A Transformative Approach to Gender Mainstreaming:

Changing the Deep Structure of Organizations

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This article argues that gender mainstreaming will only be successful if a transformative agenda setting process that can enable changes is used through which the institutional cultures of organizations are changed. This requires a Gendered Archaeological Investigation (GAI) combined with an engagement with the Deep Structure of organizations. The Deep Structure of most organizations is the embedded masculinist values and norms that are normalized so that everyone accepts them. This Deep Structure is most often resistant to gender transformative change and consequently is a serious block to achieving the goals of gender mainstreaming.

Gender Mainstreaming (GM) as an approach to advancing gender equality has been under scrutiny for some time to ascertain if it indeed can substantively impact on masculinist organisations and institutions across the world. There is considerable scepticism regarding the success of this approach, mandated by the 1995 Beijing Platform of Action at the United Nations (UN) World Conference on Women, and subsequently adopted by international development organisations, and the UN, as the key approach to advancing women's and gender issues in development (Hafner-Burton & Pollack 2002; Rees 2005; Alston 2006; De Waal 2006). In this article, we argue that GM has not become obsolete. We argue that by framing GM in a transformative institutional context through combining a Gendered Archaeological Approach (feminist) and organisational development theory (Deep Structure), it can advance gender equality. We propose a Transforming Gender Main-

streaming Model (TGMM) as a tool to mainstream gender in organisations and institutions.

We discuss gender mainstreaming and the UNDP, its advantages and disadvantages as an approach, the gap between gender mainstreaming policy and practice, before moving on to the Deep Structure of Organisations, and the Transforming Gender Mainstreaming Model. We argue that the TGMM is an original contribution to the literature on gender mainstreaming, concluding with a discussion of the possibility that this is a new approach to advancing gender equality and gender transformation.

GENDER MAINSTREAMING: THE UNDP AND UNDP/SA

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has asserted a strong policy commitment to gender mainstreaming. Consequently, it is an important organisation to study when seeking to assess the success and failures of GM as a means for advancing women and gender issues in the development arena, particularly through international development organizations. This article draws on the doctoral research of Trunette Joseph, called *Mainstreaming Women in Development? A Gender Analysis of the United Nations Development Programme in South Africa* (2009). The dissertation examines discourses, policies and the implementation of mainstreaming women and gender in development in the UNDP Country Office in South Africa (UNDP/SA) and interrogates the gap between policy and practice from 2002 to 2005. The dissertation is the first major scholarly study of the UNDP Country Office in South Africa. It focuses on masculinist practices in development organisations and government departments in South Africa, and their impact on the gap between GM policy and practice. This study sheds light on gender mainstreaming in a new democracy, which, while supportive of gender equality in its constitution and policies, and a willing collaborator with the UNDP/SA Country Office's commitment to GM, has been largely unsuccessful in achieving meaningful advances in gender equality.

The UNDP defines gender mainstreaming as "[T]aking account of gender concerns in all policy, programmes, administrative and financial activities, and in organisational procedures, thereby contributing to a profound organisational transformation" (UNDP Website 1999). This definition fails to explain what it means to take account of gender concerns. We argue that this depoliticised, technical discourse is not accidental, but deliberate. Authors such as Smyth (2007) and Cornwall and Brock (2005) also argue that discourse choice is a conscious decision. When development organisations exclude key concepts such as feminism, sexism and gender equality, it is no coincidence. Inherent in development organisations are competing ideologies and discourses and different actors, such as male managers and male heads of offices, invest in and support different key buzzwords and concepts. By excluding certain key concepts through selective discourse, a particular policy discourse is developed that ensures that concepts such as substantive gender equality, sexism and masculinism never get onto the policy agenda, and consequently, are never discussed or implemented.

The discourse choice can promote or undermine an enabling environment for GM. In the UNDP/SA GM policies studied,[1] the word gender equality is rarely mentioned, nor is sexism and masculinism (Joseph 2009). How does one mainstream gender without addressing these key issues within? The answer is that very little progress, if any, is made with mainstreaming gender beyond the politically correct policy rhetoric which pays lip service to GM implementation. One respondent indi-

cated that the sexism displayed by the men in the UNDP/SA, including that of the Resident Representative (or Head of the Country Office) was a serious constraint for successful GM implementation. This means there was no enabling environment for GM, including no budget for this work (Joseph 2009: 180, 195).

How GM is framed discursively and ideologically thus affects gender mainstreaming implementation in terms of what gets onto the agenda, and thus may be acted upon. Gender mainstreaming will not contribute to organisational transformation when gender concerns are only "taken account of", as this integrationist approach fails to address the masculinist nature and deep structure of most organisations. In fact, the UNDP gender mainstreaming policies reflect the same depoliticised, technical discourse (Joseph 2009: 165-166) that set the scene for integrationist rather than agenda-setting gender mainstreaming, as explained by Walby (2005). This will be discussed later. It thus comes as no surprise that the UNDP/SA has found implementing gender mainstreaming in its Country Office a challenge, despite its enabling policy framework. The UNDP integrationist approach does not challenge existing policy paradigms, with their focus on bringing women into the mainstream rather than challenging gender hierarchies within society and in policies.

Employees in the UNDP/SA (and in the PGWC), who were interviewed supported this argument by admitting that lack of training, lack of human and financial resources, lack of senior management buy-in and commitment, and lack of monitoring and evaluation of GM are key reasons for failure. They also acknowledged that these issues were exacerbated by a deeper, underlying masculinist and sexist organisational culture, raising doubts about the relevance of GM at all levels of the organization. One of the respondents stated how extremely sexist some of the male managers in the

UNDP/SA Country Office were. She indicated that "this strong sexism translated into minimal support for GM implementation, as the men did not regard it as a priority" (Joseph 2009: 163). Thus assumptions about gender hierarchies, which assumed the inevitability of male dominance, provided a backdrop to the on-going contestation surrounding GM practice in the UNDP/SA office (Joseph 2009).

The UNDP has carried out a number of evaluations of its GM programmes, suggesting some concern with the impact of GM on the organization and its programmes. According to Parpart (2009: 8), UNDP evaluation reports of its own GM practice, published in 1998 and 2006, noted many of the issues mentioned in the doctoral study such as limited gender skills due to limited gender knowledge and gender training, weak accountability mechanisms, an hierarchical organisational culture, a reluctance to recognize gender staff as professionals, the lack of proactive leadership by senior management, and inadequate financial resources for GM programmes. All of these factors played a role in the failure of the UNDP/SA to engage with the deeply entrenched, institutionalised masculinism, and related resistances to transformative GM (Joseph 2009: 230-232). Indeed, the issue of entrenched opposition to GM is rarely discussed. It is the omission of engagement with the deep structure where masculinism and resistance reside, and the absence of an organisational transformation process within GM programmes, which have contributed to the dramatic gap between policy and implementation. If it is so difficult to implement GM, one can reasonably ask whether organisations should even attempt to use this approach. To shed some light on this aspect, we discuss the advantages and disadvantages of gender mainstreaming in the next section.

GENDER MAINSTREAMING:
A SOLUTION OR A PROBLEM?

Gender Mainstreaming originated as both a discourse and a set of policy instructions to deal with the phenomenon of just "adding women" to development projects and government policies, rather than including women into the development of projects right from the start, that was often the case within the framework of "women in development" (WID). In 1995 gender mainstreaming was identified in the Beijing Platform of Action as the new mandate of action for National Gender Machineries. In developing countries gender mainstreaming has come to be viewed as a more radical strategy to ensure gender equality rather than the earlier focus on creating specific policies for women (True and Mintrom 2001: 31, 33). True (2003) argues that:

…[gender] mainstreaming initiatives balance the goal of gender equality with the need to recognize gender difference to bring transformation of masculine-as-norm institutional practices in state and global governance. Furthermore, the process of mainstreaming a gender perspective involves actors working in multiple locations, inside governance institutions, within epistemic and activist communities in local and global civil society (True 2003: 369).

According to True three enabling factors are needed for successful gender mainstreaming – (1) the language of promoting women's rights and gender equality, (2) the proliferation of women's networks and transitional linkages, and (3) a growing number of gender sensitive women and men in foreign policy and global governance leadership positions (True 2003: 374).

In a study of 157 countries (on all continents) True and Mintrom (2001) found that an unprecedented diffusion of gender bureaucracies is responsible for the popularity of gender mainstreaming. This large scale diffusion was enabled by transnational feminist networks. Their findings are an indication that many countries have attempted to take gender mainstreaming seriously. This is reason for optimism. Indeed, some argue that gender mainstreaming and feminism have been so successful that most goals have been reached and that "we should take a break from feminism" (see Zalewski's (2010) thorough critique of this view).

Others are less sanguine about the achievements of gender mainstreaming. Indeed, gender mainstreaming has become quite a contested concept with feminist scholars grappling with the tensions that arose between more uncritical approaches to gender mainstreaming, with their focus on integrating women into a masculine world (the integrationist approach) and a more agenda setting approach concerned with fostering transformation and reorienting existing policy paradigms. The implementation of gender mainstreaming is often a very technocratic process that depends on tick boxes and check lists to make sure that gender concerns have been taken on board in policies. Often the political context in which gender mainstreaming is implemented is considered of lesser importance. Thus the debates focus on whether to adopt an integrationist approach which merely adds women's concerns to existing paradigms without challenging them (Walby 2005 322-323), or the more transformative model, which Walby refers to as a "positive form of melding", something completely new. This more critical analysis emerged as it became clear that the impact of gender mainstreaming has often been disappointing, difficult to measure and more integrationist rather than transformative (Squires 2005).

Critics sought answers in the technocratic nature of gender mainstreaming, wherein in process of gender mainstreaming has become just another technology of governance, implemented by bureaucrats with a

limited understanding of gender and often deeply rooted disquiet over the goals of gender mainstreaming (Manicom 2001: 15). Above all, many feminist critics have seen the depoliticization of feminist activism, through this technocratic process as a major force removing gender issues from national and organizational agendas. Where feminist activism raised consciousness about broader contexts of discrimination, where women's roles in the private sphere are often obscured, gender mainstreaming does not capture these nuances around which mobilization often takes place (Gouws 2005: 79). In the European Union dire consequences arose when gender mainstreaming was used to dismantle the infrastructure that supported gender policies based on the assumption that because gender is being mainstreamed specific funds and programmes that focus on women only have become unnecessary (Lombardo 2005: 414).

Woodward (2003) argues that successful gender mainstreaming requires: a commitment to the gender mission, sophistication regarding gender policy issues, an institutional culture context of resistance to gender issues and the role of gender experts. Yet perhaps the most difficult factor to evaluate and change is the masculinist nature of institutional cultures. Rao et al (1999), point out that gender equality requires a deep interrogation of the embedded masculinist values and practices of organizations undertaking gender mainstreaming.

Some scholars, such as Zalewski (2010: 7) argue that there is a remarkable revolutionary aspect to gender mainstreaming in its potential to contribute to gender transformation and paradigm shifts. Yet, many others, including Parpart (2010) caution us into examining the resistances to gender mainstreaming. One of the main obstacles for gender mainstreaming is the acceptance of the state as the main driver of gender mainstreaming, as though the state has a

life of its own, rather than consisting of people implementing policies. We need to understand how gender hierarchies and masculinist institutional cultures co-opt women and undermine gender mainstreaming. And as Madsen's (2010) study of Ghana shows de-linking actors from institutions does not contribute to the success of gender mainstreaming. Very often actors function independently of institutions.

In developing countries gender mainstreaming is sold as the mechanism that will transform gendered practices and hierarchies in organisations. But for this to happen, political will and consensus at senior management level is essential. Longwe (1999: 63-64) argues that gender mainstreaming policies are framed in a consensus discourse, "underpinned by an implicit assumption of good will, as if the international push for women's advancement were like the eradication of polio – which nobody opposes, and no government is likely to subvert". This consensus discourse fails to admit the extent of "masculinist opposition" that faces gender mainstreaming advocates and practitioners. "We are up against a hidden agenda of masculinist opposition which needs to be seen, understood, and analysed, as the prerequisite for progress" (Longwe 1999: 64).

To address this challenge Longwe develops a scenario that explains how gender policies "evaporate" into the "masculinist cooking pot" (a metaphor for development organisations). Values, ideology, entire organisational systems, as well as procedures and practices reside within the masculinist bias in the "cooking pot". She argues that policies evaporate under pressure from invisible, silent opposition to gender mainstreaming in which technical and depoliticised language plays a crucial role. Staff in development agencies uses denial, inversion and policy dilution, to defend themselves and their actions when dealing with gender mainstreaming. They use tactics that in-

clude paying lip service to gender issues and doing research that lead to gender reports that are often shelved with no action taken (Longwe 1999). Thus as Josoeph's research demonstrates, there is a need to get a better handle on the masculinist culture of organizations and how it contributes to undermining the radical potential of gender mainstreaming.

THE GAP BETWEEN GENDER MAINSTREAMING POLICY AND PRACTICE

Gender mainstreaming is a complex, difficult and extremely challenging process. For the most part, having GM policies in place has not resulted in successful implementation in the UNDP/SA, and in the South African government. Organisations whether in the development field or in government, face serious constraints to close the gap between GM policy and practice. Some constraints are technocratic in nature, for example the lack of human and financial resources, and the lack of training (Tiessen: 2007). As we have pointed out above, other constraints relate to unequal power relations, and the deep structure (Rao et al, 1999: 2) of organisations that speak to the prevailing masculinism of organisational culture.

Since the early 1990s, the expansion of literature on masculinities and masculinism (Connell 1995, 2000; Morrell 2002; Reid and Walker 2005; Shefer et al. 2007) has highlighted the importance of these concepts to gender studies. Hooper (2001) argues that masculinism highlights the crucial link between hegemonic masculinities, male privilege and masculinist power. She states that masculinism gives men access to power through their cultural association with hegemonic masculinities and their qualities. Masculinism highlights the finer nuances of unequal gendered power relations which work to favour men, and is in turn supported by men. Hooper is right in her argument that masculinism moves beyond the discourse of patriarchy which fails to adequately address the issues of male hegemony, privilege and power.

However, it is not only men who support and perpetuate masculinism. Sometimes powerful women, who identify and benefit from the normalized link between hegemonic masculinities and power/authority and who have internalised male values, support masculinist power at the expense of women and gender equality. This is an important aspect to consider when encouraging gender mainstreaming in organisations and when analyzing points of resistance to gender mainstreaming.

Insufficient focus on masculinism could account for some of the difficulties the UNDP/SA has experienced in implementing GM in its Country Office, despite its enabling policy framework. One such difficulty is GM work as 'add-on' for staff such as Gender Focal Points (GFPs). The responsibility for gender mainstreaming was an 'add-on' to a core job for the Gender Focal Point in the UNDP/SA, despite official policy commitment to the discourse of GM (Joseph 2009: 196). By making GM an 'add-on', male managers ensure that this work remains in the margin, where it poses no threat to the prevailing institutional hegemonic masculinity. As one respondent remarked: "[S]enior male managers could continue to work in a comfort zone of non-implementation, while speaking the politically correct language of gender transformation" (Joseph 2009: 197). Another respondent told of the resistance of senior managers in the UNDP/SA to discuss gender mainstreaming (Joseph 2009: 217).

Successful gender mainstreaming implementation requires moving beyond a technocratic, depoliticised approach. It requires what Goetz (1997) calls a Gendered Archaeological Investigation (GAI) and the Deep Structure approach of Rao et al (1999: 2) to address the historically constructed genderedness of organisations. Authors such as Tiessen (2007) as well as Ben-

schop and Verloo (2006) agree that the genderedness of organisations is a serious challenge to GM that has to be addressed. The GAI and the Deep Structure lie at the heart of the proposed transformative GM model. They are flip sides of the same coin.

The GAI comprises eight elements, which seem useful for the gender mainstreaming process, as proposed in the model below. These elements could assist in identifying the root causes of gender inequality in organisations, and in explaining why some organisations are so hostile to GM. They are: (1) institutional and organisational history; (2) the gendered cognitive context; (3) the gendered organisational culture; (4) gendered participants; (5) gendered space and time; (6) the sexuality of organisations; (7) gendered authority structures; and (8) gendered incentive and accountability systems (Goetz 1997). The flip side of the transformative GM model, the Deep Structure, is discussed below.

THE DEEP STRAUCTURE OF ORGANIZATIONS

According to Rao et al. (1999: 2) the deep or gendered substructure is "…that collection of values, history, culture and practices that form the unquestioned, 'normal' way of working in organisations". Operating on a sub-conscious level, people generally work with and in the deep structure unquestioningly, because its values are very deeply embedded. To address this, we need to fundamentally change the way we do business by bringing to the surface multiple perspectives of how the deep structure can be changed, and by working with power in support of dialogue and new work practices (Rao et al. 1999: 21). Power in support of dialogue and new work practices is a positive, non-coercive power, which is participatory and consultative and advances dialogue; it assists in creating safe spaces in organisations in which people can work towards transformation and empowerment

(Parpart 2010: 14, mimeo). Gender equality cannot be achieved without unpacking the embedded masculinist values and practices of most organisations (Rao et al 1999: xi). The authors call for marrying insights from feminist theory with organisational change theory to advance GM implementation.

The experience of Joseph as the Transformation Manager in the Western Cape for the national Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (2003 – 2005) supports this argument. In this department, gender mainstreaming was framed within a transformation context at the time, making it much more palatable, not only to staff generally, but also to male engineers and male technical staff. Once there was support for the Ministerial transformation agenda, support for GM initiatives and work became a given. Giving preference to women candidates in historically male-dominated fields of engineering and water resources, and developing a gender policy, are examples of progress with GM in this department. Having the Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry as the champion of transformation helped tremendously, because by implication, she championed GM too. In retrospect, if the department had followed the deep structure approach advocated by Rao et al. (1999: 2) at the time there probably would have been many more substantive gains. The reason for this statement is that GM was already on the transformation agenda of this government department. However, the approach that was followed at the time, was rather technocratic and top down, even though it was framed within a transformation context, instead of being consultative and participatory, as the Deep Structure proposes.

On the left of Figure 1 above, we show the key enabling factors necessary to drive the transformation process, which is the first step in using the Deep Structure approach. This will be followed by eliciting multiple perspectives on gender issues

Figure 1: The deep structure of organizations
Source: Rao et al, 1999: 26
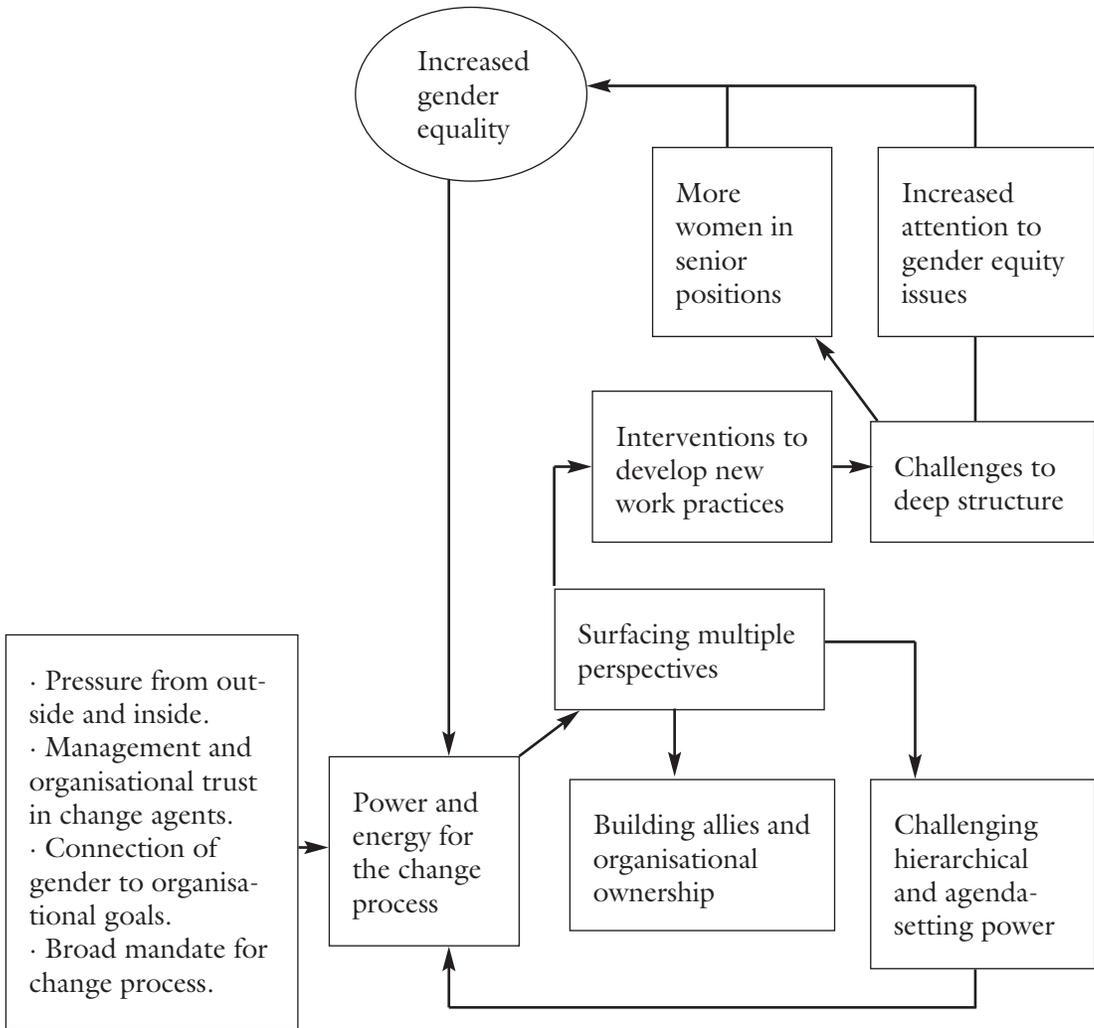
through multiple focus group discussions throughout the organisation. The input from the focus groups could subsequently be used to draw a roadmap for the "reconceptualisation" process that would include designing interventions for new work practices that could lead to a "re-invented" organisation. According to Rao et al. (1999) political knitting, which is ongoing contact, deliberation and resolving of issues among the role players and stakeholders during the process, is the glue that will hold the process not only intact, but also in place. The final transformation process should lead to increased gender equality and increased gender mainstreaming implementation. This Deep Structure approach is used in conjunction with the Gendered Archaeological Investigation of Goetz (1997), who argues that organisations have been shaped over time by certain gender interests.

These interests determine how organizations approach gender issues, as male domi-

nance has often been deeply entrenched in them. Thus organisations are rarely neutral. Hegemonic masculinity has led to men being regarded as naturally the wielders of authority and power. This assumption has resulted in the physical and social structure of organisations being created to favour men (and women accepting this hierarchy), to women's detriment. One example of the GAI elements is the widespread sexual harassment of women by men. Some organisations still do not have sexual harassment policies, and where they are in place, they do not guarantee adequate (if any) sanctions for sexual harassment, or are simply not implemented. Indeed, non-implementation of the Sexual Harassment Policy of the UNDP/SA was one of the issues that featured in the UNDP/SA GM evaluations (Joseph 2009). One possible reason for this lack of implementation of the Sexual Harassment Policy of the UNDP could be the strongly entrenched sexism and lack of gender awareness of UNDP/SA foreign staff. As one of the respondents remarked: "[S]ome of the blatant sexism was frightening" (Joseph 2009: 217). She explained that the foreign staff in the UNDP/SA office did not have the same gender awareness and gender knowledge that South Africans had developed during the liberation struggle and post-Apartheid. She said that UNDP/SA men had no grasp of gender mainstreaming (Joseph 2009: 217).

For lack of space, we will not discuss all eight elements of the GAI in this article. Suffice it to say that all eight elements have to be addressed along with the Deep Structure approach of the proposed TGMM model.

A TRANSFORMING GENDER MAINSTREAMING MODEL (TGMM)

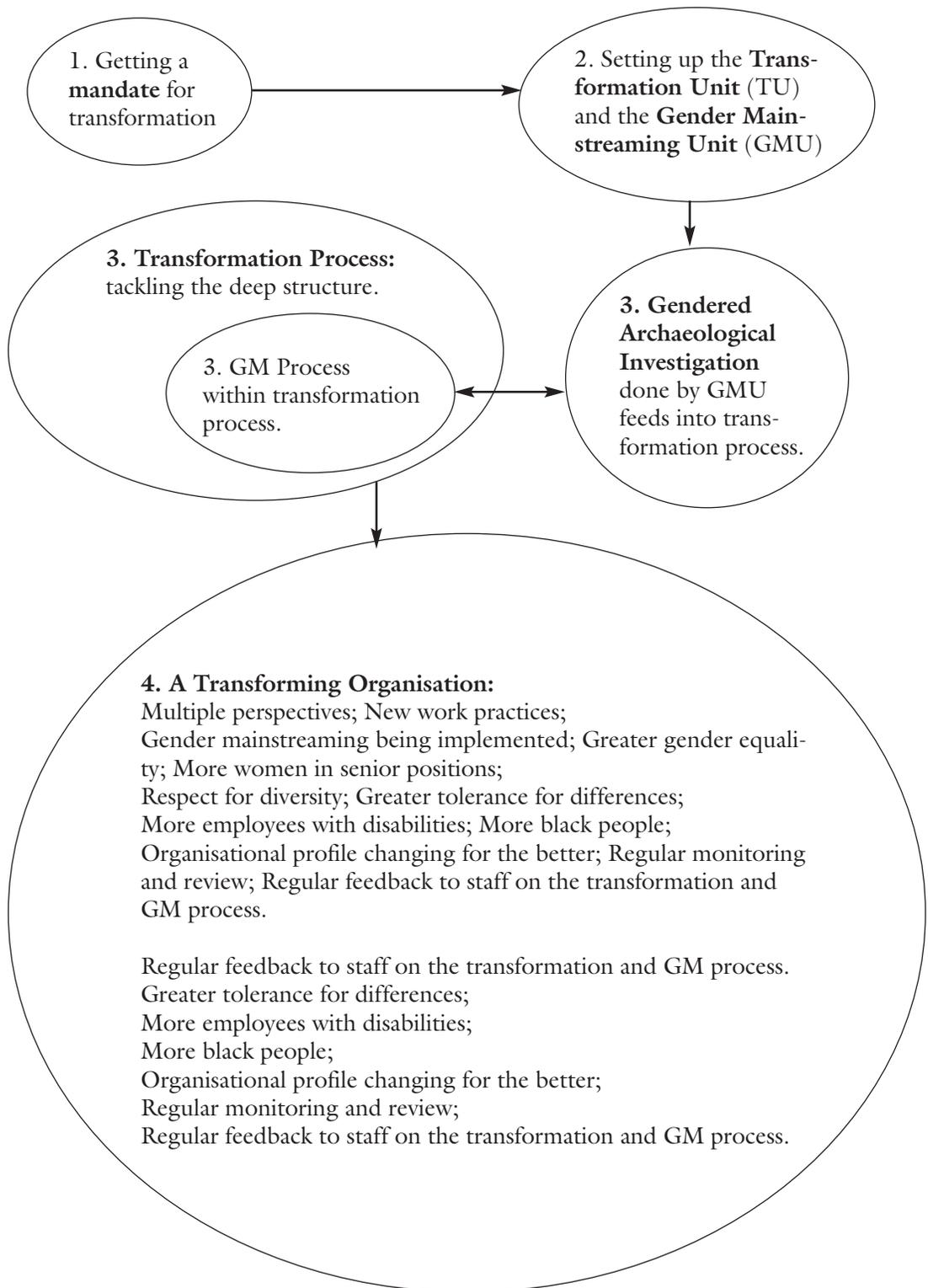Gender mainstreaming as transformation re-thinks the mainstream (Tiessen 2007). It proposes the transformation or re-invention of the organisational structures of the mainstream/organisation in which we want to house GM. The approach of Rao et al. (1999: 26), together with the GAI of Goetz (1997) has to be integrated into the transformation process, to build a hospitable home for GM. In addition, the language and behaviour that reinforces gender hierarchies and masculine privilege have to be uncovered. Consciousness-raising to bring these assumptions to light, need to be addressed.

The TGMM (Figure 2) does not aim to be a blueprint for government departments, or development organisations. Instead, it aims to narrow the gap between GM policy and praxis in order to move us closer to achieving substantive gender equality for women on the ground, by creating transforming organisations. "Transforming" here refers to an ongoing process. The final product of the TGMM should be an organisation with greater gender equality, more women in senior, decision-making positions, a majority of men supporting gender equality, support for an organisational culture of change, and crucial, new work practices. A three step process is proposed to start the transforming process. This process, explained below, also explains the TGMM.

EXPLAINING THE TGMM: THE THREE STEP PROCESS

Research suggests that a top-down technocratic GM policy does not work (Joseph 2009). Therefore, the first step is to obtain an organisational mandate for the TGMM process. This should ensure (or at least facilitate) buy-in and support. The CEO of the organisation should organise this process to enable multiple perspectives to surface. Consequently the gender consciousness of the CEO is of primary importance. Crucial questions are: what are the issues, and how do they operate in the work place? Where should change start, and which strategies would work? What are the

Figure 2: The transforming gender mainstreaming model

1. Getting a **mandate** for transformation

2. Setting up the **Transformation Unit** (TU) and the **Gender Mainstreaming Unit** (GMU)

3. Transformation Process: tackling the deep structure.

3. GM Process within transformation process.

3. Gendered Archaeological Investigation done by GMU feeds into transformation process.

4. A Transforming Organisation:
Multiple perspectives; New work practices;
Gender mainstreaming being implemented; Greater gender equality; More women in senior positions;
Respect for diversity; Greater tolerance for differences;
More employees with disabilities; More black people;
Organisational profile changing for the better; Regular monitoring and review; Regular feedback to staff on the transformation and GM process.

Regular feedback to staff on the transformation and GM process.
Greater tolerance for differences;
More employees with disabilities;
More black people;
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Regular monitoring and review;
Regular feedback to staff on the transformation and GM process.

issues that should be negotiated with the staff, and how do we deal with blockages? One could (and probably should) expect resistance, and therefore it is important to use a professional mediator and facilitator to identify resistances, and to propose solutions. Holding up a mirror, is the technique proposed by Rao et al. (1999: 18) to generate knowledge and information about the organisation firstly, and then secondly to feed this information back to all staff. This process will not be friction-free. What is crucial; is to engage with the issues that emerge, so that staff could develop some consensus on the transformation and gender mainstreaming mandate. Kesby (2003) proposes safe spaces where people can explore and practice new ways of acting, thinking and being. This makes sense, as this is an uncharted road, and thus a professional change management specialist could be of great help to create such safe spaces.

Research has shown that a lack of staff, particularly with the right credentials, is a serious shortcoming (Joseph 2009: 212). Thus the second step is to ensure sufficient human resources for GM. A Transformation Unit (TU) has to be established. Within the TU, a Gender Mainstreaming Unit (GMU) will be located. The convenor of the TU should be a senior manager reporting to the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the organisation, or the Resident Representative (in the case of the UNDP Country Offices), or the Head of Department (in the case of government). The TU members should be representative, particularly along lines of race, gender and disability. A third of the TU members will form the GMU. The latter will work throughout the transformation process within the TU. However, the GMU will only focus on GM and ensuring that it is fully integrated into the broad transformation process. Based on her research, Joseph believes that having a special task team for GM should ensure that it does not "evaporate" within the transformation process.

The third step will entail rolling out the transformation process, during which the TU will work with the organisational mandate received earlier, while its convenor will report directly to the CEO of the organisation, so that it will have sufficient authority to drive the change process. The TU will report monthly to the CEO on progress, achievements and challenges, to enable it to remain on track, and to ensure it remains accountable to the organisation. The GMU will do its work on GM, and integrate its reports into the TU reports to the CEO, as an integral part of the TU and its transformation processes. The GM work of the GMU will be underpinned by the gendered archaeological investigation suggested by Goetz (1997). The importance of safe, non-threatening spaces for people to practice a new way of being and thinking, cannot be over-emphasised. This has to be built into the entire transformation and GM processes.

Central to the transformation and the gender mainstreaming processes, will be the use of mental models (Senge et al. 2000) that help to uncover the deeply held beliefs and assumptions about, for example, how an organisation functions and the gender division of labour expected in such an organization. Discussing mental models in the workplace is intended to bring "tacit assumptions and attitudes to the surface so people can explore and talk about their differences and misunderstandings with minimal defensiveness" (Senge et al. 2000: 67). Central to mental models, are reflection and enquiry, so asking questions and thinking about how people look at transformation and GM will form an essential part of this process.

Focus group discussions and workshops with all staff, with an experienced, professional facilitator in a non-threatening environment could be used for this purpose. In these forums multiple perspectives will emerge, which should be channelled into developing new work and organisational

practices conducive to transformation and gender equality. Again, it is crucial to keep in mind that this will not be smooth sailing. There will be resistance from both women and men. However, if this is managed, and if staff sees that there is engagement with their issues, it will help the process along. Managing change is crucial for success. Research has shown that in GM implementation there is often insufficient engagement with the organisational ideology, beliefs and norms. Often there seems to be an unquestioned assumption that GM can be imported into a deeply gendered organisation, or that an organisation is gender neutral (Joseph 2009: 305). Change agents/champions of change can play a crucial role here, as was the case in the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry, where Transformation Officers played this role. These Transformation Officers have been the drivers of transformation and gender mainstreaming in the department and was thus trusted and accepted by the staff to play such a role.

Accountability for progress with the transformation and GM process finally lies with the CEO, and this will be a key performance area of her/his performance agreement for which s/he will be assessed quarterly. The budget for this will come from the CEO's budget and should be sufficient for the entire transformation process. The CEO's Office should monitor and evaluate the transformation and GM work. The TU and GMU cannot be both referee and player. Joseph's study points out the importance of building GM and transformation into a senior manager's performance agreement, financial resources and monitoring cannot be over-estimated. If GM is not monitored, if it is not linked to a senior manager's performance and if there is no budget, very little implementation, if any, will take place. Thus these steps are crucial to this new GM model.

Challenges will be thrown up by the complexities of power, and the fact that women (as well as men) may not speak with one voice on women and gender issues during the transformation process (Rao et al 1999: 7). Indeed, many women are more comfortable with existing gender hierarchies and male privilege than with a more gender equitable world, and some men are committed to gender transformation. Rao et al. (1999: 223) propose that we work with the heart, hands and heads of people to deal with all the challenges. We need to start from where people are and, importantly, deal with psychological resistance as it surfaces. Dialogue will be a key tool in these processes, as there will be resistances that will be hard to deal with. In the national Department of Water Affairs and Forestry, success was achieved with a similar approach of getting buy-in from staff and using participatory dialogue to ensure that people were not lost during the transformation process (Joseph 2009: 306). When conflict and resistance were quite severe, the services of an outside facilitator were used to create safe spaces that enabled staff to move forward.

Some might argue that the TGMM is not less technocratic than what has been used in the past by GM practitioners. We argue that this is not true, as the principles inherent in the model are those of consultation and participation. It is not the most senior bureaucrats and managers who drive this process; from the start. The staff are consulted throughout the mandate-seeking process, and they are kept informed. Also, both the TU and the GMU are representative of all staff, which ensures that top management and those who wield power in the organisation, are not the only staff who have a voice; all staff have a voice in the TU and GMU.

The TGMM is a tool for a GM process which should be an integral part of the strategic objectives on an organisation. Thus it will have a specific timeframe and budget. It is not suggested that the most far reaching goals of GM will be achieved

through this model; it is rather a proposition for an improved/alternative process to implement GM before giving up on the approach. This model is applicable to the UNDP/SA and government departments in South Africa based on this study. To determine if this would be applicable to other organisations, further research would have to be done.

CONCLUSION

Is there reason for optimism about gender mainstreaming as a solution to gender inequality? Some scholars argue that GM has been very successful. Others contend that GM has largely been a technocratic, depoliticised, integrationist process that failed to deliver on expectations to advance gender equality. Both Parpart and Longwe caution us about gender hierarchies and masculinist organisational culture into which GM policies "evaporate" with very little, if any, implementation.

Gender mainstreaming, when framed in an integrationist manner, is a problem for gender equality, but a transformative agenda-setting approach still offers a solution. However, this approach does require more than simply a gender mainstreaming policy, gender structures, some training and some resources. Gender mainstreaming has to be changed from a depoliticised, technocratic process focussing on integration rather than transformational change. It has to be an integral part of a broad organisational agenda-setting transformation process based on engagement with the deep structure of an organisation where institutionalised masculinism and resistance reside. This will require a gendered archaeological investigation. Gender mainstreaming at its best implies gender transformation. Therefore gender mainstreaming cannot be added to an organization which is not ready to transform. Joseph's dissertation research has shown that GM is often adopted at a rhetorical level in organizations with

no will to follow through on this goal. The people in an organization need to be aware that transformation is a prerequisite for effective mainstream gender. This awareness is not automatically present in people who have been socialized to accept sexism and inequality as the societal norm. Such a goal requires the re-invention of work practices, a discourse that promotes women's rights and gender equality, sophisticated attention to gendered assumptions that are determined to undermine gender transformation and a new organisational culture within which transformation and gender equality can flourish.

NOTE
1. The UNDP policies referred to are *Direct Line II* (dated Nov. 1996); the *Guidance Note on Gender Mainstreaming* (dated March 1997); and *Gender Balance in Management* Policy (dated June 1998). These policies are not very recent. However, they were still presented on the UNDP official website in 2006 as the policy context for gender mainstreaming. Also studied was the UNDP 1995 *Human Development Report* which had *Gender and Development* as its theme.

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SUMMARY

A Tranformative Approach to Gender Mainstreaming: Changing the Deep Structure of Organizations

This article argues that gender mainstreaming will only be successful if a transformative agenda setting process is used through which the institutional cultures of organizations are changed. This implies an engagement with the deep structure of organizations. The deep structure of most organizations is the embedded masculinist values and norms that are normalized so that everyone accepts them. This deep structure is most often resistant to gender transformative change. The article suggests a gendered archaeological investigation as well as the implementation of a transforming gender mainstreaming model through which gender mainstreaming becomes acceptable. The article draws on gender mainstreaming research done with the United Nations Development Programme in South Africa.

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