such as men's burden sharing within households and the importance of women's economic empowerment in terms of the economic costs of the lack of women's contribution to the labour force as a result of violence (Bott *et al.*, 2005; UNFPA, 2005 – cf. Schuler, Hashemi, & Badal, 1998). In addition, involving women and collaborating with them to hear about the realities of their lives and what it is they want and need is important when planning interventions that seek to empower women (e.g., Lambrick & Travers, n.d.).

The Microfinance for AIDS and Gender Equity or IMAGE

This South African initiative is repeatedly singled out as a success story. The poorest women in villages in a rural area of Limpopo were given loans and gender and HIV sessions were conducted during loan repayment visits (Mullick, *et al.*, 2010). This *project showed significant reductions in Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) and strong trends in reducing HIV risk behaviour, by combining a microfinance intervention to relieve women's poverty with a gender-training programme and support for gender transformation within communities, including a focus on reducing gender-based violence (WHO, 2010, p. 27).*

The combination of financing and explicitly addressing the implications of GBV are crucial for success, as Bott *et al.* (2005) stress. In an assessment of the project in rural Limpopo two years subsequent to the intervention showed that there was a 55% decrease in the risk of sexual or physical partner violence targeted at women for the preceding year (Mullick *et al.*, 2010; Seedat *et al.*, 2009). Kim *et al.*, (2009:1800) assert that:
women participating in the IMAGE intervention reported greater household communication and collective action, mobilizing their villages around a range of issues, including violence and HIV infection.

As a result of this success, it was decided that the intervention should be rolled-out to 15 000 in the province (Seedat *et al.*, 2009).

3.6 Challenges and opportunities for civil society organisations

3.6.1 Collaboration with and support from government

Getting strong support to establish effective collaboration with government has proven to be challenging to successful implementation of some programmes by CSOs. An example of the challenge with regard to addressing violence against women has been the inconsistency in government response to violence against women and HIV/AIDS, while focusing on its post-apartheid reconstruction and transformation agenda. The approach has been characterised by poor co-ordination and inclusion of the NGO sector in projects where they could play a crucial role in collaboration with government. Continuous attention needs to be directed at fostering and maintaining cohesion between the various stakeholders (Peacock & Levack, 2004). Nevertheless, the South African government has made some progress towards addressing violence aimed at women and more has been achieved where support has been received from senior government officials (SGJ, 2007a).

Another indicator of lacking government support has been raised by those working in the NGO sector who report a lack of buy-in, support, and participation from men in the South African government in general, despite the isolated champions that do participate in some projects. This is part of a broader, overarching difficulty that organisations encounter when engaging males. Resistance from men is possibly unavoidable, however, since preventing violence against women often requires working with men who hold negative attitudes toward women (SGJ, 2007a).

Britton (2006) points out another difficulty in relation to civil society-government partnerships. She maintains that working with government has not been simple or easy for civil society organisations owing to the political transformation that the country has undergone. As a result, civil society groups have had to walk the fine line between collaborating with the new democratic government while simultaneously monitoring its progress and avoiding being co-opted by it, particularly in light of the need to secure funding. Likewise, NGOs have had to balance their advocacy work with the consultancies they conduct for government in some instances.

3.6.2 Funding and donor conditions

Among the many challenges facing CSOs' work, funding has been identified as a particularly challenging aspect, since most of their work is based on conditions by their parent institutions in donor countries. This is owing to the tension between maintaining autonomy and/or becoming 'technocratic handmaidens' as alluded to by Britton (2006). NGOs find themselves in a quandary, caught between meeting donor expectations or limitations and having their agenda appropriated by them. SGJ (2007a) points out that one of the challenges in their work with men and boys is that international donor funding comes 'with strings attached'. This is especially problematic when foreign donors adopt prescriptive approaches with little or no understanding of local realities. Given the limitation of state funds, NGOs are increasingly dependent on donor funding (The Presidency, 2007; SGJ, 2007a). This is also a problem in relation to the work that NGOs frequently do for government on a contract or consultancy basis, since despite the potential for co-optation, there is a need to have stronger linkages with government to secure funding, ensure trust and facilitate collaboration (Britton, 2006).

3.6.3 Engaging men within feminist organisations

Engaging men has come to be seen by many as the latest 'silver bullet' to achieving gender equality (Meer, 2012) and reduce violence against women in general. However, as interest in men and masculinities in the policy and programming area has increased, so too has ambivalence amongst many feminists in the field about the 'men agenda' (Cornwall & Esplen, 2010). According to Cornwall & Esplen, (2010) many of those working in the field have remained hesitant, tentative, often hostile to the notion that men might be potential allies in the struggle for gender justice. They argue that women's empowerment has fallen by the wayside because of the depoliticising effect of mainstreaming the gender approach.

Gender, stripped of ideas of male privilege and female subordination, has come to mean that women and men suffered equally the costs of the existing gender order (Meer, 2012:4) and feminists are concerned that such uncritical approaches may compound the marginalisation of women's interests (Berer, 1996). This depoliticisation has been further complicated by the growing focus on men in research, policy and interventions.

A central concern therefore is how men ought to be included in interventions, as well as the role that men's organisations should play. The call for gender equity has increasingly been turned into a call for male involvement and participation, in some cases with little or no reference to women and/or little recognition of the fundamental power difference between women and men (Berer, 1996). This challenge is addressed to some degree by the 'men as partners' approach, discussed earlier. This approach attempts to retain a focus on female empowerment by addressing and engaging men as partners, both in the sense of being women's partners as well as in partnering with women to achieve this end goal. The focus is on involving men as instruments of positive change and aims to inform policies and interventions (Browner, 2005; Dudgeon & Inhorn, 2003; Greene, 2002). These interventions seek to address

gender dynamics and many also concentrate on assisting men to question their gender roles in terms of the advantages and disadvantages that these bring them. These programmes seek to engage men constructively in issues around GBV (e.g., Greig *et al.*, 2008; Jewkes *et al.*, 2009; Peacock & Levack, 2004; Stern *et al.*, 2009).

3.6.4 Opportunities

SGJ (2007a) identifies South Africa's history of rights-based activism and ability to mobilise people as a potential opportunity for the work of civil society. Peacock (2003) argues that organisations can draw 'on the rich tradition of community organizing that succeeded in toppling the apartheid regime' in order to enlist men as activists in preventing violence against women. Therefore, although the country's history of hostility and social upheaval has left a legacy of continuing violence, it also provides a unique basis upon which to build interventions and advocacy. Indeed, work with men has revealed some disturbing beliefs and attitudes toward women and gender equity. However, research also indicates that more than half of all men want to end violence against women and are willing to become constructive partners in this endeavour (SGJ, 2007a). A body of effective evidence-based programming has emerged and confirmed that men and boys are willing to change their attitudes and practices and, sometimes, to take a stand for greater gender equality (SGJ, 2007a) as has been witnessed from the programmes listed above.

3.7 Recommendations and policy implications for violence against women

This section of the report has explored violence against women within the South African context, highlighting how this issue is inextricably intertwined with socio-cultural norms pertaining to gender roles, poverty and the country's violent history. However, in reviewing the current efforts to reduce rates of GBV within the country, it is possible to see how certain interventions have harnessed the country's legacy of struggle and human rights activism to mobilise people to act against violence committed against women and girls (Peacock & Levack, 2004). This provides an important lesson for future interventions, namely, the necessity of adopting an overarching human rights perspective. Further important lessons were illuminated in the review of promising practices and international good practice in this section. These are summarised here as recommendations for future interventions. However, before doing so, it is important to recall that the evidence base for interventions to reduce violence against women, particularly in low- and middle-income countries, is compromised by the lack of rigorous evaluations of how effective they have actually been in reducing GBV. Thus, a major endorsement of this section is that priority must be given to the meaningful monitoring and evaluation of GBV reduction programmes, especially those that serve the most disenfranchised women and children in the contexts of poverty (Heise, 2011).

3.8 Summary of recommendations on GBV

A rights-based perspective

This perspective underpins much of South Africa's relevant legislation and policy (Mkhize *et al.*, 2009). Although there are still many obstacles and challenges with respect to the implementation of these policies, it is important to remember the success represented by, and potential that arises from, such rights-based legislation (Macleod & Tracey, 2009). Framing the issue in the rhetoric of rights also allows programmes to understand GBV as an infringement of women's human rights, and how oppressive gender power relations mirror those that have occurred, and still do occur, along other axes of difference such as race or socio-economic status (Peacock & Levack, 2004).

A multi-faceted approach within an ecological framework

Existing evidence points to the complexity of the issue of GBV. The phenomenon is multi-causal and different factors combine to increase the likelihood of different types of violence. However, there is no doubt that socio-cultural norms that produce gender power disparities are an important contributing factor and, moreover, are the very same norms that contribute behaviours that promote the spread of HIV. It is therefore essential to adopt a holistic systemic or ecological framework that combines individual level risk factors with community and society level factors, including gender-based power differentials and relationships. In line with this approach, a multi-faceted, multi-sectoral, and multi-modal model to programming is advocated. Successful and promising interventions have demonstrated that changing deeply held beliefs about gender roles and relations requires comprehensive, multifaceted strategies (SGJ, 2007a). This includes attention to structural factors such as poverty or education. Stand-alone and one off workshop-type interventions are not sufficient to engender the sustained change required to reduce violence against women.

The adoption of a critical and nuanced view of gender

Given the centrality of gender norms in the persistence and maintenance of violence against women, it is essential that programmes aim to transform gender norms. A number of gender-transformative programmes were addressed in this section, including South African undertakings, which have gained international recognition. It cannot be stressed enough, however, that a critical and nuanced understanding of gender is essential for success (Macleod & Tracey, 2009). The following criteria comprise such an understanding, and are found in successful gender transformative interventions: a) an understanding of gender as a social construction; b) critical discussion and questioning of patriarchal attitudes about gender within the intervention; and c) taking into account the other power dimensions and social realities facing participants.

Gender-transformative programmes in dialogue with feminist principles

Gender-transformative approaches also recognise that violence against women will not be effectively eliminated unless both women and men are constructively involved in interventions. In constructively engaging men, it is essential that they are presented as capable partners rather than problems or barriers to women's empowerment and for men to get involved at an early age, before negative beliefs and ideologies take a firm root. However, as South African work with men and boys has emphasised, it is imperative that those working with men collaborate closely with women's advocacy organisations and feminist principles (SGJ, 2007a).

Closer dialogue and accountability offers the potential for ... more rigorous work with men and hopefully greater success in achieving gender equality (SGJ, 2007a:9).

Locate efforts to combat violence against women within broader economic empowerment programmes

When it comes to women's empowerment through economic means, programmes should be carefully monitored in order to ensure that women obtain the maximum benefits of such programmes, while mitigating risks as far as possible. It is recommended that, for this reason, economic empowerment initiatives are embedded within a programme that also works to bring about community-level change, which mitigates the potential disruption that enhancing women's economic activity may bring to patriarchal gender relations.

3.9 Conclusions

In closing, it must be stressed that attention and resources should be devoted to ensuring that primary prevention is given due attention and that any efforts to reduce violence against women target the underlying norms, attitudes, and behaviours of individuals, communities and society. As indicated earlier, evidence suggests that primary prevention of violence against women is a more effective means of lessening GBV as well as HIV prevalence. Furthermore, a human rights perspective insists upon an emphasis on reducing GBV before it begins. However, insufficient attention has been devoted to primary prevention in the South African context (Ellsberg & Betron, n.d; Heise, 2011).

Focusing on primary prevention would mean adopting other important change strategies like advocacy for policy change or rights-based activism, which may be necessary to address structural level issues like poverty, for example. Another significant policy implication is in relation to the recommendation of involving men in interventions. As noted earlier in this report, men are often viewed from a problem perspective to GBV. This is reflected in public policy where constructions of masculinity *often become evident in law and policy when these instruments engage with the criminal, antisocial or destructive behaviors of men. Public policy is thus generally geared to limit, constrain or punish men's behavior. Much less often is policy framed as providing an opportunity to change constructions of masculinity [and femininity] in a positive way as part of a broader social project of building gender equity in society through constructive engagement with men and boys* (Barker et al., 2010:54).

A crucial move, therefore, would be to frame policy in such a way that recognises the role of men as potential partners in changing detrimental gender constructions and the broader social project of building gender equity in society.

4 CIVIL SOCIETY CO-ORDINATION

4.1 Introduction and Background

Section four of this report focuses on the role of civil society co-ordination and how it can facilitate change for women and poor families in the context of gender. The section further covers best practice models for civil society co-ordination and identifies opportunities and challenges in doing so. A summary of key lessons on civil society co-ordination is below.

Civil society co-ordination requires:

- Broad representation;
 - Organisational skill, with the ability to move from grassroots settings to policy dialogue;
 - Consensus building across strategic partnerships;
 - Resources and funding;
 - Building on existing networks;
 - Communicating what is taking place within the sector;
 - Communicating with the public; and
 - Institutional mechanisms which interface with government.
- (adapted from Hodes, *et al.*, 2011 and Leftwich & Wheeler, 2011)

While there is much literature on NGOs and CSOs in terms of management, good governance, and their relationship with government, there is less literature available on the intricacies and complexities of co-ordination itself. In this regard, the most written about are coalitions (referring to a group formed temporarily to work toward a common cause, with the aim to solve collective action problems (Leftwich & Wheeler, 2011) within the sector, which provides good lessons for different groups in the sector working together to bring about change. As noted in the SAWID concept note (*Joining Forces for Gender Equality and Inclusive Development: South African Women as Champions of Change*, June 2012):

women lack the tools to share useful information regards women's empowerment efforts, and the 'teeth' to enforce empowering gender legislation (SAWID, 2012:2).

In this regard, attention will be drawn to examples where groups in the women sector in South Africa have worked together to bring about change, and also look more broadly to other civil society movements which, through co-ordinating their efforts, have effected change in their area of interest (offering pragmatic programmatic insights into the challenges of organising across a broad sector). Anderson (2000) remarks that advocacy efforts, and the NGO sector more broadly, have come a long way since their beginnings. Civil society has learnt to use political processes, structures and institutions, partnering with multilateral agencies, and has become more effective in interacting with one another, including North-South relations, creating networks and alliances to effect change. This demonstrates the large scope of what could be considered 'civil society co-ordination'. Co-ordination in this section is understood as a broad organisational principle that would streamline the work taking place in civil society and is present in organisational partnerships, sectoral coalitions and grassroots alignments.

Available literature on co-ordination shows that the disparities within the civil society¹⁶ sector often pose the greatest challenges to co-ordination efforts. Stakeholders in this sector have

¹⁶ There is a vast range in differing civil society organisations. For instance, in the South African context, there are very small community-based organisations, with limited resources and capacity, and yet also part of civil society are international NGOs with huge scope and influence, such as the United Nations bodies (e.g. UNICEF and

varying degrees of competence, capacity, and resources. They are also geographically dispersed, often with those needing the greatest support living in rural areas. Larger, more powerful NGOs often have the skills and resources (for example international NGOs such as Oxfam and Save the Children), but not the broad-based grassroots support they need to bring about change with ‘one voice’, and to speak with first-hand experience from these communities (Hodes *et al.*, 2011). Conversely, those with detailed insight into community realities are unable to move beyond their localities to enter broad policy debates and advocate for change at that level. This is common for all CSO work in general, and is true in South Africa in particular.

A necessary reason for civil society co-ordination is that with the post-1994 proliferation of NGOs, CBOs and NPOs in South Africa, often there are multiple organisations doing similar work,¹⁷ within the same community. Indeed this was noted in the Department of Social Development’s assessment of the NPO Act of 2005, which states that *lack of co-ordination with stakeholders and with other NGOs can lead to the duplication of services and fragmentation of delivery* (DSD, 2005:48).

Without sufficient co-ordination, these development practitioners and activists work in silos, creating fragmentation, rather than building social cohesion and social capital¹⁸ within communities. Co-ordination is thus the cornerstone of solidarity and efficiency in working toward the alleviation of poverty for the most vulnerable.

4.2 Definitions and the idea of civil society

‘Civil society’ is a broad term that has been used in a variety of ways and contexts, rendering the term a broad meaning and application depending on the prevailing conditions and the associated work. According to Lewis (2002, in Thompson & Conradie, 2011), civil society is a ‘loose analytical category’ that refers to processes of political engagement between state and societal actors. Civil society can refer to NGOs, CBOs, NPOs, activists, faith-based organisations, and more. It is a term that refers to both highly skilled and well-resourced international NGOs (INGOs), such as UNICEF, ILO and the World Bank, as well as to the smallest community gathering. Between these multiple organisations there are various institutions, which include associations, movements and networks, which play an important role in community organisation, service provision, and policy and advocacy activities (DSD, 2005).

Thus, in pulling together strategies for these diverse groups, there are multiple factors that must be taken into account, and no single model can be suitable to these varying actors.

UNDP). Finding a forum within which these different groups can equitably relate to one another is a very difficult task.

¹⁷ For example, the following NGOs all work within the HIV/AIDS sector: [Aids Consortium](#), [Aids Foundation of South Africa](#), [AIDS Law Project](#), [Centre for Aids Development, Research and Evaluation](#), [Centre for the Aids Programme of Research in South Africa](#), [Centre for HIV/Aids Networking](#), [Children in Distress Network](#), [HIV for South Africa](#), [National Association of People Living with HIV/AIDS - SA](#), [Nurturing orphans of AIDS for Humanity](#), [Soul City Institute for Health and Development Communication](#), [Treatment Action Campaign](#) (accessed, <http://www.ngopulse.org/article/guide-hivaids-ngos-south-africa>, 15 July 2012).

¹⁸ Social capital refers to social relations that bring about productive effects. It is a highly contested concept, especially within notions of civil society action. For more comprehensive definitions, and academic references to this debate, please see: <http://www.socialcapitalresearch.com/definition.html> (accessed on 15 July 2012).

This understanding of civil society as a partner of government is a departure from the view of Taylor, who argues that ‘civil society is a sphere free of associations’ independent of state power’ (Taylor, 1995 in DSD, 2005:24). The goal of civil society is to influence public policy, but not perform the role of government itself. As it will be noted later in this section, this is a central tension for South African civil society in terms of how to monitor government operations, while being a partner, as it presents a potential tension in the relationship between CSOs and government that needs to be managed over time. What is consistent across all these forms of civil society however is the fact that they are associational, and consider a relationship between society and the state ‘as both mutually constitutive but also as an arena of contestation’ (Thompson & Conradie, 2011:47). Oomen (1996) has described civil society as an autonomous space between the state and the market. This is debateable though, because of the interplay and dependency between state, market and civil society actors. Nevertheless, civil society could be described as a third space of engagement.

But does working together as civil society members, in a co-ordinated manner assume unity of opinion? As will be discussed in some of the case studies later in the section, the multifarious nature of civil society working towards one goal might in fact draw incorrectly on the idea of consensus or unity. Every actor, both individual and organisation joins the civil movement from a different socio-economic and cultural location and this will affect how they work together.

Having conceptually examined the idea of civil society, we now turn to a brief literature review of civil society efforts at co-ordination, looking beyond South Africa for lessons, while examining South African examples.

4.3 Literature review

4.3.1 Lessons from the Global South

In this section lessons are drawn from other countries’ practices of civil society co-ordination, and we look for pointers and common factors to what might represent a ‘best practice’ model. Again, the vast nature of the idea of civil society must be emphasised, and that co-ordination can mean different things in different contexts and in different time periods. However one common theme that emerges is the need to co-ordinate a project’s efforts with the policy environment within which it operates. Thus, there must be attention at the programme level as well as on national instruments that will ultimately affect the efficacy and sustainability of the projects and programmes at hand, and the broad societal-level changes that are possible. There should be a two-pronged approach to civil society co-ordination, namely: a) one approach of engaging grass-roots communities; and b) another approach of engaging policy makers. Very different skills are required in those different contexts to bring about successful change. Not all lessons offered here are related specifically to gender relations or poverty reduction; rather the spotlight falls on broad principles that are necessary when working towards civil society co-ordination.

The first lesson is drawn from a women empowerment project in Mozambique, which focuses on enterprise development.

Example from Mozambique – The Women Entrepreneurship Development and Gender Equality (WEDGE)

This project, which receives support from the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (NORAD), works to create enabling environments for women's entrepreneurship by providing developing tools to cope in the business environment, to increase their productivity. WEDGE works on three levels: a) *at the macro level*, the project aims to mainstream gender in national policies, which requires working in partnership with government, in particular the Ministry of Women and Social Affairs; b) *at the meso-level*, tools developed by the ILO have been introduced to the entrepreneurs, and a cascading model of those trained, training others, has been adopted; and c) *at the micro level* more technical supervision is given to the beneficiaries (ILO, 2011). Therefore, by co-ordinating these three levels within one programme, systemic and individual change is brought about in society.

Women are encouraged to become more self-reliant and a supportive policy environment is being developed in conjunction with their burgeoning skills. WEDGE Mozambique trained 84 trainers between 2009 and 2010¹⁹, and an impact assessment found trainers to be replicating the tools they acquired to promote job creation. Some 1 070 growth-orientated women entrepreneurs have participated in some form of training facilitated by WEDGE. This has fostered social capital among the women involved, and this capital is being reinforced by a conducive policy environment.

The second lesson for co-ordination is drawn from examples and activities of NGOs in Iran, which led to the formation of women co-operatives and increased participation of women in general. The reason for including this example is to show that work of CSOs can improve the lives of women, even in societies where women are not expected 'to take the forefront in decision making issues' due to religious norms and practices like those common in Iran.

Example from Iran – Co-operatives

In Iran there has been a large increase in the number of NGOs, which are seen as integral to the democratisation and development agenda in that country (Povey, 2004). In rural Iranian areas, NGOs have been crucial in developing and supporting strategies that are helping women to access employment and participate in income-generating activities. This development approach in rural areas has been brought about through co-operatives (voluntary groups of people, working together for economic, social and other benefits). Although the number of co-operatives formed in Iran represents a small proportion of the female population in that country, the work of NGOs in that area is worth noting given the prevailing historical and religious practices that regulate women's activities in particular. For instance in 2002, 100 co-operatives were registered with the UNDP, comprising 2 000 female development workers, while in Iran there are over 11 421 320 rural women (Povey, 2004). Part of the challenge in this context has been cultural issues over how men conceive the role of women and finance in rural Iranian society.

A similar example is drawn from India where women had to cross cultural and religious boundaries to participate in empowerment projects to form micro-enterprises.

¹⁹ Refer to the ILO website for details on this project. A good analysis would have been supported by statistical trends on the number of women who benefited from the project over time, but such data are not available.

Example from India – Micro enterprises

The cultural issues of how men conceive the role of women and finance has also been noted with microfinance projects involving women in India (Leach & Sitaram, 2002). While it is essential that local people are involved in project design so that the projects are accepted by the communities they serve, this must be held in tension with the imperative to challenge inequitable gender norms.

In this regard, co-ordination becomes difficult because women have not traditionally been involved in collective action, and this is intimately tied up with the democratisation struggle in the country, as well as patriarchal gender relations (Povey, 2004). Furthermore, the success of projects that rely on social capital (e.g. of a group of women), to challenge the dominant gender norms in society should not be naïve about the power of dominant groups to exclude them. For instance in India, women's micro-enterprises, despite strong group cohesion among the women, and with NGO support, were unable to manoeuvre within a male-dominant economic environment. Neglecting this challenge compromised the longevity and sustainability of women's micro-enterprises, because once the NGO concluded its project, the 'implementers' left the locale (Leach & Sitaram, 2002). In this example, the NGO failed to address the social gendered dynamics that would have allowed the women to use their skills and continue with the project when they no longer had the 'protective' in situ support of the NGO.

In understanding social exclusion, a static approach, addressing only one factor of exclusion, will not result in a positive outcome. Rather, a relational understanding of social exclusion is needed that focuses on the various processes and factors that converge to prolong the exclusion of certain groups (Sen, 2000).

The next example is from Brazil where civil society co-ordinated engaging grassroots men and women to mobilise political support to control the use and ownership of guns. This activism which grew from a grassroots base to gain political support helped discourage the notion of political dictatorship and led to policy change and improved regulation of guns.

Example from Brazil – Social movement for gun control – Viva Rio (VR)

If one examines the social movement in Brazil to combat gun violence, it is clear that mobilising and co-ordinating civil society to collectively respond to an issue requires what Kirsten (2004) has called ‘catalyst events’ that lead to social mobilisation with the goal of policy change. In Brazil, as has been the case in other countries, the social movement for gun control required grassroots support from the local level to create real change in communities, not just to lobby for policy change or legal reform, but to continue to exercise influence governance at the political level.

Viva Rio (VR) was a key organisation in this political movement, which had grown out of political activists who had opposed military dictatorship in the 1960s. VR’s work in the *favelas* (Portuguese word for an informal settlement type shantytown, colloquially referred to in English as a ghetto), like the Mozambican example also had three components, as follows: a) Phase 1 was to start a pilot project at the grassroots level through political activism; b) Phase 2 involved partnership with the state through co-ordinated efforts from both the communities and the state; and c) the last phase involved facilitating change in public policy to ensure successful implementation of the project and lasting legacy of influencing public policy, which led to reduced violence in general.

The idea was to test the feasibility of a project idea, and then get the state to replicate this project in other areas, thus working alongside the state, and securing its buy-in. In influencing public policy change,²⁰ there was the need to broaden their support base which was done through engaging the media and police, using research data around gun violence to influence public opinion (Kirsten, 2004).

4.3.2 Challenges limiting effective co-ordination of civil society

As can be seen in the Mozambican and Indian examples above, social capital is a core issue in co-ordinating women’s sector development. This is particularly true when one considers how to bridge the gap between grassroots project concerns and elevating these to the policy domain for debate. As will be seen in the following section, to build this kind of social capital in order to bring about change may require an active partnership between the elite/privileged and the poor in society. While this may at first seem paradoxical, it is the case that elite groups can offer skills, resources and access to networks that disadvantaged communities lack.

This principle was demonstrated in Bangladesh, where a programme working with some ‘ultra poor’ rural women involved the elite in their communities in anti-poverty strategies to develop ‘horizontal networks’, thereby building the social capital of the poor (Hossain & Matin, 2007).

A study in a low-income urban settlement in Guatemala helps to identify factors that may impede the development of social capital. The study noted that beyond well-known hindrances (such as violence, corruption and an authoritarian state limiting civil participation), the top-down approach to development by many ‘northern-led’ NGOs also hampered the development of social capital. This was because development strategies were often not community-based, thereby creating dependence on the outside NGO, as noted by Abom (2004). To create a

²⁰ The impact of this co-ordinated effort was legal reform, and Brazil became the first country that called a referendum on its national gun laws. The government restricted gun ownership through increasing the applicable age limit, and introduced gun registration. The laws also made provisions for an amnesty on illegal weapons.

sustainable grassroots civil society environment in which CBOs partner and co-ordinate with one another and with relevant NGOs, the focus must be on developing the capacities of the local communities, i.e., they must go beyond focusing only on service provision.

Having looked at lessons from other countries, we now turn to the South African experience of civil society organisation, looking at previous research done and models adopted to formalise civil society co-ordination.

4.4 The South African experience

4.4.1 Civil society co-ordination models and experiences in South Africa

In the following section a number of case studies will demonstrate the complexities of civil society co-ordination in South Africa and the accompanying challenges they face at different levels of engagement. The term co-ordination is broad, and can refer to community-level organisation across groups as well as higher level coalitions that seek to influence policy and reform legal instruments. There are also more medium to large size NGOs that campaign around particular issues. All of these different instances of civil society co-ordination require a broad base of support to be able to claim the legitimacy that goes along with representing civil society. There are various models for doing so, and concomitant challenges with these approaches.

People Opposing Women Abuse (POWA)

The People Opposing Women Abuse (POWA) programme started in 2008 by identifying the needs of organisations dealing with GBV. POWA realised that organisations with resources are mostly based in cities, which makes it difficult for those based in less well-resourced provinces to provide services to women effectively and efficiently. POWA started sector strengthening as one of its key strategies to build capacity of organisations in provinces where there is a lack of services for women survivors of violence. This project was also a response to a need identified by women from various provinces to be capacitated to support one another through experiences of violence.

Key results from POWA's assessment of its sector strengthening work

The Sector Strengthening strategy of POWA was first implemented in five provinces, namely Gauteng, Limpopo, Mpumalanga, Free State and the North West. As much as organisations participating in this project were community-based, there were substantial differences in their capacity to provide services to women survivors of violence. Some were already registered NPOs while others were groups of women who had identified a need to support other women survivors of violence in their communities. In 2009, POWA conducted a review of the project to assess the impact of its capacity building initiatives in this regard.

Review of sector strengthening: POWA had to review the progress of organisations that participated in the project since 2004. The review was useful in highlighting the challenges organisations encountered after receiving sector-specific trainings on domestic and sexual violence. The review also discovered that some of the organisations had closed down due to a number of challenges. For example, when the founder of the organisation got a job, volunteers felt they did not have enough capacity to continue with the work of the organisation. This review indicated a great need for organisations to develop mechanisms that would help them provide services effectively. The results of the review have enabled POWA to respond by providing training to strengthen the sustainability of organisations.

Support for improved structures for helping organisations: Before POWA conducted

organisational development workshops; organisations were providing services in a haphazard way. The training workshops assisted organisations to develop teams led by co-ordinators suited to the types of services they provided, e.g. counselling volunteers, shelter organisers, project co-ordinators and fundraising co-ordinators. For example, in the Nebo Victim Empowerment Centre in Limpopo, the fundraising team raised funds for a vehicle to transport clients to the shelter for survivors. The National Lottery Development Trust provided funding for the vehicle in 2011. Organisations are now more confident about sending proposals to various donors and local businesses to support their work.

Registration of non-profit organisations: One of the women's groups – Home of Hope – was registered as an NPO after organisational development workshops identified this as an important priority. Having developed clear roles and responsibilities among themselves, the women at Home of Hope gathered together the necessary documents and the registration process was initiated. The organisation has been registered with Department of Social Development and is working closely with Mafikeng Victim Empowerment Unit as one of the few organisations supporting women survivors of violence in rural North West.

Strengthened partnerships with local stakeholders: After organisational development training, another organisation – Aganang Community centre in Mafikeng – participates in stakeholder forums. One of these forums is the Victim Empowerment Forum which meets once a month. As Aganang is the only organisation in the area that supports women survivors of violence, it is viewed as an important source of information and support on this issue. The organisation recognised a need to build capacity of volunteers to better support women survivors of violence, so they applied for funding to run workshops on domestic and sexual violence. A three-year service agreement was signed in 2011 with the North West Department of Social Development which provides a secure source of funding to Aganang Community Centre. The growth of the organisation is demonstrated by the fact that it has employed two counsellors. An auditor provides services to the organisation at no cost. In 2011, another organisation, Nebo Victim Empowerment, also managed to raise funds to engage local stakeholders on developing strategies to provide integrated services to women survivors of violence.

Commitment from volunteers: Organisational development workshops assisted volunteers to gain a better understanding of the work of their organisations and they are currently holding regular staff meetings that are documented and the minutes are filed. Policy development process which took place during organisational development workshops assisted in creating a sense of ownership of the work of the organisation among volunteers. Volunteers participated in developing policies on such matters as volunteer management, conflict resolution, and management policy.

POWA continues to work with home-based care organisations as part of recognising the links between HIV/AIDS and GBV, as well as strengthening women rights sector in the country. This work was a result of numerous requests the organisation received from HBC organisations nationally as their staff were confronted with women survivors of violence during home visits. Resource constraints have hampered POWA from working with HBC organisations in all five provinces, so it currently only works in Gauteng. However, continued efforts are being made to build the capacity of organisations outside Gauteng.

Street Committees in Khayelitsha

An example of participatory engagement shows how community members can play a role in a certain 'space' within their respective communities. In research on women's participation in an intermediary organisation in site C, Khayelitsha, Thompson and Conradie (2011) located women's mobilisation and organisation by analysing how 'spaces' for participation are created. Cornwall and Coelho (2007, cited in Thompson & Conradie, 2011) argue that the participatory sphere comprises different types of space, and often these spaces are created by government.

However, within these spaces, it is the differing groups that comprise civil society which invigorate this space, giving meaning to citizenship through claiming rights, and participating in civic responsiveness. In their case study of site C, in Khayelitsha Thompson and Conradie focused on women who had participated in income-generating projects (IGPs). These projects found their base in what the people of that area call 'street committees' (SCs), a popular form of mobilisation during the apartheid era. To date, this space has been reinvented for civic participation in new ways. The street committees, organised through South African National Civics Organisation (SANCO), have become a form of community governance.

Issues discussed within the SC are a means of collectively interacting with civil society organisation in the areas, such as the Khayelitsha Development Forum (KDF), and also with government structures. However a concern is that because of socio-economic disadvantage often what can be noted as civic engagement at this level, does not translate into 'upward' forms of participation which are capable of effecting larger scale change.

SANCO, the more national structure, with political affiliation to the African National Congress is different to the KDF which is a localised structure, which claims to be less partisan, and rather forms an umbrella body for all the development-focused NGOs (almost 100) working in Khayelitsha. The layered and multiple structures that exist within and alongside the street committees complicate the possibility for co-ordination beyond this localised level. How do women experience their political identities within these spaces of community-based civil society co-ordination? At Site C, the majority of members of SCs are women and this level of civil structure is used to find local solutions to problems in the immediate locale. If there is need to elevate the issues raised at the SC level, they are taken to the SANCO General Council meeting for Site C. In this higher level forum however the leadership is mostly male (Thompson & Conradie, 2011), which leaves the plight of women in the hands of men for the final decisions affecting women and their communities. As issues are moved up through the structures, the representation becomes increasingly male. This phenomenon has been noted elsewhere concerning women's access to power and decision-making (Rispel & Popay, 2009). Thus, in terms of attention paid to issues through this form of civic co-ordination, Thompson and Conradie (2011) note that gendered decision-making seems to be subsumed in community level decision-making procedures.

During interviews done with women involved in the SCs, when asked about what democracy and citizenship meant to them, they referred to housing, water and other services provided by government, or grants (Thompson & Conradie, 2011). This is a problem in terms of critical engagement with the state, because their citizen engagement is only at the level of basic service provision, not at the level of policy. Women, then, have been able to increase their participation in decision-making forums in Khayelitsha, but the challenge of transforming the top tiers of leadership remains. Importantly, though, to effect change in society through making use of these community structures that comprise both government and civil society, it seems that political party affiliation plays a big role in determining people's effectiveness and

opportunities to impact on change. This is highlighted in the case of SANCO, which trades on historical political alliances (Thompson & Conradie, 2011).

Finally, competition over scarce resources in poverty stricken areas, and vying for employment opportunities, affects the potential for civil society co-ordination. As Thompson and Conradie (2011) note, even the most basic socio-economic issues become politicised in this under-resourced environment. For this reason, even though women are becoming enabled in terms of civil society structures, this does not simply lead to direct poverty alleviation. The result is great frustration for the poor, even when they engage civically.

Women's National Coalition on the Sexual Offences Bill

The National Working Group on Sexual Offences (NWGSO, hereafter called the Working Group) was formed to influence the reform of South Africa's national rape laws. This working group became the biggest civil society coalition to bring about law reform in South Africa since 1994 (Hodes *et al.*, 2011). This women's coalition drew on and expanded its elite networks to exploit 'political and institutional arrangements to build developmental partnerships' (Hodes *et al.* 2011).

Forming civil society coalitions around an issue requires key political analytical skills for an incisive understanding of the issue at hand and to be able to establish the changes that can arise through this kind of co-ordinated action (Hodes *et al.*, 2011). There are many reasons why organisations might choose to join coalitions, including building their own capacity and skills base, to develop networks in the area, and to increase their influence. Given the sophisticated set of skills and resources needed to co-ordinate disparate organisations on a single issue, it is often the case that organisations with the best skills, wide-reaching networks and secure resource base are more likely to drive lead coalitions (Hodes *et al.*, 2011). This introduces the aspect of power distribution between organisations into the issue of co-ordination between grassroots organisations, and technically capable organisations. Which way should co-ordination happen: top down, or bottom up? As is evident from this case study, it seems that both directions are needed in order to build credibility of a movement, and effectiveness and efficiency in achieving a movement's goals. Crucially, for co-ordination to occur, funding is needed from donors specifically for this purpose, to promote collective action between members and sectors in civil society (Hodes *et al.*, 2011).

In this example the relative success of the coalition was due to a number of factors, including expertise in legal advocacy and women's rights; demographic diversity; establishing a broad support base; building internal consensus; invoking a human rights framework; and maintaining and deploying political alliances. This coalition realised substantive improvements on rape laws and policies in South Africa. The existence of the working group and coalition also meant that despite the immediate aims for rape law reform, organisation within civil society was improved, and the collaborative networks within the women's sector were expanded (Hodes *et al.*, 2011).

This kind of legal activism was premised on successful examples of co-ordinated coalitions that have realised their goals. For example, the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) brought a legal case against the Department of Health in 2001 to provide public access to antiretroviral treatment for HIV/AIDS. This kind of activism requires a democratic state in which the rule of law is sound, and also constant monitoring on the part of civil society (Hodes *et al.*, 2011). Furthermore a broad cross-section of civil society organisations from NPOs to faith-based organisations worked together to realise this goal.

A lesson that can be learnt from co-ordinated coalitions is that the timeframes are lengthy. For instance the Working Group was started in 1999 by a group of women's lobbyists on rape law reform, and the reformed bill was only published in the Government Gazette in 2003 (Hodes *et al.*, 2011). This is a lengthy period of time to keep groups engaged and co-ordinated, given the dynamic and changing nature of the NGO sector. While there were setbacks to working in a coalition, overall the experience of working within this coalition offered empowering opportunities. For instance, organisations working in similar areas could now be co-ordinated, and they could share what they were doing, which created a sense of solidarity, and also broadened the group's available knowledge base (Hodes *et al.*, 2011). Drawing on each other's experiences meant that a more informed and richer picture of the South African women's sector was represented and taken into account.

The Working Group's successes included substantive changes to the rape laws and policies in this country; the women's sector became more organised; there were strengthened civil society alliances; and valuable lessons were learned about advocacy and political participation in legal reform (Hodes *et al.*, 2011).

4.5 Impact on employment creation through civil society co-ordination

While CSOs have been, and continue, to play a critical role in employment creation as shown by examples from this report, the extent to which the goal of employment creation can be achieved may depend on the CSO's developmental goal based on its mandate. If the basic needs of people are to get jobs, their role as volunteers in CSO project work aimed at benefits for society may be compromised due to competing interests. For instance, in the Khayelitsha example, the KDF is the most powerful body because it ultimately decides on who gets access to employment opportunities when these become available in the area. Competition thus begins between organisations to show their members about their significance and ability to exercise influence. Thus being engaged in development work may often be about finding forms of employment, and so this kind of necessary fickle commitment to structures can undercut development work that is taking place (Thompson & Conradie, 2011).

Nevertheless, there are some positive examples. For instance, in 2009 a local government development initiative was planned in Khayelitsha that was going to use outside contractors. Through co-ordination of the SANCO, KDF and city ward forum, the city was persuaded to use leaders from the community as project managers (Thompson & Conradie, 2011). Incidentally, women leaders were appointed as managers.

Du Toit (2005) argues that government has a strong policy instrument at its disposal for the creation of employment through social service provision co-ordinated through civil society. She argues that a large number of jobs can be created through social development services, alongside traditional expanded public work programmes. Basic social development needs programmes, such as home-based care and early childhood development could be used to create affordable employment for participating communities through engaging civil society.

For women who are trapped in poverty, working in HBC or ECD does present an opportunity for working towards gender equity and empowerment of women. As Du Toit (2005) notes, often these care-based services are undervalued because they are seen as 'women's work'. In many cases this caring work is seen as 'free' domestic work, but this could be converted more systematically into a form of paid employment through using the influence of civil society structures in a co-ordinated fashion.

4.6 Challenges and opportunities arising from a civil society co-ordination

4.6.1 Institutional arrangement between government and CSOs

Britton (2006) notes that organisations in the women's sector in South Africa have become the primary contract agents for government in terms of social service delivery, but that many of these service providers are confused about the bureaucratic relationship between themselves and the government. Thus, institutional arrangements pose a challenge to effective co-ordination among civil society actors. There need to be clear lines of communication between national and provincial government departments, and then with civil society (Du Toit, 2005). There is the danger that through this service delivery (which has been lauded as a means of job creation in civil society), these groups, which should be holding government accountable for delivery, in fact become 'technocratic handmaidens' for government (Britton, 2006:145).

Post-apartheid South African civil society at times presents difficult tensions between stakeholders in government and NGOs. Often organisations find themselves rhetorically aligned with government, but they also need to critique and monitor government for not moving beyond rhetoric (Britton, 2006). Over and above this tension is the symbiotic relationship that has emerged between civil society and government since 1994. Civil society and government have become intermeshed through service delivery, especially in the women's sector, by becoming contracted to government for providing services such as counselling, shelters and legal assistance (Britton, 2006).

The best practice example of collaboration between government and civil society that is illustrated in the Isibindi case should be strengthened and expanded to other key players to make public-private partnerships more effective. By providing resources including finance, government can improve efficiency and effectiveness in service delivery.

4.6.2 Limited funding opportunities for CSO work

Since 1994 after the dawn of democracy in South Africa, most international development funding has gone to the state, which then disperses it to what it considers to be relevant organisations. This places NGOs in a double bind, requiring them to keep their funder (government) happy, while at the same time playing the role of the vigorous watchdog on government activities. A result of this funding structure is that civil society organisations are now competing with one another to provide services for government (Britton, 2006). This provides serious challenges for partnerships and co-ordination in civil society, because those that should be allies are now competing with one another for financial survival.

A further challenge that exists at this civil society/government funding nexus is the capacity of government to effectively administer funds (Britton, 2006). Some NGOs have noted that one of the struggles they face is that government does not, or is administratively incapable of, dispensing all the funds they have available, and government also struggles to transfer funds between sectors (e.g. from HIV/AIDS to gender-based violence). There is no mechanism to co-ordinate through these kinds of challenges, which frustrates NGOs, and makes the work they are engaging in vulnerable to disruption through the administrative competencies of government.

4.6.3 Voluntarism versus employment creation

While it is desirable to create jobs within the civil society sector, this might not always be possible. Civil society in large part is premised on the idea of voluntarism, and this ethos

should not be lost, even in the face of the challenge of poverty. Voluntarism increases a community's social capital because of the social networks that are built by work that is being done, that would otherwise have to be paid for by private capital or simply overlooked (Du Toit, 2005:668). This valuable characteristic of civil society voluntarism should be fostered, because it is the ingenuity of fostering social capital that may lead to sustainable change in society for women.

The institutionalisation of the women's sector and what Britton calls the 'NGO-isation' of South Africa (2006:162), represents both an opportunity and challenge for civil society co-ordination. This institutionalisation is in part the result of civil society organisation that is now recognised, whereas under apartheid, it was prohibited. This presents an opportunity for partnerships and working together, but also may mean a limit to the radical nature of civil society politics, especially if many NGOs are, to all intents and purposes, service providers for government.

4.7 Recommendation of best practice model for civil society co-ordination

The following criteria need to be taken into account when working toward civil society co-ordination models in South Africa (adapted from Hodes *et al.*, 2011):

- Broad representation, including under-represented groups such as rural women, and the economically disadvantaged;
- The capacity, influence and expertise of stakeholders that can work across contexts;
- The capacity building of civil society across all areas (human, financial and skills resources);
- Leadership that is able to build consensus, and work with a range of stakeholders;
- Funding and resources to facilitate the logistics any form of co-ordination may entail;
- Building on existing networks to increase influence and efficacy; and
- Frequent communication that includes all stakeholders.

One way to strengthen collaboration between government and the private sector through civil society co-ordination is to convene a donor conference, where all stakeholders will come together to share views and opinions on the best funding model for civil society. This could also be used as a platform for civil society to make government aware of their funding needs and to ensure its commitment towards funding of relevant projects, similar to the current collaboration between government and Isibindi. Another good example to foster successful civil society co-ordination would be to follow the Sonke Gender Justice Spectrum of Change presented earlier, and summarised in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1: Recommended steps for best practice model: The SGJ model

Spectrum level	Examples
Working with government to influence policy and legislation	Work with government to develop and implement male involvement strategies to promote gender equality
Rights based community mobilisation and advocacy	Support community members to support and hold government and civil society accountable
Fostering coalitions and networks	Convene regular meetings to co-ordinate, promote peer exchanges and reduce duplication
Formative research	Develop gender policies, create awareness and increase commitment and capacity to engage men
Changing and strengthening organisational practices	Monitoring and evaluation

Spectrum level	Examples
Educating providers and key stakeholders	Training gender focal staff, police, health service providers, traditional/ faith-based leaders and NGOs
Promoting community education	Educate large numbers of people at the community level through community mobilisation and the use and development of media
Strengthening individual knowledge, skills and leadership capacity	Build capacity of individuals to engage men to promote gender equality, end gender-based violence and address HIV/AIDS

Source: SGJ, 2007.

4.8 Conclusion and policy implications

The point has been previously made (DSD, 2005b) that there is need for regular dialogue and exchange of information between civil society and the state with regard to policy and legislation. Husy (in DSD, 2005b) recommends that it would be preferable if this kind of forum was co-ordinated by someone outside of the government/civil society nexus, so that there can be an objective approach to, and a motivation for equality in the interaction.

There is need to develop a programme that increases poor women's organisational experience, so that they can be actively included in policy planning and engagement processes (Kabeer, 1995). This means creating supportive channels that provide resources and access to elite networks, which should be purposively done. It is not enough to simply speak broadly of women's empowerment, when poor, rural women are disadvantaged in particular ways.

Funds should be made available for the purpose of civil society co-ordination, to which sectors can apply for support. Specifically, funds need to be made available to under-resourced groups in civil society so that they can fully participate in collaborative and constructive efforts.

The variety of organisations that comprises civil society sector, in relation to women and poverty reduction in particular, are characterised by a wide range of scope, capacity and resources. For instance some organisations are staunchly independent while others rely on government departments for their funding and very existence. This poses challenges as well as opportunities for co-ordination and the role of civil society as a watchdog on government activities.

Nevertheless, civil society co-ordination is essential for bringing these disparate partners together to collectively effect social change. Co-ordination is also important to avoid division between well-resourced and poorer or needy organisations. Civil society co-ordination should take cognisance of the dire situation within which many organisations work. Thus, it is important to provide resources to needy organisation to enable them to participate more fully in co-ordination efforts. This up-skilling through participation will contribute towards poverty reduction and job creation. Civil society co-ordination and networking at the local level could bring about sustainable improvement of livelihoods for affected communities.

5 CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Four themes have been identified as the main issues facing South African women as part of a civil society programme of action for the African Women's Decade, co-ordinated by South African Women in Dialogue (SAWID), namely: 1) poverty eradication in the context of gender; 2) early childhood development in the context of gender; 3) violence against women; and 4) co-ordination of CSO initiatives to address each of these areas of endeavour. Because the theme of employment creation is cross-cutting, it has been dealt with as appropriate within the other chapters. Having explored each of these issues in turn, this report now puts forward a number of key conclusions and recommendations.

5.1 Poverty eradication in the context of gender

5.1.1 Conclusions on poverty eradication

The theme on addressing poverty clearly showed the disproportionate extent of poverty among women in the different race groups of South Africa, partly as legacy of colonialism and apartheid where race determined access to resources. With poverty rates ranging between 4% for white females and 72% for African females, the disparity is huge and the impact of this is felt in high unemployment rates and inequality in general. While men have experienced lower rates of poverty between 1993 and 2008, black people of both sexes) continue to be most disproportionately affected by poverty (Leibbrandt *et al.* (2010). African females carry the brunt of the poverty burden, although it has been declining at a slow pace. The South African unemployment rate was about 24% in June 2012 (Stats SA, 2012a).

Unemployment amongst women was 27% between 2010 and 2011, while amongst men it was 23% over the same period. As presented earlier, the role of CSOs has been crucial in the alleviating poverty for a number of participating communities. While CSOs' role on employment creation may not be directly significant in terms of contributions to formal or informal employment, they have been playing an important role in various ways to eradicate poverty in different parts of South Africa. These activities include advocacy, micro finance and enterprise development, community mobilisation and women empowerment through co-operatives, among others. It is through the identification of these critical roles played by CSOs that we identify best practice models of CSOs globally and in South Africa, which culminates in the best model recommend for poverty eradication in South Africa. The proposed best practice model for eradicating poverty in South Africa is a hybrid combining various aspects of the best practice models to acknowledge the multidimensional nature of poverty. It aims to eradicate poverty from the grassroots following a bottom-up approach. This entails civil society organisations partnering with small groups of poor people within communities and helping them to take initiative and start self-help income generating projects with in-built mechanisms for monitoring, evaluation, self-expansion and growth. At the same time, members of the participants' households will receive psycho-social support so that they can overcome the psychological barriers associated with poverty and unite towards initially being able to meet their basic needs and then achieving measurable self-reliance. Achieving these goals requires collaboration between the poor, government and CSOs.

5.1.2 Recommendations for poverty eradication

Public education, awareness-raising and an enabling environment

For CSOs to succeed, the larger public needs to be educated about the role of co-operative enterprises and self-help groups in poverty alleviation. This should be effectively backed by a suitable legal environment and structures which represent the interests of co-operatives and

self-help groups at community and national level. As such, government policies that provide an enabling legal environment and a regulatory system that boosts economic viability of co-operatives are essential. Legal frameworks must ensure independence of co-operatives as well as voluntary membership and participation, while regulatory frameworks should promote less stringent co-operative registration and licensing procedures.

Government incentives for CSOs to continue contributing to poverty eradication

The government should give support and incentives to entities which support co-operatives and self-help groups, and skilled individuals who render their services to support the development of these groups. Given that most co-operative initiatives fail due to lack of capital, there is need for government policy to incentivise banks and or micro-finance institutions so that they provide loans to co-operatives. An example of such an incentive would be to provide tax rebates or tax breaks to institutions that provide loans and other support to co-operatives. Such a policy will go a long way in promoting the development of sustainable co-operative projects. It is also important for local and national governments budgets to prioritise infrastructure development in poverty node areas to enable self-help groups and co-operatives to access markets and service providers at minimal cost.

Further, government should give grants to members of self-help groups and co-operatives in the initial stages of their projects so that they can afford to reinvest their profits and grow their businesses. This is crucial because in some cases the co-operatives will be the sole source of members' household income. There is a risk that the meagre income received in the initial stages of the projects will be spent on supplying households' basic necessities, which will destroy the chances of reinvesting into projects.

Strong collaboration between government, CSOs and communities

Generally, for poverty alleviation programmes to be successful, strong collaboration between CSOs and local and national government is essential. A collaboration framework should be designed to provide guidance on procedures that CSOs and government should follow during the design, implementation and evaluation stages of their programmes. At the design stage, for instance, the framework can stipulate the consultation procedures and the participants that should be consulted before a programme is embarked on. Participants can be community heads, local and provincial government. Such collaboration guidelines can help to reduce duplication of efforts between government and CSOs.

5.2 Engendering ECD in South Africa

5.2.1 Conclusions for ECD

Gender and ECD intersect in several ways to address poverty and social inequity. However, ECD policy and programming has not adequately recognised this by explicitly integrating gender into the design and outcomes of ECD interventions. It is universally accepted that ECD interventions are a good investment for children and good for advancing gender equity objectives. We offer several recommendations pertaining to the role and contribution of CSOs to engendering ECD and to expanding quality ECD in South Africa. Individually and collectively these recommendations can advance a gender-sensitive model for ECD in South Africa.

5.2.2 Recommendations for ECD

Providing access to affordable, accessible, comprehensive and holistic ECD services and programmes

Rapidly expanding access to ECD programmes and services is a necessary priority given that less than 30% of children aged 0–4 years have access to some form of ECD service. A National Integrated Plan for ECD is currently in preparation and it is essential that the plan should recognise and enhance the contribution of CSOs in expanding access to and quality of ECD. The plan must address how a responsible scaling-up of ECD can ensure that the most vulnerable children access ECD services.

From pregnancy to early childhood children are best served through multiple interventions targeted at parents, caregivers and children. Programmes that provide access to primary health care, social services and protection services, access to basic needs such as water and sanitation, cognitive stimulation, economic support, nutrition and food security and stable care environments in which parents are supported are all components of a comprehensive package of services. The challenge for the CSO sector is not that each organisation should be expected to deliver all these services, but rather to ensure that children and their families have easy access to these interventions at every level that they are available.

Strengthening institutional collaboration between state (departments of health, social development education) and non-state role players in the delivery of ECD programmes

There is a need for strengthening inter-sectoral partnerships and collaboration between the state and civil society at all levels in the delivery of ECD as well as across different state programmes which are not directly linked to ECD. It is recognised that different stakeholders contribute to various components of ECD and that bringing these together can ensure a more rapid scaling up, promote increased efficiency, and promote cost savings. Models of integrated service delivery have been highlighted in the various case studies presented in this paper. What is needed is for the development of appropriate mechanisms for integration and collaboration to be developed which include both state and civil society stakeholders and which is located at the highest level of government. The examples of collaboration between government and CSOs like Isibindi and the Hollard Foundation, that focus on ECD, should be strengthened and expanded to other key players to make public-private partnership effective. By providing resources, including finance, government can improve efficiency and effectiveness in service delivery.

Monitoring and evaluation of quality of interventions and their impact

ECD programmes need to be intentional about *measuring impacts of ECD services on young children and on caregivers*. Monitoring and evaluation could promote better targeting of interventions to the most vulnerable and help improve effectiveness of implementation. There is considerable wealth of experience and accessible models and tools for measuring quality ECD services within civil society. CSOs have been at the forefront of developing methodologies for monitoring and evaluating quality and impact. Developing a national monitoring and evaluation framework and the regular and timeous dissemination of evidence will strengthen programming in ECD. Priority issues requiring monitoring and evaluation include targeting of ECD subsidies and access to training and support for the poorest population quintiles and rural households. Demystifying monitoring and evaluation and creating awareness of its value is the first step to addressing this challenge.

Information and knowledge dissemination

There is limited understanding and awareness of the key role that ECD services can play in enhancing the lives of young children and empowering women. National awareness campaigns can go a long way in enabling parents to identify quality in ECD service delivery and in making informed choices for their children's well-being. This lack of knowledge and understanding is not limited to community level stakeholders but includes policy makers as well. Harnessing the capacity of CSOs to advance messaging about ECD, utilising multi-media platforms, is an area for further development. An information hub which brings together the vast amount of information about ECD in South Africa and globally, can serve as a critical gateway for information sharing for a range of ECD stakeholders.

Enhance human resource capacity to deliver ECD services

The ECD sector has to address both the under-supply of ECD practitioners and the poor levels of skills and qualifications of the majority of ECD practitioners. While it is sensible to expand human resource capacity in line with financial capacity, it would mean that only a fraction of poor and vulnerable children can be reached, limiting their ability to participate in future. The key constraint to human resource development is funding. The Draft ECD Diagnostic Review (Richter *et al.* 2012) proposes the development and implementation of a strategy to fund ECD personnel, improve qualifications and retain staff. Further it calls for the development of a job hierarchy and career pathing opportunities as well as incentives to improve skills and qualification. There is also a need for better articulation between qualifications across practitioners in different sectors and across different cadres of community-based workers.

Support to the NPO sector to contribute to providing ECD services

The expansion of ECD services requires government to take the lead. However CSOs have a key role to play as drivers in mobilising communities into action, piloting new models of ECD delivery, providing training and capacity building for ECD practitioners, as well as in holding government accountable for adopting and implementing policies and programmes that positively impact young children. The development of funding models to support the delivery of a range of ECD services and programmes by CSOs needs a paradigm shift away from the per child per day subsidy model for centre-based care towards funding for alternate models of delivery to scale.

Engendering ECD practice

Engendering ECD services will require that attention be given to addressing gender bias in the ECD curriculum, gender sensitivity in the training of ECD practitioners, as well as to address the lack of male models among ECD practitioners and the absence of fathers in ECD. These will help build strong foundations for gender equality from an early age.

5.3 Gender based violence**5.3.1 Conclusions on violence against women**

The discussion on GBV stressed that attention and resources should be devoted to ensuring that primary prevention is given due attention and the need for any efforts to reduce violence against women to target the underlying norms, attitudes and behaviours of individuals, communities and society at large. As indicated earlier, evidence suggests that primary prevention of violence against women is a more effective means of lessening GBV as well as reducing HIV prevalence. Furthermore, a human rights perspective insists upon an emphasis on reducing GBV before it begins. However, insufficient attention has been devoted to primary prevention in the South African context (Ellsberg & Betron, n.d; Heise, 2011).

Focusing on primary prevention would mean adopting other important change strategies like advocacy for policy change or rights-based activism, which may be necessary to address structural level issues like poverty, for example. Another significant policy implication is in relation to the recommendation of involving men in interventions. As noted earlier in this report, in the GBV context, men are often viewed from a problem perspective. A crucial move, therefore, would be to frame policy in such a way that recognises the role of men as potential partners in changing detrimental gender constructions and the broader social project of building gender equity in society.

5.3.2 Recommendations to reduce violence against women

A rights-based perspective

A rights-based perspective underpins much of South Africa's relevant legislation and policy (Mkhize *et al.*, 2010). Although there are still many obstacles and challenges with respect to the implementation of these policies, it is important to remember the success represented by, and potential that arises from, such rights-based legislation (Macleod & Tracey, 2009). Framing the issue in the rhetoric of rights also allows programme implementers to understand GBV as an infringement of women's human rights, and how oppressive gender power relations mirror those that have occurred, and still do occur, along other axes of difference such as race or socio-economic status (Peacock & Levack, 2004).

A multi-faceted approach within an ecological framework

Existing evidence points to the complexity of the issue of GBV. The phenomenon is multi-causal and different factors combine to increase the likelihood of different types of violence. However, there is no doubt that socio-cultural norms that produce gender power disparities are an important contributing factor and, moreover, are the very same norms that contribute behaviours that promote the spread of HIV. It is therefore essential to adopt a holistic systemic or ecological framework that combines individual level risk factors with community and society level factors, including gender-based power differentials and relationships. In line with this approach, a multi-faceted, multi-sectoral, and multi-modal model to programming is advocated. Successful and promising interventions have demonstrated that changing deeply held beliefs about gender roles and relations requires comprehensive, multifaceted strategies (SGJ, 2007a). This includes attention to structural factors such as poverty or education. Stand-alone and one-off workshop-type interventions are not sufficient to engender the sustained change required to reduce violence against women.

The adoption of a critical and nuanced view of gender

Given the centrality of gender norms in the persistence and maintenance of violence against women, it is essential that programmes aim to transform gender norms. A number of gender transformative programmes have been addressed in this report, including South African undertakings which have gained international recognition. It cannot be stressed enough, however, that a critical and nuanced understanding of gender is essential for success (Macleod & Tracey, 2009). The following criteria comprise such an understanding, and are found in successful gender transformative interventions: a) an understanding of gender as a social construction; b) critical discussion and questioning of patriarchal attitudes about gender within the intervention; and c) taking into account the other power dimensions and social realities facing participants.

Gender transformative programmes in dialogue with feminist principles

Gender transformative approaches also recognise that violence against women will not be effectively eliminated unless both women and men are constructively involved in interventions. In constructively engaging men, it is essential that they are presented as capable partners rather than problems or barriers to women's empowerment and for men to get involved at an early age, before negative beliefs and ideologies take firm root. However, as South African CSO work with men and boys has emphasised, it is imperative that those working with men collaborate closely with women's advocacy organisations and feminist principles (SGJ, 2007a). *Closer dialogue and accountability offers the potential for ... more rigorous work with men and hopefully greater success in achieving gender equality* (SGJ, 2007a:9).

Locating efforts to combat violence against women within broader economic empowerment programmes

When it comes to women's empowerment through economic means, programmes should be carefully monitored in order to ensure that women obtain the maximum benefits of such programmes, while risks are mitigated as far as possible. It is recommended that, for this reason, economic empowerment initiatives are embedded within a programme that also works to bring about community-level change, which mitigates the potential disruption that enhancing women's economic activity may bring to patriarchal gender relations.

5.4 Civil society co-ordination

5.4.1 Conclusions for civil society co-ordination

The examples of civil co-ordination presented in this report showed that there is evidence of successful programme implementation if CSOs work in a co-ordinated way within a community or the communities they operate in. It has been shown that success of civil society co-ordination depends on a strong collaboration between the various stakeholders including communities, public, private and the various CSOs operating for related goals. It is also evident that CSOs might be of different sizes, both in terms of resources and capacity, and some might lack resources for implementing their part of a shared goal to assist communities in various ways. This could limit the capacity of less well-resourced CSOs to fulfil their mandate, hence the need for co-ordination.

Strong co-ordinated networks between activists and government can be successful, for example, the National Working Group on Sexual Offences which was formed to influence the reform of South Africa's national rape laws and which became the biggest civil society coalition to bring about law reform in South Africa since 1994 (Hodes *et al.*, 2011). This women's coalition drew on and expanded their elite networks to build developmental partnerships that could leverage the power of existing political and institutional arrangements towards achieving a common goal.

5.4.2 Recommendations for civil society co-ordination

Regular dialogue

There is need for regular dialogue and exchange of information between civil society and the state with regard to policy and legislation (DSD, 2005b). Husy (in DSD, 2005b) recommends that it would be preferable if this kind of forum was co-ordinated by someone outside of the government/civil society nexus, so that there can be an objective approach to, and a motivation for equality in the interaction.

Capacity building and enhancement programmes for women

There is need to develop a programme that increases poor women's organisational experience, so that they can be actively included in policy planning and engagement processes (Kabeer, 1995). This means creating supportive channels that provide resources and access to elite networks, which should be purposively done. It is not enough to simply speak broadly of women's empowerment, when poor, rural women are disadvantaged in particular ways.

Incentives and financial support

Funds should be made available for the purpose of CSO co-ordination, to which sectors can apply for support. Funds should be made available to under-resourced groups in civil society, so that they can fully participate in collaborative and constructive efforts. The variety of organisations that comprises civil society sector, in relation to women and poverty reduction in particular, are characterised by a wide variety of scope, capacity and resources. Some organisations are staunchly independent while others rely on government departments for their funding and very existence. This poses challenges as well as opportunities for co-ordination and the role of civil society as a watchdog on government activities.

Donor funding conferences to facilitate and manage funding for civil society

One way to strengthen collaboration between government and the private sector through civil society co-ordination is to convene donor conferences, where all stakeholders come together to share views and opinions on the best funding model for civil society. This can also be used as a platform for civil society to make government aware of their funding needs and to ensure its commitment towards funding of relevant projects, similar to the current collaboration taking place between government and Isibindi.

Strengthening co-ordination

Civil society co-ordination is essential for bringing these disparate partners together to collectively effect social change. Co-ordination is also important to avoid division between well-resourced and poorer or needy organisations. Civil society co-ordination should take cognisance of the dire situation within which many organisations work. Thus, it is important to provide resources to needy organisation to enable them to participate more fully in co-ordination efforts. This up-skilling through participation will contribute towards poverty reduction and job creation. Civil society co-ordination and networking at the local level could bring about sustainable improvement of livelihoods for affected communities. Examples of local coordination between the Hollard Foundation and the Sedibeng municipality on ECD in local communities should be supported and strengthened.

Criteria for co-ordination

The following criteria need to be taken into account when working toward CSO co-ordination models in South Africa (adapted from Hodes *et al.*, 2011):

- Broad representation, including under-represented groups such as rural women, and the economically disadvantaged is crucial and should be encouraged at all times;
- The capacity, influence and expertise of stakeholders that can work across contexts should be taken on board;
- Capacity building of civil society across all areas (human, financial and skills resources) is needed;
- Leadership should be able to build consensus, and work with a range of stakeholders;
- Funding and resources should be provided to facilitate the logistics any form of co-ordination may entail;

- Building on existing networks, to increase influence and efficacy is crucial; and
- Communication needs to be frequent and include all stakeholders.

APPENDIX A: BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF SOUTH AFRICAN CSOs MENTIONED IN THE REPORT

Organisation	Area of influence	Activities	Impact
South African Women in Dialogue (SAWID) ²¹	Poverty reduction.	Advocates for pro-poor policies, mobilises local resources, increases the capacity of individuals and families in poor communities to be self-sufficient.	Works with the government in formulating poverty reduction strategies.
Progressive Women's Movement in South Africa (PWMSA) ²²	Poverty reduction.	Provides a platform for South African women to speak with one voice and address their concerns.	Consists of more than 35 organisations which work widely on poverty.
Rural Women's Movement (RWM)	Poverty reduction and women's empowerment.	Advocates for rural women's land and property rights and lobbies for public policy changes.	Consists of 500 ²³ indigenous women's organisations involved in small-scale projects. Has secured land rights for rural women and ensured that they are involved in legislative processes.
Small Enterprise Foundation (SEF) ²⁴	Microfinance.	Provides microcredit to micro-enterprises and targets poor women through the Tšhomišano credit programme based on the Grameen Bank model.	At the end of March 2008, the programme served 47 560 self-employed clients. Currently, 99% of SEF's clients are female. Typical enterprises include hawking of fruits and vegetables and new or used clothing, small convenience shops, and dressmakers. Most beneficiaries were indigent when they first engaged with SEF.
Itlhabolole Waste Management co-Operative of women of Ikopeleng village, North West	Income-generating activities from waste.	Collect bin-destined waste and recycle it into clothing, shoes, handbags, mats and other materials for sale.	The co-operative received funding from many governmental agencies and NGOs and has expanded its scale of production, client base & now participates in expos. It helped women to create employment and sustainable livelihoods by harnessing their skills.

²¹ Source: Silinda, 2009.

²² Source: www.pwmsa.org

²³ Source: www.rwmsa.org/

²⁴ Source: www.sef.co.za

Organisation	Area of influence	Activities	Impact
Enablis Entrepreneurial Network ²⁵	Supports development of entrepreneurial talent in South Africa.	Skills development, networking, mentorship & access to finance to ensure economic stimulation and entrepreneurial sustainability.	Since 2006, Enablis member entrepreneurs have created an estimated 18 731 full-time and part-time jobs; approximately 33% of which are female beneficiaries. It was awarded R34 million to support and enhance the job creation skills of 2 500 South African entrepreneurs over three years by the Development Bank of Southern Africa's Jobs Fund.
Little Elephant Training Centre for Early Education (LETCEE), Msinga District, KwaZulu-Natal	Early childhood community-based development and education organisation/library.	Early childhood development organisation. Community-based toy library and a home visiting programme. Provides accredited ECD and community development training. Trainers and facilitators are recruited from the community and after training they receive stipends for facilitating the programme in the community.	LETCEE's family based model won recognition as a model of excellence from UNICEF and an Innovation during the KwaZulu-Natal Absa/ Sowetan/ UNICEF 2009 ECD Awards.
The Parent Centre's Teen Parenting Programme, based in Cape Town	Teen parenting programme, focusing on primary prevention.	Primary prevention centre focusing on vulnerable young parents with their own children or those heading child-headed households. It targets vulnerable pregnant girls and supports them for at least 6 months after the birth of the baby. The Centre also runs fatherhood parenting programmes. These programmes are offered at schools and in community venues.	These programmes have been valuable in providing support not only for parenting but also for young people who continue to pursue their studies.
The Early Learning Resource Unit's Family and Community Motivator Programme and Khululeka Family Home	Early childhood development.	In-service training for ECD practitioners, home visiting programmes focus on caregiver support, child stimulation and linking families to services. Also extensively involved in research and policy advocacy around ECD at a national level.	An evaluation of the programme in 2011 (Dawes & Biersteker, 2011) has shown improvements in service access, significant changes in hygiene and safety in the home, and improved caregiver coping.

²⁵ Source: www.enablis.org/

Organisation	Area of influence	Activities	Impact
Women Entrepreneurship Development and Gender Equality” (WEDGE)	Women’s empowerment.	Works to create enabling environments for women’s entrepreneurship by providing development tools for the business environment and to increase the productivity of participants.	WEDGE Mozambique has trained 84 trainers, and an impact assessment found trainers to be replicating the tools they acquired to promote job creation. Some 1 070 growth-orientated women entrepreneurs have participated in some form of training facilitated by WEDGE. This has fostered social capital among the women involved, and this capital is being reinforced by a conducive policy environment.
South African National Civics Organisation (SANCO)	This is a national structure that was created by the African National Congress during the political transition between the ANC and the National Party was being negotiated.	The aim was to create an umbrella organisation for various civil society organisations and movements that had been established to fight apartheid in various ways, from political and legal issues, to more day-to-day issues around housing and services (Seekings, 1997; Zuern, 2004, 2006).	Good example of collaboration between political and civil society organisations.
KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Advisory Council (KPAC) ECD Technical Committee.	Government/CSO advisory forum	KPAC is located within the Office of the Premier for co-ordination and reporting to the Office on the Rights of the Child (ORC). It has technical committees whose function is to support and guide Provincial ORCs and is a partnership between government and civil society organisations.	The Committee is recognised by provincial government and consulted on key ECD matters. The Committee meets bimonthly and membership is open. KPAC The ECD Technical Committee serves as a platform for sharing knowledge and facilitating co-ordinated advocacy actions.

APPENDIX B: LIST OF SAWID RESOURCE PERSONS WHO CONTRIBUTED TO THE REPORT

Name	Designation and CSO/Institution	Role in the Report
Dr. Lulama Makhubela	Managing Director: The African Research House	Editing of final report
Mmabatho Ramagoshi	Convenor of Violence Against Women (VAW) for the International Alliance of Women (IAW) and chairperson of the Mmabatho Foundation for Women's Development (MFWD)	Presentation at SAWID workshop of 27-29 of August 2012
Elizabeth Petersen	South African Faith and Family Institute (SAFFI)	Presentation at SAWID workshop of 27-29 of August 2012
Dr. Sazile Mtshali	Academic, Researcher and Consultant in Rural Development	Inputs in the draft report after the SAWID workshop of 27-29 August 2012
Nonhlanhla Mokwena	Executive Director: People Opposing Women Abuse (POWA)	Inputs after a presentation at the SAWID workshop of 27-29 August 2012
Ntjantja Ned	CEO: Hollard Foundation	Inputs and comments on final report plus provided material on best practice model for ECD

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