

Section 1: Purpose and context of study

1. Introduction

South Africa aspires to creating a society where inequality on the basis of gender does not exist. Constitutional measures as well as gender policy and machinery have been put in place to achieve this goal (OSW, 2000). However, in reality, gender inequality is stark and persistent. For example, given that the right of every South African to sufficient water is constitutionally guaranteed (Constitution, 1996 S 27[1]{b}), drinking water is beyond the reach of over 12 million citizens (ANC, 1994: 28). This inequality is further indicated when access to water is compared between urban and rural households, 85% of rural households fetch water as compared to 25% of urban households (Central Statistics, 1998: 10). Furthermore, 16% of rural households walk more than a kilometre spending in excess of an hour to fetch water as compared to two percent of the urban households (Central Statistics, 1998: 11). Responsibility for obtaining water still rests in the majority of cases on female members of households. Men tend to dominate the higher occupational levels (Central Statistics, 1998). The time spent and the burden borne in most instances by the female members in these households in fetching water for domestic use, as well as performing productive roles of caring for their families, diminishes the prospect of such women engaging in economic activity or community management. This shows a gender need for water presently not addressed by policies guiding the provision of water.

This situation gives rise to gender concerns that should be addressed through every policy instrument available to government. The budget is one such policy instrument able to correct this bias because “it embodies policy that intends to realise social, economic and political objectives” (Gildenhuys, 1997: 116). Integrating gender sensitivity into these policy instruments could reduce the gap between gender concerns in government budgets. This will make budgets instrumental in promoting gender equality and the empowerment of women in society.

Conversely, a gender budget analysis is a practice whereby national budgets have been scrutinised to establish the impact of an annual budget on the citizens of a country as well as the efficiency and equity implications of allocations, policies and

programs that underlie them through expenditure analysis (Budlender, 1998a: 14). The analyses examine government allocations. Expenditure allocations can be examined in the following three ways. Firstly, whilst checking for gender specific spending, spending on women's or gender issues must be evident. Secondly, additional spending must reflect equal opportunity or affirmative action for the benefit of disadvantaged groups of which women constitute. Finally, mainstream spending is examined to determine how expenditure affects different individuals for instance, women and men, girls and boys, in the local community (Budlender, 1999: 21; 2000b: 13). Expenditure analysis of budgets determines if community values and needs, which must include gender equality and the empowerment of women, have been incorporated into the budget process.

Expenditure analysis utilises gender-disaggregated statistics to check measures that budgets require to determine their level of gender sensitivity in order to promote gender equality. In South Africa, these analyses focused on mainstream expenditures because the other two categories, gender specific and equal employment opportunities expenditures constituted only one percent of expenditure allocations (Budlender, 1998: 18). The gender expenditure analyses of government departments reveal budget allocations as approved by Parliament do not proactively address these gender concerns and are inclined to perpetuate gender inequality (Budlender, 1996; 1997; 1998). The same experience is revealed in the gender analysis of the local sphere of government (Budlender, 1999). Moreover, Budlender (1999) alludes to the inaccessibility of key municipal services such as water, electricity, and clinics to poor women in marginalised sectors of the budget analyses of five municipalities selected as case studies.

1.1 Purpose of the study

With the above short background in mind, the purpose of the study is to assess the gendered impact of Johannesburg's water budget for the financial year 2003/2004 that falls between 1 July 2003 and 30 June 2004. This period is chosen because the municipal political and administrative structures have been developed and established. The scrutiny of policy is therefore no longer obscured by the local government transition phase that followed the first democratic local government elections in 1995 (White Paper, 1998). As a result of the recent administrative transformation, the provision of water and sanitation services for Johannesburg has been delegated to Johannesburg Water, a utility formed in 2001 for this purpose. In addition, the period 2003/2004, is the first time that consultation for the draft budget has been undertaken throughout the municipal community of Johannesburg.

The existence of a substantially revamped consultation phase in the 2003/2004 financial year lays the ground for a gender assessment of the process of community participation to determine whether there are gender needs for water voiced by poor women. Furthermore, whether the needs have been incorporated into the draft budget participation comments before it was presented before the municipal council for approval should be determined. This makes the study opportune in contributing to a gender analysis of municipal budgets in South Africa.

The assessment of the gendered impact of Johannesburg's water budget is based on a theoretical framework consisting of three broad criteria namely: the representation of women, their participation and benefit accrued to women throughout the budget process. These three criteria have been operationalised in terms of gender indicators. Representation is determined from two angles: the political and the administrative representation of women throughout the budget process. Participation as the second criterion is determined by the gender needs poor women voice. The effects that the presence (absence) that these needs have on the vote choice of female ward councillors will also establish participation. The third criterion, benefit accrued is determined in three categories of women. These categories are women led businesses bidding for tenders; women employees of Johannesburg Water; and poor women. The

intention is to determine any specific measures in the water budget process that had a significant benefit to these three categories of women. The framework is discussed in more detail below.

1.2 Method of research

The study is based on a documentary analysis of primary and secondary sources and is supplemented with semi-structured interviews with officials from Johannesburg Water, Johannesburg Council officials and a focus group discussion with poor women¹ residing in Lawly, an informal settlement situated in ward 7 of Johannesburg's region 11. It represents a marginalised community that is a typical informal settlement in Johannesburg that receives the bare minimum level of municipal services and where poor women constitute the majority of residents.

The interviews held with municipal and utility officials took place between December 2003 and June 2004 and the focus group discussion with the poor women was undertaken in April 2004. The interviews with the officials provided insight into the drafting and implementation of the water budget while the poor women shared their experiences in the consultation phase and use of water for their triple role of reproduction, production and community involvement.

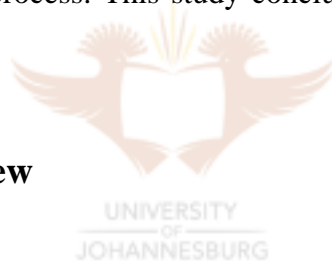
The questions asked during the interviews correlate with the three criteria of representation; participation and benefit accrued to women. Questions to the officials included the extent of gender representation in the departments concerned with drafting and implementing the water budget and the criteria used to develop the key performance areas and indicators for the water budget. In the focus group discussion questions ranged from whether they have access to water and use of water to whether they attend ward meetings. They were further questioned on their relationship with their ward councillor.

¹ There are distinct experiences by the various social, economic and racial categories of women within the municipal area of Johannesburg in fulfilling their triple roles that could not all be captured in this study.

Documents from the Council and Johannesburg Water were for example, examined to determine the water budget allocation as well and the consultation comments from the consultation phase of the budget. Secondly, the quarterly reports during the financial year under study examine with a gender lens the utility's employment practices namely: promotions, appointments, training opportunities as well as procurement patterns.

1.3 Organisation of the study

The study is divided into six sections. This section provides the purpose, method, organisation, literature overview and key concepts of the study. In the second section, the theoretical basis for the gender assessment of the water budget process for the City of Johannesburg is discussed. In the third section, an overview of the water budget process is presented, while section four is devoted to an assessment of the gendered impact of the water budget process. This study concludes with the main findings in section five.



1.4 Literature overview

The attention paid to national budgets from a gender perspective gained prominence since Australia presented a Women's Budget between 1984 and 2001. This has led to the development of a body of literature that converges on the gender analysis of national budgets. Himmelweit (2001) for example, examines the British fiscal budget to establish effects of taxes and benefits on gender. Catagay (2003) proposes that gender analysis takes on a global context to draw out implications on gender equality. In South Africa, the Women's Budget Initiative has carried out significant work on the national government budget and revealed the gender inequality perpetuated by budget allocations (Budlender, 1996; 1997; 1998). Section 2.1.3 below provides more detail on the gender analyses of the country's budget votes.

Scholarly work in South Africa has been done on municipal policy development and in particular on economic policy and the participation of women (see Skinner, 2000). Coopoo (2000) on the other hand, proposes tools that may be used in municipal

revenue to aid poor women and thereby promote gender equality in poor sectors of municipal communities. Naidoo (1999) in addition, has undertaken a study on the impact of gender on the integrated development plan in local government. The research mentioned, has been done over and above the gender analyses of municipal budgets carried out by the Women Budget Initiative (Budlender, 1999). These are the pivotal studies on gender analysis of municipal policies to date.

No study has been undertaken that specifically examines the gendered impact of municipal or specific budget votes for key municipal services such as water and electricity. This study therefore hopes to fill this void.

1.5 Clarification of key concepts

Women occupy three roles that provide the fulcrum of gender relations in society (Moser, 1999). These relations are often defined with the use of concepts such as “gender”; “gender equality”; and “gender sensitivity”. These are the key concepts that underlie the study, and which are clarified below.

1.5.1 Gender

Scott (1998: 42) defines gender as “social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes that often signify relationships of power”. Gender can also be seen as the social institutionalisation of sexual difference (Okin, 1998: 14). As a result, certain roles are delegated to women and others to men based on their biological differences. For instance, the biological fact that women bear children and according them significant responsibility for caring for those children reflects a particular and repressive pattern for gender relations (Phillips, 1987: 3). It implies an inequality existing in society between men and women that is a result of the roles and relationships they occupy. This is evidenced when women are more likely to stay at home and take care of the elderly and children while men go out to work (Phillips, 1987: 19).

1.5.2 Gender equality

The World Bank (2001: 35) defines gender equality as the situation where women and men are equal under the law, have equal opportunities including access to human capital and other productive resources, enjoy equality in terms of rewards for work, and have equality of voice.

In South Africa, the essence of gender equality is enshrined in the Constitution, national legislation and gender machinery. The South African Constitution Act, No. 108 of 1996 guarantees and protects the rights of all South Africans in its Bill of Rights. Further, gender discrimination is specifically prohibited (Constitution, 1996, S9). National legislation has been passed and amended where necessary to prohibit discrimination against designated groups that include women. To promote employment equity for example, the Employment Equity Act, No. 55 of 1998 (Employment Equity Act) requires the use of employment equity plans by employers to reduce gender among other inequalities. The Domestic Violence Act and the Recognition of Customary Marriages Act protects women against social discrimination (Maharaj, 1999: 97). The national gender machinery includes the Office on the Status of Women that is based the Presidency and provincial governments, as well as the Commission for Gender Equality. The national Office on the Status of Women has developed a national policy to facilitate the promotion of gender equality (OSW, 2000) while its provincial branches monitor government policies and programmes for gender sensitivity. In addition, the Commission for Gender Equality monitors and reports on issues on gender equality in government and civil society (Constitution, 1996 S 187).

Notwithstanding this, women still lag behind politically, socially and economically. Although gender equality has been adopted as a principle in terms of the Constitution and other legislation, the reality of the situation is that more women are clustered in the disadvantaged sectors of society. Prior to 1994, South Africa pursued separatism through its *apartheid* policy, which resulted in extreme economic discrepancies in its racial categories. Women have unfortunately borne the brunt of this inequality (Central Statistics, 1998: 21). Van Donk (1999) and Marks (1995) identify various

barriers that perpetuate this inequality among women and men. These include social and economic barriers where more men are educated and skilled for well paying jobs and practical barriers that constrain women at home to fulfil their reproductive roles described below.

This inequality is illustrated by the figures released by Statistics South Africa for the 2001 Census, which show that South African women make up 52,2% of the country's population (Statistics SA, 2003: 9). Regrettably, they are clustered in the disadvantaged rungs of society clearly reflecting the perpetuation of gender inequality. 18% of the South African population for instance, have had no schooling at all. Of these, 60% are females (Statistics SA, 2003: 46). From an economic point of view, the Labour Force Survey carried during this Census period shows that approximately half of the female population is not economically active and most of those that are employed are concentrated in the elementary occupations (Statistics SA, 2003: 52). Therefore, it will take time to erase the effects of the past in South Africa.

1.5.3 Gender sensitivity

According to Moser (1993), a gendered approach to development entails the recognition of women's needs and the different roles that they fulfil in society. There are three roles that women fulfil within their families and in communities. Moser (1993: 27) describes these roles as reproductive, productive and community involvement. Child bearing and rearing as well as taking care of the sick and elderly constitutes the reproductive role of women. The execution of the reproductive role also involves the taking care of homes and the duties that come with that. This takes away time that would be used in income generating activities leaving more women concentrated in the poor sectors of society. As secondary income earners women supplement male income and in cases of female headed households, they substitute male income, which represents the productive responsibilities of women. Finally, women undertake community roles that involve inter alia the organising of community meetings.

The fulfilment of the above triple roles entrench gender inequality in society and as a result women have strategic and practical needs that must be met and catered for to realise gender equality. Social, economic and political opportunities weigh more favourably for men than for women. As a result, women have strategic needs that should be met to elevate them from the insubordinate positions for example, through legislation. (Moser, 1993: 39). The Employment Equity Act, No. 55 of 1998, which, stipulates that women form part of a designated group that should benefit from affirmative action measures in the workplace is an example of such legislation in South Africa. The intention of this Act is to bring about equitable representation in all occupational categories and levels in the workplace (Equity Act, 1998).

Practical needs on the other hand, require that the gendered role of women is considered and accommodated in the provision of services (Moser, 1993: 40). An example is Durban's informal trade policy that caters for gender needs of women traders by putting toilets and childcare facilities in the trading facilities (Skinner and Valodia, 2001).

Based on Moser's requirements for a gender sensitive approach to development, gender sensitivity can be defined "as being sensitive to the different situations and needs of women and men throughout the decision making process in order to promote the achievement of gender equality. It entails searching for, considering and accommodating any aspects of social relations between women and men in the social and cultural context, during the course of any policy, planning or implementation activity" (United Nations Habitat: Internet). It is also considered to be the state of "being aware that women and men must perform different roles and have different needs that must be planned for" (TGNP: Internet). Gender sensitivity can thus be defined as the knowledge of differences in roles that women and men fulfil as well as their different needs. It requires the use of this knowledge to identify and understand the problems arising from these needs and acting purposefully to address them (OSW, 2000: xviii). Therefore, gender sensitivity can be seen as the prerequisite to gender equality because gender sensitive mechanisms must take into account the triple role of women fulfil in society, and their accompanying strategic and practical needs that are discussed above in order to realise gender equality in a more comprehensive manner.

1.5.4 Gender sensitive budgets

Public policy embodies what governments decide to do or not to do (Dye, 2001: 2). There are three general types of public policy: political, executive, and administrative. Political office bearers and public officials determine executive policy (De Coning, 2000: 16). The intention of developing and implementing executive policy is to guide the provision of services to citizens and this public policy type is often embodied in government budgets. This makes government budgets important policy instruments for they declare in monetary terms specific goals and objectives (Gildenhuys, 1997: 117).

As mentioned above, gender sensitive policies are instrumental in the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women in society. A gender sensitive budget for example, is important because it has the potential of improving the efficient use of all human potential through the equal representation of women and men in its development and implementation as well as eliminating subtle and explicit subsidies to men that will be eliminated once services are provided on an equal basis (Budlender, 1997: 53). It should therefore meet strategic and practical needs of women and enable them to fulfil their triple role in society.

1.6 Conclusion

The purpose of this study is to provide evidence of the gendered impact of Johannesburg's water budget process. Although research have been undertaken on the expenditure of government budgets at the international and national level, no study has been undertaken on the entire municipal budget process which is the local sphere of government.

In order to achieve gender equality in society, it has been argued that gender sensitivity in policies and programs is an important requirement. Gender sensitivity refers to the knowledge of differences between the roles women and men fulfil, women's specific needs (that is, strategic and practical) that arise from these roles and using this knowledge to address gender inequality in society. This means that a gender

sensitive budget is a policy instrument available to government to correct gender biases in society.

In order to determine the gendered impact of this water budget, this study will utilise three broad criteria namely: the representation of women in drafting and implementing the water budget; the participation of women; and, benefit accrued to women during the implementation phase. These criteria will be operationalised in terms of gender indicators in the following section.



Section 2: Theoretical framework for the study

This section provides the theoretical framework according to which the gendered impact of the water budget process of Johannesburg will be determined. As pointed out below, budgets are key policy instruments available to governments in their pursuance of policy objectives. The analytical framework developed in this section consists of three broad criteria (representation, participation, and benefit accrued to women), which will be used to establish the extent of gender sensitivity of the water budget. In order to contextualise the study, the first part of the section presents an overview of gender budget analysis that has been done internationally as well as of government budgets in South Africa. The above criteria will be operationalised in terms of gender indicators. The last part of this section provides a brief overview of the major feminist perspectives on the importance of these criteria.

2.1 Gender sensitivity in budgets

As shown above, governments at national or local level use budgets as a policy instrument that directs the allocation of resources to realise set goals (Hanekom, 1987: 8). It becomes critical that this instrument be assessed for gender sensitivity. The Beijing Platform for Action recognises and emphasises the need for a gender sensitive budget. It refers to the link between economics and politics, which requires that the democratic participation of women in economic structures is necessary to facilitate their access to resources, opportunities and public services (Budlender, 1996: 26). It has been acknowledged that the representation of women in political and decision-making structures will not solely assure gender equality. Rather, gender sensitive mechanisms must be utilised by governments to accommodate the triple roles of women to assure their empowerment as well. Budgets are therefore deemed as gender sensitive when they fulfil the strategic needs of women by assuring their representation in decision making structures; when women's practical needs such as access to sufficient water are met, and when their triple roles are accommodated.

As has been pointed out above, the analysis of a government budget with the intention of determining the level of gender sensitivity gained prominence when Australia

mandated the gender analysis of their national and territorial annual budgets since 1984. In Africa, the studies carried out in Tanzania and South Africa have also concentrated on the analysis of government expenditure in three categories: gender specific expenditure; equal opportunity expenditures; and mainstream expenditures.

2.1.1 Australia's Women's Budget

Australia is at the forefront of the Women's Budget Initiative, as the gender budget analysis is otherwise known. Its Office on the Status of Women has annually tabled a Women's Budget from 1984 until the late 1990s with its national budget. The analyses were a government initiative supported by feminist bureaucrats who were instrumental in pushing that the analyses were carried out at national, state and territorial levels (Budlender, n.d.: 7).

Elson (1998: 935) surmised that this exercise was instrumental in increasing gender sensitivity in Australian budgets in four ways. Firstly, it encouraged departments to consider the impact their policies had on women. Secondly, this consideration resulted in reducing gender blindness. Thirdly, the exercise promoted the generation of gender specific data needed for the presentation of the Women's budgets. Finally, it proved to be a useful resource for women to debate on the territorial, state or national budgets.

However, according to Elson (1998: 936), several shortcomings were also experienced. Firstly, no guidelines were provided on how to illustrate how much and what kind of expenditure had been reduced and the resultant effect on gender. Moreover, no attention was given to the revenue side of the budget. It proved to be too arduous to analyse mainstream expenditure effectively since the Women's budget was presented in terms prescribed which were inhibitive. Secondly, quantifiable mechanisms could not be provided for improvements over time, which meant that the analysis was reduced to a reporting exercise. Since it was a government initiative it made officials less willing to analyse and criticise government expenditure openly. Lastly, there was no support from women in civil society so as feminist bureaucrats left government, government seemed less willing to present the Women's budget and

by 2000, all but one of the initiatives had been abandoned (Budlender, n.d: 8). Nonetheless, the Australian Women's budget has set the precedent for gender analysis of budgets throughout the world.

2.1.2 Tanzania's Women's Budget Initiative

Tanzania is one of the African countries that had been coerced into adopting structural adjustment programmes. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, developing countries were compelled to adopt structural adjustment programmes of macro economic stabilization and structural economic reform in order to receive loans from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank that they desperately needed. These programs required massive deregulation, privatisation, currency devaluation and social spending cuts (Hong E: Internet). The financial implications of these adjustment programmes would be naturally reflected in the governmental annual budgets.

Tanzania has embarked on a gender budget initiative within the context of the above programmes. Based on the South African model the Tanzanian initiative examined mainstream expenditure for its education and health votes. This initiative was a joint effort between the Tanzanian government and the non-governmental organisation, the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme with funding from international donors. It has been instrumental in highlighting gender issues and building networks between government officials, civil society and non-governmental organisations (Budlender, n.d: 28). However, the issues that were highlighted in the gender analysis have not been integrated into the country's budget primarily because of a lack of funds (Budlender, n.d: 28).

2.1.3 South Africa's Women's Budget Initiative

In the case of South Africa, two non-governmental organisations (NGOs), the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE) and the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA) together with the Gender and Economic Policy Group of the Joint Standing Committee on Finance carried out the Women's Budget Initiative

(Budlender, 1997: 1). All 26 Budget votes of different ministries as well as cross cutting sectors of taxation budget reform, public sector employment and intergovernmental relations were analysed over three years (Budlender, 1998: 1). This initiative has been recognised by the government and acknowledged in its initial CEDAW report in 1998. At the time, analyses had been carried out on 16 of the 26 budget votes but this had motivated the future development of a gender disaggregated statistical base, target indicators and gender sensitive programme review mechanisms (United Nations: Internet). Furthermore, gender structures or focal points were set up in some government departments. For instance, in 1997 the Department of Home Affairs had appointed a gender desk to monitor progress in areas such as equal opportunities within the Department (Bruyn *et al.*, 1997: 89).

At the level of national government, mainstream expenditures analyses were carried out to determine whether the values of gender equality and the empowerment of women had been reflected in budget expenditure (Budlender, 1999: 21). This provided the Women's Budget Initiative impetus to carry out an expenditure analysis of five municipalities and establish whether municipal budgets improved the lives of poor women (Budlender, 1999).

The municipal gender analyses were carried out during the interim phase of local government transformation when municipalities underwent major political and administrative structural changes (White Paper, 1998: 4). As a result, observations made during the analyses were biased because of the unstable nature of local government at the time (Budlender, 1999: 33). However, the analyses established that despite the proximity municipalities enjoyed with their local communities, gender inequality still persisted. Furthermore, the analyses focussed on the expenditure aspect of municipal budget thereby overlooking the preparation and drafting phases of the budgets, phases instrumental to the entire process, which should also reflect gender sensitivity.

The above national and municipal analyses initiatives did not prompt further analysis especially in municipalities. Nonetheless, the criteria used and results provided have set the precedent for this study and facilitated the development of gender indicators that are used for the three broad criteria of representation, participation and benefit.

2.2 The importance of analysing Johannesburg's water budget

To date, gender budget analyses on all phases of budget process have seldom been carried out (Elson, 2001: 2). Rather, expenditure analyses have been carried out on national budgets as the case of Australia, Tanzania and South Africa. These involve complex processes and activities that are often far removed from its citizens, making **expenditure** gender budget analysis more pragmatic. In contrast, a municipal budget interacts more directly with its local community thereby intensifying the need for the gender analysis of the **entire** municipal budget **process** using the three criteria discussed below.

The City of Johannesburg provides municipal services within an international and national policy framework outlined above that seeks to promote gender equality and the empowerment of women in its local community. In line with this framework, it must be established whether the municipality has gender equality as a tenet that directs its policy development and implementation. The presence (absence) of this tenet determines the consciousness with which municipal service delivery is pursued to assure that women are represented, that they participate and they benefit from these services.

The City has established its political and administrative structure to align to its constitutional mandate and has in place a long-term vision known as *Jo'burg 2030* that does not include a gender perspective in its development. Five mayoral objectives strategically align to this vision as well as an integrated development plan (IDP) that is in its second year of implementation. The City's annual budget is developed and implemented within the context of these medium and long-term policies. To facilitate this, the municipal council has set up autonomous companies to provide the municipal services that are categorised as utilities, agencies and corporatised entities (UACs). Utilities handle key municipal services that generate profit from user charges on services consumed (GJMC, 2000). Johannesburg Water is the utility responsibly for water and sanitation services to the City's residents. The utility develops and implements its own budget. This budget is presented to the council as part of the City's budget and is referred to as the Water Vote (B2) for approval before

Johannesburg Water implements the water service delivery plan. The development, approval and implementation of this vote during the financial year 2003/2004 will be the focus of the study.

The importance of water and sanitation services by Johannesburg Water on women's lives motivates the assessment of the water budget. In the first instance given that the service is critical in helping women meet their productive role, therefore fulfilling practical gender needs, it is important that poor women have access to a basic level of services. Women should also participate in drafting the budget and voice their needs in forums. Finally, they should benefit through employment practices of the utility, or through procurement. These latter categories will provide evidence of meeting of strategic needs where women are advanced into positions previously excluded to them. The three broad criteria of representation, participation and benefit using gender indicators will be used to assess this.

2.3 Analytical framework to determine gendered impact of the water budget

The pivotal gender analysis of municipal policies include the municipal case studies done by the Women's Budget Initiative (Budlender, 1999), impact of revenue tools and access to municipal services (Coopoo, 2000), and gender and integrated development planning (Naidoo, 1999). This study intends to provide evidence of the gendered impact of the water budget, a key municipal service.

The expenditure analyses determine the impact of government budgets on women using gender indicators (Budlender, 1996; 1997; 1998; 1999). Gender indicators similar to those used in these analyses are operationalised and categorised into three broad criteria for purposes of the study. These indicators are outlined below.

The initial criterion is the **significant administrative and political representation of women throughout the budget process**. The Municipal Systems Act and the Employment Equity Act legally prescribe the political and administrative representation of women respectively. Gender indicators that determine political

representation include the existence of a dedicated gender structure in the council administration and in Johannesburg Water as well as the gender representation in Johannesburg's municipal council, the number of female ward councillors and in mayoral committees. The role of women in drafting and implementing the water budget constitutes the administrative representation of women. The gender balance in the key departments that compile the water budget for example in the Budget Office and in Johannesburg Water are the gender indicators for the study.

The second broad criterion is the **participation of poor women in governance structures during the consultation phase**. Women must participate in the consultation and approval phases of the water budget. The inclusion (exclusion) of gender needs will illustrate. Gender indicators used for the study include the needs poor women voice in the consultation phase and the vote choice of female ward councillors.

The final criterion is the **measured benefit that women may (not) receive as a result of their representation and participation**. Gender indicators include the evidence of gender as a principle that guides key performance areas and targets for water and sanitation service provision, a gender need for water in the consultation comments before they are presented to the Council for approval. The productive role met by poor women, women employees of Johannesburg Water and women owned businesses that supply Johannesburg Water with good and services during 2003/2004 will also constitute gender indicators for this study. The above gender indicators used in the study are presented in table format below.

Table 1: Gender indicators used in the study

Criterion/ budget phase	Representation	Participation	Benefit accrued to women
Drafting	<p>Political representation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Existence of a gender structure in CJ and JW Gender balance in JW board Gender balance in mayoral committees <p>Administrative representation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gender balance in Budget office, CMU, JW Number of women drafting the water budget 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Role of women drafting the water budget 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gender underlying principle for drafting budget Establish if water is a priority need that is voiced by women in consultation forums
Consultation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Frequency of community participation Method/ media used to relay times and venue Gender balance in forums Gender balance of attendees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Is budget understood within IDP framework as presented Types of needs voiced by poor women 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Are gender needs of poor women included in water budget Value placed on unpaid labour
Approval	<p>Political representation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gender balance in municipal council Number of female ward councillors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Are needs voiced by poor women documented 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Municipal council made aware of poor women's needs Impact on vote choice
Implementation	<p>Administrative representation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gender balance in JW employment in different occupational categories Promotions and appointments that occur within 2003/2004 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Domestic burden relieved for poor women Establish level of productive role met

CJ-City of Johannesburg; JW – Johannesburg Water; CMU – Contract Management Unit; IDP-integrated development plan

Although each criteria is significant in itself, using them in isolation tends to shroud government policies, processes and programmes in mystery while highlighting the absence of gender sensitivity. It is hoped that combining the three criteria will not only indicate the level of gender sensitivity of the programme or policy but also clarify the complexity under which government operates.

2.4 The importance of women's representation in decision making structures

The need for women to be represented in decision making structures is justified from various perspectives. At a personal level, it fulfils strategic needs as envisaged by Moser (1993: 39). However, from a public decision making perspective there have been divergent arguments for the inclusion of women in political and decision-making positions. The arguments are based on the lack of female representation in prominent political arenas in society. These arguments stem from the views of liberal feminists, radical feminists and maternal feminists or care ethicists, who also form part of the radical feminists (Phillips, 1997).

Voet (1998:26) projects a liberal feminist view that propagates that women must be accorded equal rights and treatment as men in society. The inclusion of women is therefore, a matter of basic human and democratic rights (Sadie, 1999: 211). Women are considered to have inalienable rights, considered accountable and capable of making rational decisions (Farganis, 1994: 27). Public citizenship and the attainment of equality with men in the public arena are central to liberal feminism. Liberal feminists explain women's position in society in terms of unequal rights by stressing that the importance on concentrating on the public sphere, specifically on legal, political and institutional struggles for the rights of women, is very important (Beasley, 1999: 51).

Radical feminists emphasize sexual difference as the singular basis of inequality (Okin, 1998: 26) and concentrate entirely on the oppression of women by proposing sexism to be at the heart of this (Whelehan, 1995: 70-71). These feminists give priority to denouncing patriarchal or male norms (Voet, 1998: 26) and also stress that in a social order dominated by men, the process of changing sexual oppression must involve a focus on women (Beasley, 1999: 54). To change patriarchal values, radical feminism emphasises the participation of women in decision-making structures.

Maternal or care-ethicists broadly argue that taking the ethics of care into government decision-making may alter the prevailing patriarchal value system. One of the

foundation works in this regard has been the work of Gilligan (as quoted in Sadie, 1999: 212), who argues that women's psycho-socialisation result in an ethic of care or an ethic of responsibility while men are socialised to adopt an ethic of justice or one of rights. Scholars such as Sevenhuijsen has according to Sadie (1999: 212) radicalised the 'ethics of care' notion in a universal socio-political practice. The inclusion of women in political decision-making therefore has the potential to impact on political issues. Without exception the divergent arguments presented above justify the inclusion of women in political and decision-making structures as an important indicator of ensuring women are represented in these structures.

A strong democracy is required to enable elected women to voice their needs otherwise their representation will not be of value to their constituents. Carlos (2001) for instance, deduces that representation of women in a weak democracy will not necessarily be sufficient to present gender issues with the rationale that the arena for presenting their gender needs will always be neutralised therefore they will not be effective in making policies and programmes gender sensitive.

The sole reliance on the political representation of women is not always sufficient to propel gender issues into the prominence of altering policies and programmes. Administrative representation is also required to present gender issues. Bruyn *et al.* (1997: 69) portray this in their demonstration of how the scarce representation of women in administrative positions involved in drafting national budget further impedes the integration of gender issues.

It is evident that the administrative representation of women and a strong democracy is necessary to augment the political representation of women and forward gender issues into policymaking and implementation. It is critical that additional criteria should be used in conjunction with the representation of women when analysing for gender sensitivity.

2.5 The importance of women's participation in the budget process

Participation in a municipal budget process occurs at two levels. In the first instance, participation of municipal residents will occur during the consultation phase of the budget process. Municipal officials drive participation at this level. Secondly, during the approval phase of municipal budgets, political participation takes place when the municipal council decides by approving specific municipal services that are provided in the coming year on the basis of its strategic goals (Gildenhuis, 1997: 119).

The participation of municipal residents is important because it allows them to scrutinise, understand and contribute to the development and implementation of municipal programmes and policies. It enables residents to link financial allocations to service delivery by broadening their economic understanding of resource allocation (Pandy *et al.*, 2000: 69). This level of participation is vital for women in general and poor women in particular because it gives marginalized communities “the voice and space to air their views in decision-making processes” (Bangura, 1997:14). Pandy *et al.* (2000: 69) posit that participation puts the agenda of poor women before municipalities. This is justified by Marks (1995: 20) who states that the “full involvement of women in local government structures is critical in ensuring the policies and practices of local government become gender sensitive both in their formulation and application”. Municipal officials are required to take input from marginalized communities and incorporate these views into the draft budget as part of consultation comments before it is presented before council for approval. Tinkler (n.d.: 18) surmises that including gender issues will influence local decisions and policy because issues that would otherwise be left out in the present patriarchal system will be included and presented before council.

The identification and inclusion of gender issues in policy development prior to the approval phase where the second level of participation occurs is important. According to Panczer (2002) gender issues do have a significant impact on vote choice of female political representatives. On the other hand, there is no relation between gender and voting behaviour on non-gender issues. These are instead determined by political

party agenda where female representatives vote in favour of their political parties on these latter issues (Panczer, 2002). Gender issues have to be identified and included in the draft budget before it goes to the municipal council for approval otherwise female political representatives will vote in allegiance to their political parties. Under such circumstances, the approved municipal budget will not be a gender sensitive tool that seeks to promote gender equality.

In summary, the participation of women in the municipal budget process is an important criterion because it indicates whether any gender needs are raised and documented in the consultation phase and whether these gender needs influence the vote choice in council.

2.6 The benefits of women's participation

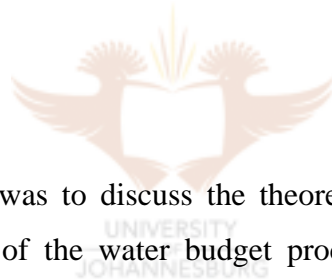
The representation and participation of women in the governing process is intended to benefit women. These criteria must by all means facilitate the triple roles of women and fulfil their practical and strategic needs (section 1.5.3). To assess the benefit accrued to women, the evidence of gender equality as a principle is first established which is followed by an assessment of the fulfilment of these roles prior to development and again during and after the implementation of the policy so as to determine the benefit criterion in a more holistic manner.

Research shows that the absence of gender sensitivity in the planning of resource utilisation perpetuates gender inequality in society. According to Elson (1995: 233) this has been the case in the implementation of structural adjustment programmes in developing countries. The formulation of these programmes did not take into account gender relations and the gender division of labour within and outside of households. As a result the programmes have not improved the quality of citizens' lives as intended. On the other hand, Skinner and Valodia (2001) present the case of women who mobilised and participated in the development of Durban's informal trade policy. This resulted in the inclusion of gender needs in the informal trade policy. Durban now enables women traders to meet their productive roles by putting toilets and

childcare facilities in the trading facilities that allow women traders to take care of their children whilst they work.

There are various benefits that accrue to women in their various categories that stem from their representation and participation in the municipal budget process. The evidence of gender as an underlying principle for drafting the water budget could increase the likelihood of integrating gender needs when drafting the water budget. For example, poor women having water at a closer proximity as a gender need for water places a value on unpaid labour and enables these women to fulfil their productive role, thereby meeting their practical needs. The evidence of gender targets in employment practices should permit women employees to advance to higher occupational categories whereby they are minimally represented. Gender targets in procurement policies make it possible for women entrepreneurs to meet their strategic needs by increasing their access to tenders for providing goods and services.

2.7 Conclusion



The essence of this section was to discuss the theoretical framework according to which the gendered impact of the water budget process of Johannesburg will be determined. Gender analysis of national budgets of Australia, Tanzania and South Africa are presented to put the study into context.

Three criteria namely representation, participation and benefit to women were operationalised in terms of gender indicators. At the representation level, gender indicators include the gender balance in the municipal council and in mayoral committees. With regard to participation, the gender needs include the evidence of needs voiced by poor women for water in the consultation phase, while benefit will be evaluated in terms of training opportunities availed to female employees.

The section concluded with the different feminist perspectives on the importance of including women in political and decision making structures and specifically in the municipal budget process. It is argued (from a liberal perspective) that it is democratically just to have women represented in these structures. From a radical

feminist perspective including women's voice in these structures reduces the patriarchal nature of these structures thereby meeting their strategic needs. As a result, women are likely to benefit in their various categories (social, economic or political) from this process, for example, integrating a gender need for water enables poor women access to water and enables them fulfil their productive role and meet their practical needs. The following section will provide an overview of Johannesburg's water budget process for 2003/2004.



Section 3: The water budget process for the City of Johannesburg

Where the previous section operationalised the three criteria of representation, participation and benefit accrued to women in terms of gender indicators to assess the gendered impact of the water budget, this section provides an overview of the water budget process of the City of Johannesburg. Such a discussion is important to establish the extent of gender sensitivity in Johannesburg's water budget process, which is the focus for the next section.

Johannesburg's municipal budget process consists of four phases namely: drafting, consultation, approval and implementation. These phases which are described separately below, are prescribed by the Municipal Finance Management Act (MFMA, 2003 S15, 16) and involve three key groups: council administration, councillors and municipal residents. The council administration is primarily responsible for drafting and implementing a municipal budget and its respective IDP. It also organises consultations with municipal residents to obtain their views on provision of municipal services in a given financial year. Councillors provide political oversight by approving municipal budgets and their respective IDPs. Finally, municipal residents consume and in the case of municipal services for instance, water and electricity they pay for their consumption. As mentioned above, they are also afforded the platform to be informed on draft budget and voice their views in the consultative process.

The water budget process is a component of the municipal budget process. It is illustrated and described in Figure 1 (page 32) below to show the flow of actions and decisions that have resulted in the water budget for financial year 2003/2004 that consists of approximately R 2.7 billion as the operating budget and R 200 million for the capital budget (CJ, 2003c: 9).

A municipal financial year runs from 1 July to 30 June in the following year (Craythorne, 1998: 493) so it is logical for the drafting, consultation and approval phases of the water budget process to take place in the previous financial year. This process is described below and is adapted from Johannesburg's municipal budget process for 2003-2005.

Of particular importance is to determine whether the drafting and consultation phases incorporate or dissociate gender needs and values in developing the water budget. The political oversight is assessed to determine the councillors' role in integrating gender needs.

3.1 The drafting phase

Drafting the water budget is a complex affair that concerns the balancing of numerical figures and reconciling them to strategic objectives that must be met in a given financial year. In the case of Johannesburg, these objectives are represented by six Mayoral objectives namely: good governance; economic development and job creation; inner city regeneration; service delivery; and HIV and AIDS (CJ 2003a: 5). This phase takes place in a gender-neutral environment.

During this phase, a balancing act is carried out by the following departments: the Budget Office, Contract Management Unit (CMU) office of the council administration and the Finance Department of Johannesburg Water, the utility responsible for the provision of water and sanitation services to the residents of Johannesburg. There are six steps in the drafting phase as described below. The mayoral committee and *lekgotla* approval in this phase as shown in Figure 1 below represent political oversight that takes place simultaneously during the drafting phase (Mokete, Interview, 9 December 2003).

The Budget Office is the hub of preparation of the City's budget and is responsible for the entire budget process. The first step is kick-started in this office in July of the preceding financial year where the Budget Office determines an Indicative Allocation (IA) for each municipal service and council administration function. Each IA is essentially a financial value attached to each municipal service and administrative function. The water IA represents Johannesburg Water's income and expenditure for the coming financial year. The water IA and the rest of the allocations are presented before the first *mayoral lekgotla*, which is made up of a caucus of the Executive Mayor and the chairs of the mayoral committees for approval in October.

In the second step, the water IA is relayed to the CMU, the department that oversees Johannesburg Water. The CMU attaches a budget pack to the IA. The pack contains the format that outlines the process for preparing a detailed budget and guides the utility's financial planning and forwards this to Johannesburg Water for the third step. The Finance Department of Johannesburg Water proceeds to prepare a detailed budget that is in the form of a business plan between November and February. Ultimately, the business plan is presented to the CMU for review in February.

During step four, the CMU reviews the business plan and in turn relays the plan to the Budget Office, which prepares the utility's final IA on the basis of this plan. This final IA is presented to the second *mayoral lekgotla* in February.

On approval, this final IA is forwarded to the Finance Department to prepare its final business plan between March and April that the CMU will present before the Municipal Services Entities committee for political oversight in step five. This mayoral committee is politically responsible for Johannesburg Water and City Power.

In the final step, the Budget Office consolidates the final business plan of Johannesburg Water with other budget votes in the draft municipal budget and its integrated development plan (IDP). These are then presented to the municipal community through regional meetings in the consultation phase outlined below.

There are several decision-making structures that women can be represented on to meet their strategic needs. From the above description of the drafting phase, these structures are: the Budget Office; the CMU; Johannesburg's Water's finance department and the *mayoral lekgotla*.

3.2 The consultation phase

The consultation phase overlaps with the drafting phase as illustrated in Figure 1 because these phases must precede the approval of the municipal budget. Consultation is described below taking into account measures stipulated in national legislation and municipal policy for the participation of women. The financial year, 2003/2004 is the

first time since 1994, the dawn of the new democratic dispensation, that Johannesburg has undertaken a community participation process before its draft budget was presented to the council for approval. The intention of consultation is to encourage participation and obtain issues raised by the municipal community regarding municipal service delivery.

The Municipal Systems Act, No. 32 of 2000 (Municipal Systems Act) requires that the municipal community be consulted to ensure that their needs are incorporated into the draft municipal budget and that they are informed of the financial implications of municipal service delivery (Municipal Systems Act, 2000 S 16). This consultation process is over and above the present political structures for councillors and ward committees.

The consultation phase takes place between March and April by way of combined ward (regional) meetings throughout the eleven regions in Johannesburg where the draft budget and its IDP are presented to municipal communities. The presentation is limited to a regional context and therefore each regional presentation reflects the draft budget specific to its region (CJ 2003a: 14). In addition, meetings are held with representatives from NGOs, organised labour, business as well as a cumulative stakeholders' meeting to increase share of different sectors consulted in this phase.

The inclusion of women is reinforced by the Municipal Systems Act (2000 S17), which specifically stipulates the inclusion of women in participation structures for example, in regional meetings where a draft municipal budget is presented to communities for information and comment before it is presented before council for approval. In 2002, the City of Johannesburg also adopted a public participation policy that embraces the values enshrined in the Municipal Systems Act. The policy cites the need to integrate needs of people with special requirements: illiterate; people with disabilities; women and senior citizens (CJ, 2002:11). The consultation phase should afford women the opportunity to be informed of the financial commitments for municipal delivery in a given financial year, and more importantly, provide the platform to voice their views regarding the intended municipal delivery (Robinson, 1995: 13).

However, the policy does not develop specific regulations to convincingly increase and record the gender needs that are voiced in the consultation process. In addition, Johannesburg's public participation policy does not acknowledge women's differentiation in terms of race, age, economic status, literacy, rural, urban and disability that may further distinguish gender needs voiced by these different categories of women for municipal services in the consultative process. This oversight further disadvantages poor women because it reduces the likelihood of their voice being carried through to the point where the budget is approved as a policy instrument or in service delivery.

Notwithstanding the above limitations, when the consultation is complete, the budget participation comments are consolidated and attached to the draft budget and presented to the Finance Committee for final political oversight in the preparation of the budget. Comments gleaned from the above meetings are recorded and form the reference document from the consultation process and should inform further analysis and decision-making especially in the approval phase.

3.3 The approval phase

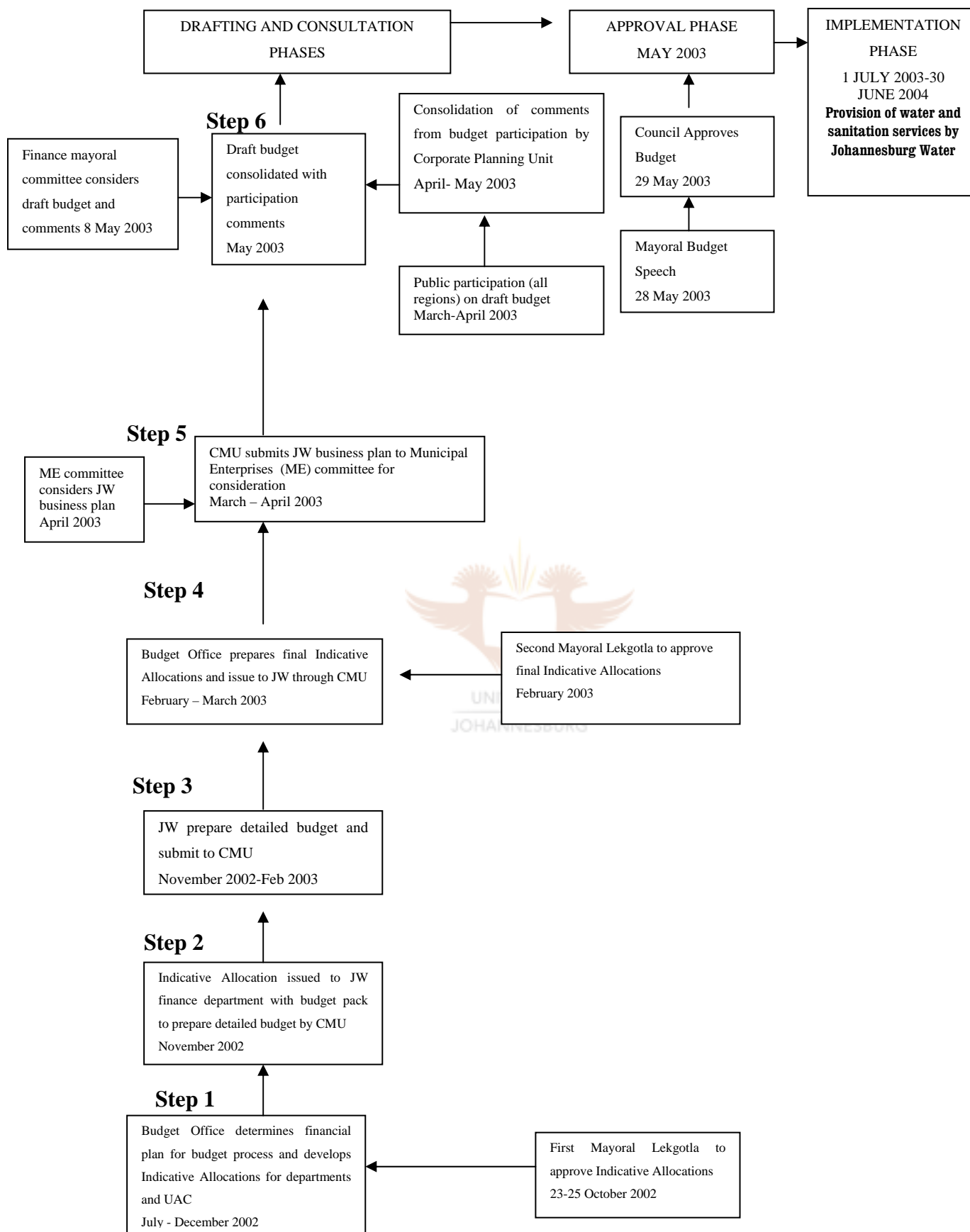


The third phase represents the occasion where councillors exercise authority in determining financial direction for municipal service provision for the next financial year. The approval of a municipal budget is a municipal function that may not be delegated by Johannesburg's municipal council (Constitution, 1996 S 160{2}{b}), Johannesburg's 217 councillors have a special meeting to consider and approve the draft budget and its IDP prior to the commencement of the financial year to which it relates. Councillors are divided into 108 PR councillors and 109 ward councillors. PR councillors are elected from party lists while ward councillors are directly elected from wards by the constituents (Municipal Structures Act, 1998). Direct election enables ward councillors to deliberate any identified issues before council in the interest of their wards as opposed to PR councillors who are confined by the political party agenda. This is examined further in the participation criterion.

The Director of the CMU presents budgets for all UACs that include the water budget. He recommends the following: firstly that utility's budget be approved for the current financial year based on its three year plan: secondly, the utility's capital expenditure for the same period be approved: finally, the council permit the CMU to evaluate the utility's key performance indicators and identify any additional indicators (CJ, 2003*b*: 13).

The Johannesburg municipal budget and IDP for the 2003/2004 year is approved along political party lines, indicated by the vote choice of dominating political parties on either side. The Democratic Alliance (DA) categorically dissents this vote like the rest of the votes presented during this meeting (CJ, 2003*c*: 13). The ANC and smaller political parties, which include the: Pan African Congress; New National Party; African Christian Democratic Party; and the Inkatha Freedom Party approve and pass the water budget on the basis of majority votes. On approval, the water vote is ready for implementation by Johannesburg Water. In Figure 1 on the following page, an overview of the water budget for the financial year 2003/2004 is presented. This is followed by a description of the allocations for the water budget by Johannesburg Water.

Figure 1: An Overview of the water budget process 2003/2004



Compiled by A. Kithatu. Source: Budget Office, n.d.

3.4 The implementation phase

1 July of each year coincides with the municipal financial year as well as the start of the implementation phase of the water vote by Johannesburg Water. Johannesburg Water controls 23% of the City's income and 37% of its expenditure (CJ, 2003c: 9). The approved water budget consists of an operating and a capital budget for the year 2003/ 2004. The approved operating budget and the capital budget presented in the table below, provides the financial framework for the gender assessment of the water budget process.

Table 2: Approved income and expenditure for 2003/2004

Income approved for Johannesburg Water	R 2 579 477 000
% Of City's total income	23%
% Of user charges as source of income	93%
Other income	7%
Expenditure approved for Johannesburg Water	R 2 697 882 000
% Expenditure directed to employee costs	12,79%
% Expenditure spend on bulk purchases	45.1%

Source: CJ, 2003c: 9, 14, 69

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As indicated in Table 1 above, a substantial amount of the utility's income (93%) is generated from user charges. Municipal residents are responsible for paying for water consumption. However, the utility must take cognisance of consumers who cannot afford to pay for consumption and ensure they access a basic level of water and sanitation services. On the other hand, over half of the expenditure incurred in the financial year 2003/2004 is directed towards bulk purchases and employee costs. Over R 190 million is allocated for capital expenditure that includes low-income services and new infrastructure.

In implementing the water budget as the utility responsible for water and sanitation services to the residents of Johannesburg, Johannesburg Water must comply with municipal legislation that governs municipal service delivery in addition to operating as a section 21 company. For instance, the Municipal Systems Act (2000) stipulates the development and management of performance management systems for efficient,

effective and equitable use of services for municipal service delivery. In compliance with this, Johannesburg has a balanced scorecard for the City, which Johannesburg Water must develop indicating Key Performance Areas (KPAs), Key Performance Indicators (KPI) and targets. Johannesburg Water developed nine KPAs for 2003/2004 with no input from the council or from municipal residents (Interview, Coetzee, 23 March 2004). The nine KPAs that will guide its provision of water and sanitation services for the financial year under scrutiny are:

- To provide basic services to all residents within the City
- To ensure customer responsiveness
- To promote empowerment
- To ensure efficiency and effectiveness of water and waste water services
- To ensure water and waste water quality compliance
- To promote human resource development
- To improve financial viability
- To enhance implementation of the capital investment program
- To ensure efficient revenue management

(CJ, 2003c: 170-172).

None of the critical focus areas above make provision for any special focus on gender. The promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women are not featured as a separate KPA nor incorporated in any of the identified KPAs. This makes these critical predetermined intentions of the utility outlined above gender neutral.

Conversely, three of the above KPAs are significant to the assessment because of the effect they may have on promoting gender equality and also of the effect they have on the triple roles of various categories of women that may be quantified. In providing basic level of water and sanitation services to all residents poor women who form the majority in the poor communities should have access to a free basic level of service to meet their reproductive roles. Secondly, in promoting empowerment, women who form part of the designated group that must benefit from empowerment practices as prescribed in national legislation are likely to benefit. Lastly in promoting human resource development within the organisation of Johannesburg Water women are also

likely to benefit as employees. As indicated in the previous section, these three categories of women form the focus of analysis on the benefit accrued to women.

The water budget process has the potential to promote gender equality and the empowerment of women in Johannesburg because its drafting, consultation, approval and implementation phases can positively affect different categories of women who fulfil different gender roles and thereby enable them to meet their different gender needs.

3.5 Conclusion

The water budget, which is a component of the municipal budget, consists of four phases; the finance department does the drafting phase of the water budget with oversight from the CMU and the Budget Office and women should be represented in these structures. Secondly, the consultation phase is the opportunity for municipal resident to be informed of financial implications of municipal services and to air their views. This phase is important to poor women who constitute the majority in marginalised communities for it avails them these opportunities. The municipal council provides political oversight by approving the budget in the third phase. Lastly, in terms of implementation, Johannesburg Water provides water and sanitation services to the residents of Johannesburg.

Section 4: Assessing the gendered impact of the water budget

The overview of the water budget process presented in the previous section provides the context in which the gendered impact of the water budget process is carried out. Several gender indicators have been identified (see section 2.3) in the four phases of the budget process to assess the extent of gender sensitivity in the water budget. These indicators comply with the criteria of representation, participation and benefit. This section will assess gender sensitivity according to these indicators and the extent to which women's roles and needs are fulfilled.

4.1 The fulfilment of the representation criterion

It has been pointed out in section two that a democratic basis for the political representation of women exists (liberal feminist perspective). Also, the different values that women bring to governance structures (from a radical perspective, section 2.4) in terms of gender issues in policy development contributes to the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women. With regard to the municipal budget, the administrative representation of women allows for their participation in drafting such budgets. Women should also be afforded the opportunity to partake in policy implementation and thereby reap employee benefits or profits as entrepreneurs.

The first part of this section examines which of the twelve gender indicators for representation are present throughout the water budget process. The evidence (lack) thereof will determine whether the critical mass for the representation of women in the water budget's governance structures has been attained. It will also illustrate the administrative representation of women throughout the process.

4.1.1 Political representation of women in the approval phase

As discussed in section 2.3 the extent of women's representation in the water budget is measured according to their numbers in Johannesburg's municipal council; the

presence of dedicated gender structures² in the council administration and in Johannesburg Water; in mayoral committees as well as in the governing structure of Johannesburg Water; and the evidence of a gender KPA in the water budget vote as presented to the Council for approval.

The Municipal Structures Act, No. 117 of 1998 (Municipal Structures Act) and the ANC's quota of 30% have resulted in more women councillors in Johannesburg after the second democratic local elections in December 2000. The municipal council has 217 councillors of which a third are female. With 73 women councillors Johannesburg is at the forefront of the six metro councils in terms of the number of female councillors (Pottie, 2001: 7). The 217 councillors are further divided in 109 ward councillors and 108 Proportional Representation (PR) councillors. The legislative and ANC support has resulted in 53 female PR councillors. There are 20 women ward councillors directly elected from wards of whom 12 belong to the DA and the rest to the ANC (Shiburi, Interview, 25 February 2004). This is synonymous with the national average of 17% female councillors (Pottie as cited in Meintjies, 2004). As indicated in the overview of the water budget process (section three), the female ward councillors voted along political party lines for the water budget.

The National Policy for the Promotion of Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (2000) recommends that gender structures be established in municipalities to "drive transformation in both their internal and external work" (OSW, 2000: 33). These structures would monitor and evaluate municipal policies and programmes to promote gender sensitivity. Johannesburg has not yet established a gender structure. However, in November 2003, a Human Resource specialist was appointed and gender was delegated as part of this official's function. Gender is also part of the job description of the Director for Strategic Services for the council administration (Shiburi, Interview, 25 February 2004: 2). In face of these two loci where responsibility for gender potentially lies, little progress has been made in terms of consolidating gender initiative in municipal policies and programmes. This situation

² Gender structures go beyond political representation of women and could justify inclusion of gender as a guiding principle in municipal policies and programs as well as monitor these municipal activities for gender sensitivity.

is exacerbated by the absence of a dedicated gender structure in Johannesburg Water to monitor and evaluate the promotion of gender equality in and by the utility.

With respect to political representation of women in mayoral committees and the board of Johannesburg Water, they both have 40% female representation (CJ, 2003c; JW, Internet). In addition, the previous section indicates the absence of gender in the nine KPAs present in the water budget for approval before the municipal council.

It is evident that the critical mass for the political representation of women in the governance structures of the water budget has been attained. However, gender does not feature as a target in the water budget vote nor do the council administration and Johannesburg Water have dedicated gender structures.

4.1.2 Administrative representation of women in the drafting phase

As pointed out in Section 2, gender analysis on political representation suggests that it is not adequate to rely solely on the political representation of women to propel and integrate gender issues in government policies and programmes. Rather, the administrative representation of women is necessary to supplement political representation in putting gender issues on the agenda.

To establish the administrative representation of women in drafting the water budget, the Budget Office, CMU, and Finance department of Johannesburg Water are assessed below.

In the Budget Office of the council administration, seven of its 13 employees, including its director, are female (Interview, Mokete, 9 December 2003). In the CMU office, half of its directors are female and there is only one female manager as compared with five male managers. The remaining 11 employees are women, all of whom hold administrative positions.

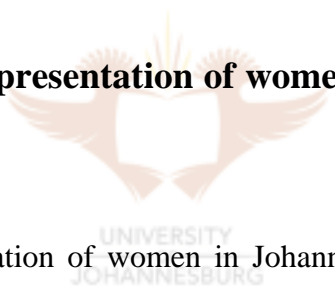
Johannesburg Water comprises five departments: Human Resources and Corporate Affairs; Finance; Operations; Customer Services; and Capital Expenditure that are all

headed by men. The utility's chief financial officer is female and the Finance Department that reports to her is male dominated (Interview, Mayne, 13 April 2004). The Finance Department deals with the preparation of business plans for the utility.

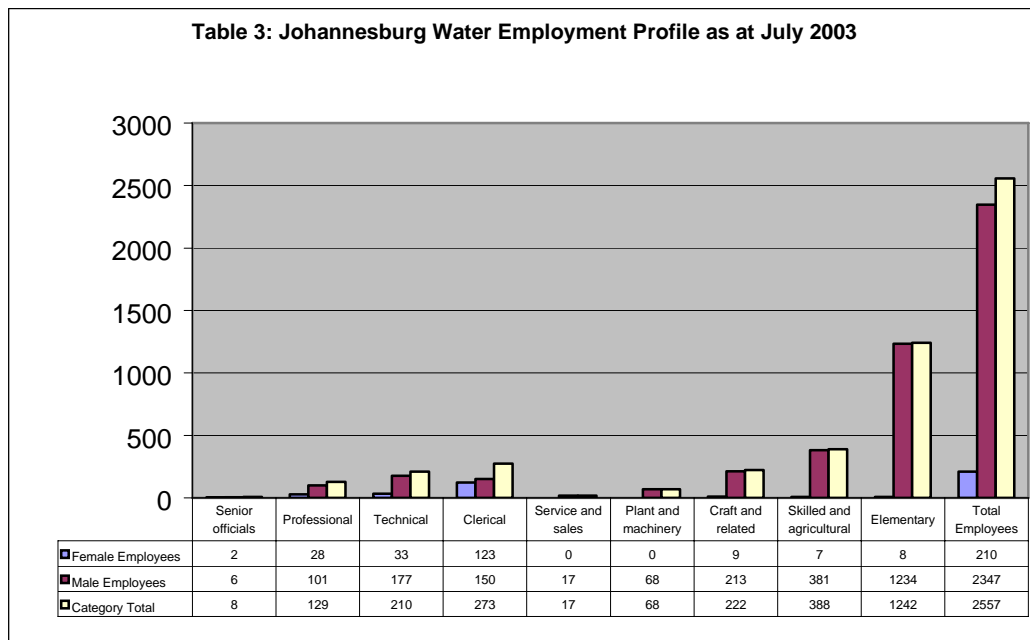
Notwithstanding, a significant representation of women in directorships and senior positions of the Budget Office, CMU and the Johannesburg Water board, there is no representation of women worth mentioning in the Finance Department of Johannesburg Water that is directly concerned with the actual compilation of the water budget.

The political and administrative representation of women in key governance structures of the water budget reflects a gender balance at this level. However, as discussed below, the absence of gender as a target tends to deflect the promotion of gender equality in the implementation of the water budget.

4.1.3 Administrative representation of women in the implementation phase

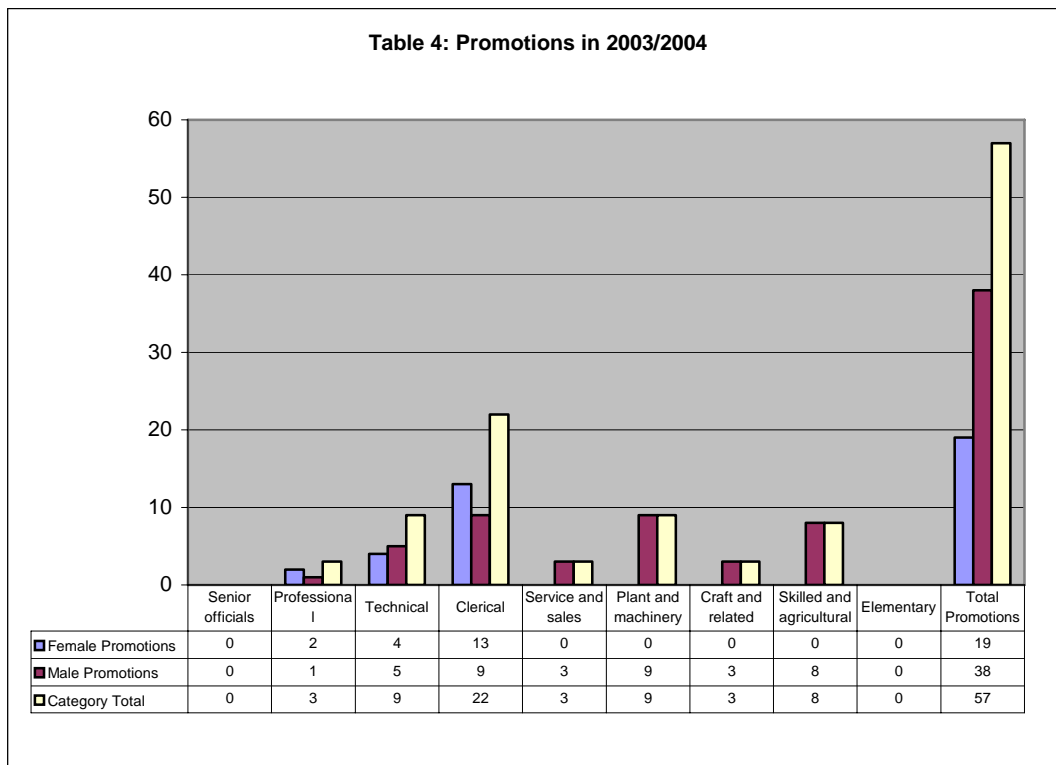


The administrative representation of women in Johannesburg Water's workforce is quantified to determine the degree that women are involved in implementing the water budget. This is done within the context of the Employment Equity Act stipulation that requires Johannesburg Water as an employer to develop and implement an employment equity plan to address racial, gender and other imbalances amongst its workforce (1998: S20). The utility does have a gender target that has been set by its board - 36 out of potential 100 employees in its professional categories must be women. No gender target for the lower occupations has been set for 2003/2004 (Van Tonder, Telephone Interview, 17 June 2004). The employment profile, promotions and external appointments of Johannesburg Water are graphically presented in Tables 3, 4 and 5 below.



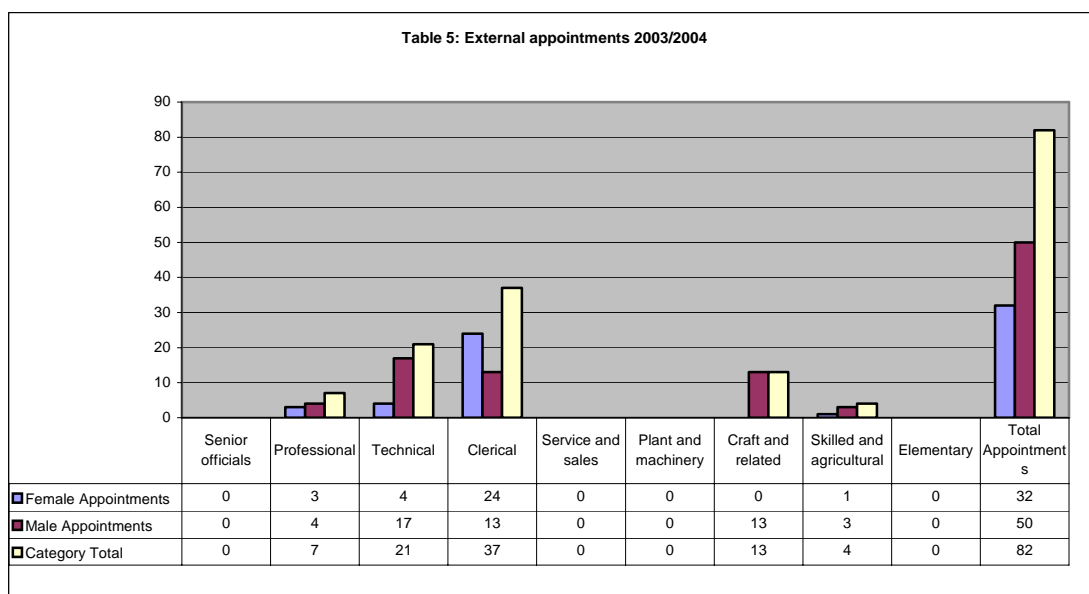
Compiled by A. Kithatu. Source: JW, 2003a: 11

Table 3 above shows the employment profile of Johannesburg Water at the beginning of the financial year 2003/2004. The total workforce is 2557, of these, 210 are women employees (8.2%) and the rest are men. Over half of the female employees are concentrated in the clerical categories. This points to traditional occupational stereotyping where the majority female employees are in this category. Furthermore, only 25 % of the senior officials are women and less than 30% of the female employees are in the two categories between the highest occupational category and the clerical category. Women are also minimally represented in the bottom three categories (Craft and Related; Skilled and Agricultural; and Elementary) and there are no female employees in two of the nine occupational categories (Service and Sales; and Plant and Machinery). Male employees on the other hand, dominate all the occupational categories with the exception of the clerical category. Men constitute over 95% of the bottom three categories, which are also traditionally male oriented occupations. Internal promotions during 2003/2004 are illustrated in Table 4.



Compiled by A. Kithatu. Sources: JW, 2003b: 20; JW, 2003c: 63; JW, 2004:51

A third of the total promotions during 2003/2004 are female employees while two thirds are male employees. Only 13 of the 19 female employees have been promoted to the clerical category and two of the three promotions in the professional category are women. No women have been promoted in categories below the clerical category. Male employees have been promoted to each clerical category except the senior official category (there are no promotions in the occupational category). However as indicated above the gender target in the professional categories is illustrated by the higher promotion of female employees as compared to the male employees into the Professional and clerical categories. New employees appointed during 2003/ 2004 are illustrated in Table 5 below.



Compiled by A. Kithatu. Sources: JW, 2003b: 20; JW, 2003c: 63; JW, 2004:51

Table 5 above shows no new employee appointments in four of the nine occupational categories. Almost 40% of the new appointees are women with 24 of the 32 new female appointments in the clerical category. This is the only category in which female new appointments outnumber their male counterparts. The rest of the new female appointments are in the professional, technical and skilled categories but they are fewer than the new male employees in these categories. It is also noted that 43% of the external appointments during this period in the Professional category meet gender target as stipulated by the utility's board of directors.

According to the above figures, women employees in Johannesburg are disproportionately fewer than their male counterparts. Despite the evidence of an equity plan, this disparity is further illustrated in promotions and new appointments during the financial year 2003/2004. Current employment practice of the utility does not actively seek to correct gender imbalances of its workforce. It has been acknowledged that there are gender disparities in the occupational categories that require "brawn rather than brain". However, the current employee recruitment practice focuses on rectifying racial imbalance and increasing the number of disabled employees (Interview, Mayne April 2004). As a result Johannesburg Water has made little progress in shifting prevailing occupational stereotypes within the utility. Therefore, although employment fulfils women's practical needs, their strategic needs are not addressed.

Succinctly put, the critical mass for the political representation of women in governance structures is apparent. Nonetheless, gender disparities in the administrative representation of female employees throughout most of the occupational categories of Johannesburg Water still persist. The next part of this section examines the fulfilment of the participation criterion.

4.2 The fulfilment of the participation criterion

The assessment of the participation criterion will concentrate on the consultation and approval phases of the water budget process (see section 3.2 and 3.3). The consultation phase gives women, particularly poor women, the opportunity to be informed of the financial implications of municipal service delivery. It also affords them the platform to voice their views on the draft budget as presented to them in the consultation meetings. These views should be incorporated into budget participation comments and forwarded to the approval phase, which is the next municipal budget phase. Councillors determine the financial direction of municipal services at the approval phase. As pointed out in Section 2, identified and documented gender issues are likely to influence the vote choice of female ward councillors. The participation criterion examines whether poor women raise any gender needs and whether the vote choice of female ward councillors is thereby influenced.

Combined ward (regional) meetings are held in the eleven regions throughout the municipality and the draft budget presented to the communities as well at the NGO/Labour meeting, the Business Forum meeting and the Johannesburg Stakeholders' forum to cater for other sectors of the municipal community. The attendance was commonly noted as satisfactory and in some cases more than was expected. There was no gender breakdown of attendees in all the meetings (CJ, 2003*d*). The Region 2 meeting reported a "good gender mix" (CJ, 2003*d*: 15) of the attendees while in region 11 the "high participation of women" (CJ, 2003*d*: 52) is recorded, but no figures were given to support this in either case. Therefore, a basic problem is the lack of gender-disaggregated data that is reflective of insensitivity to women and holds a view of gender neutrality.

The draft budget consultation process was expected to articulate the financial commitments of municipal service for the financial year 2003/2004 throughout the regional and target group meetings in a manner that would allow the attendees to understand the financial implications. In some cases, the presentations were understood and as a result attendees were able to contribute at a level commensurate to the regional presentations made by officials. For instance, in two meetings, including the Business Forum meeting, the draft budget presentation was understood. Healthy debates around tariffs and training of ward committees also took place (CJ, 2003d: 21). The other regional meetings found the presentations by officials too technical and audiences could not link the issues that they raised to the planned municipal delivery for the year 2003/2004 (CJ, 2003d). For example, in region 11 the attendees could not link the technical presentation to the needs they voiced. As a result, they felt their specific problems of non-delivery were not addressed in the draft budget and the regional IDP as presented (CJ, 2003d: 52).

The lack of gender disaggregated data in the quoted reports by the City of Johannesburg shows a lack of gender sensitivity and proves to be inadequate in determining whether differences in opinion on municipal service provision in the consultation phase exist between women and men. The participation of poor women³ and of female ward councillors in the consultation and approval phases of the budget process is assessed below.

4.2.1 Participation of poor women in the consultation phase

The budget consultation comments note that the meeting for region 11 is the only meeting where a high participation of women is recorded (CJ, 2003d). This indicates that women have made use of the platform to add their voice in the consultation phase of the draft budget before it is presented to the council for approval that must be investigated further. To further illuminate the critical need for basic municipal services of informal services where poor women constitute the majority, the focus

³ Poor women are considered to be a vulnerable sector in policy development consequently it should be determined if their voice is recorded in the consultation phase

group discussion held by the researcher, as outlined in section 1.2 with fifteen poor women residing Lawly revealed the following.

A third of the poor women in the discussion attended the consultation meeting for region 11. They concur on having raised a gender need for water. They all voiced the need to have water at a closer proximity in the form of standpipes in their yards instead of the communal tanks around the informal settlement. Other needs communicated are: access to electricity, proper roads and emergency services (Focus group discussion, Lawly women, 8 April 2004). Specific gender needs at this level of delivery were not raised, despite the fact that the minimal access to service delivery is noted in official documentation (CJ, 2003d: 52). Hence the opportunity to include gender specific issues regarding water service provision is lost.

Ten broad issues raised were incorporated into the draft budget comments. These include: concerns about poor billing, non-payment and bad debt (mentioned by attendees in regions 1 and 11). These are categorised under revenue collection management and bad debt. The scorecards that were used to present the City's management system and targets for municipal service delivery were not readily accepted in regions 5,6, 9 and 11. The main concern regarding these scorecards is that they are developed solely by the council administration without input from the community. The other broad issue was free services. Residents from flats were concerned about quantifying their access to free basic water and electricity that was presently provided by the utilities, City Power and Johannesburg Water (CJ, 2003c: 29)

In conclusion, the inclusion of gender specific issues as a measure of participation of women criterion cannot be validated from council documents that contain the draft budget comments for 2003/2004. The budget participation comments record the participation figures in some instances but do not give an account of the gender composition in the regional, NGO/ Labour, Business Forum and Stakeholders' meetings. Even if women were in attendance, this is not necessarily a reliable indicator of women's actual participation and voice being heard. There is no record of specific comments that women raised in general or in their specific categories. On closer scrutiny with the aid of the focus group discussion with poor women in Lawly

it was revealed that poor women did voice the gender need to have water at a closer proximity. Unfortunately, this gender need was excluded from the budget participation comments that were forwarded to the municipal council for approval. Accordingly, the needs of the poor women were not carried beyond the consultation phase because they were excluded in the participation comments and consequently lost to the further decision making process of the water budget.

4.2.2 Participation of female ward councillors in the approval phase

It is apparent from the above that no gender specific issues are documented in the budget consultation comments for 2003/2004. The water budget vote is approved along political party lines with the ANC and the smaller political parties in the council. The DA as the main opposition party was the only political party that dissents the vote (CJ, 2003*b*). With 60% of the total female ward councillors the reasons for the opposition party's dissent of the vote are provided as:

- The increase of the water tariff (13%) considered to be above the rate of inflation.
- There is little commitment in the business plan on financial management of the utility.
- No hard targets had been set to recoup expenditure in reducing the loss of unaccounted for water (UFW) in Soweto, although DA acknowledges the evidence of a project in progress to address this water loss.
- The council had not paid shares due to the utility according to agreement signed between the two parties at the inception of the utility.

It is acknowledged that there are no gender considerations in dissenting the water vote; rather, sound financial management motivates the dissenting vote for the water vote (Interview, Stockhill, 4 August 2004).

The rest of the female ward councillors who belong to the ANC vote along their party lines and along party agenda. The exclusion of the gender need for water reduces the likelihood of considering and appropriating a value to time and energy expended by poor women in fetching and using water for domestic use for the water budget vote.

The rest of the smaller parties approved the water vote even though they have no female ward councillors.

4.3 The fulfilment of the criterion of benefit accrued to women

National legislation such as the Constitution and the Equity Act as well as gender machinery embody the government's commitment to the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women. These measures intend to empower women to raise them from the disadvantaged rungs of society. The provision of water and sanitation services by Johannesburg Water affects the way that the various categories of women fulfil their triple roles within the municipal area of Johannesburg. It is important that this municipal service specifically benefit women in their various categories. For instance, water and sanitation is a key municipal service that poor women cannot afford to pay for, access to at least a free basic level of the service enables them to meet their reproductive role. Secondly, female employees of Johannesburg Water are likely to benefit from training opportunities that the utility provides and move up the career ladder, in the process meeting their productive roles. Finally, businesswomen whose companies are awarded tenders to supply goods and services to Johannesburg Water also benefit economically. The benefit accrued to these three categories of women through provision of water and sanitation services by Johannesburg Water by way of example are examined below.

4.3.1 Benefit accrued to poor women

The first part of this section examines the benefit accrued to poor women. This is done by establishing access and the level of water and sanitation services that poor women in municipal communities have. As pointed out in section 1.4, an indigence municipal policy will enable poor sectors of the community access to a basic level of municipal services. This distributive policy can positively affect poor women because they constitute the majority in these marginalized communities (see section 1.5.2) and access to a basic level of the above municipal service enables them to meet their reproductive role.

Table 2 above shows that Johannesburg Water has an approved income of over R 2,5 billion of which 93% is generated from user charges. The City of Johannesburg has approved a policy that obliges Johannesburg Water to provide six free kilolitres per month to all its residents in line with national guidelines. According to Table 1, almost half the utility's expenditure is directed to the bulk purchase of water. To finance the provision of this level of service, Johannesburg Water subsidises the free service from income from paying consumers who also access the free service (Interview, Mayne, 13 April 2004). To further facilitate water and sanitation provision in Johannesburg, three levels of services are used. The first level of service provides access by way of a communal tank that is filled from the regional depot for their water consumption and a ventilated improved pit latrine (VIP) for their sanitation service. At the second level of service, a standpipe and a *pour flush* toilet is installed in residents' property that is not metered. These first two levels of services are provided for free. The last service is a full-metered service where consumers pay for consumption of water and sanitation and also access the six free kilolitres each month provided by Johannesburg Water (JW, 2003a: 61).

The first two levels of services are provided to those residing in informal settlements (Interview, Lesego, April 2004). The group of poor women interviewed confirmed their access to this basic level of municipal water and sanitation service that enables them to meet their reproductive role. They use the water for washing, cooking and cleaning to provide a clean and safe environment for their families. It was also determined from this interview that over 70% of the fifteen women bore the brunt of fetching water from the communal tanks to their homes for domestic use. Of the remaining four, one pays a man to fetch water, two have assistance from their female employees who help them run their crèche, and two have children who fetch water. Water delivery from the regional depot ranged from twice a day to twice a week (Focus Group discussion, Lawly women, 8 April 2004). Moreover, only two poor women are able to meet their productive role. They run crèches from their homes. They have the freestanding communal tanks in front of their homes and use the water for cleaning the children under their care. They also had flower gardens as well as vegetable patches. These confirmed that the proximity to the tanks helped run the crèches since they were the first residents to get water when it was delivered. This

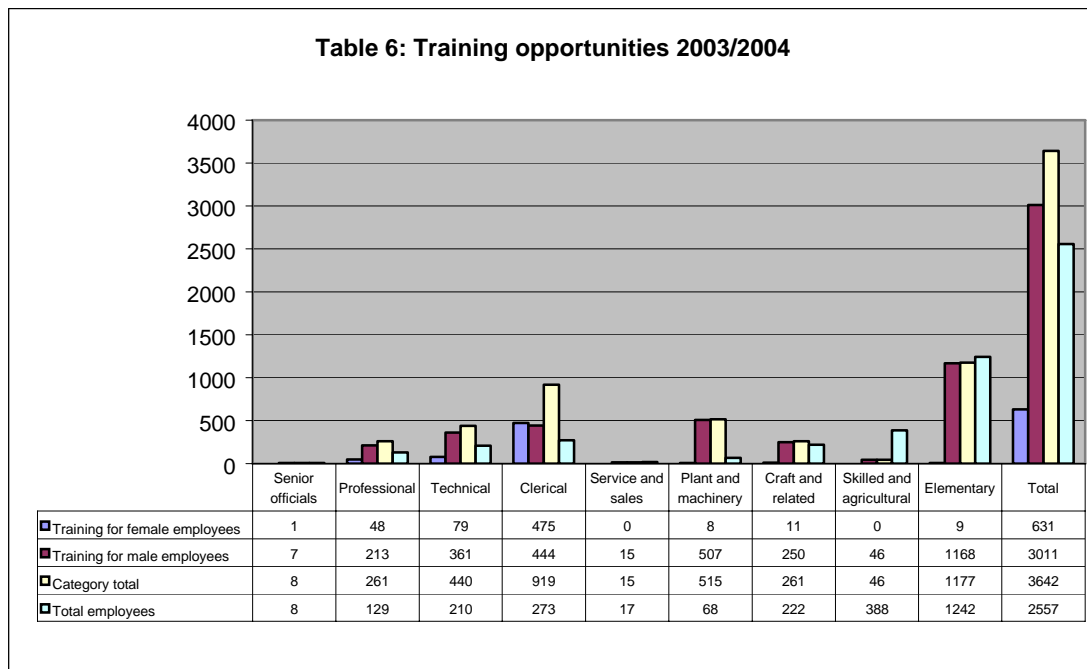
reiterates a gendered need to have water at a closer proximity (Focus group discussion, Lawly women, 8 April 2004).

Johannesburg Water has been able to provide the basic level of water and sanitation services. This has been especially beneficial to poor women in informal service to access this service and use it to fulfil their reproductive role. It must be noted that only two women are able to meet their productive role since they are close to the communal tanks. The next section addresses the extent of benefit ensued to women employees of Johannesburg Water

4.3.2 Benefit accrued to women employees

Johannesburg Water has a KPA that intends to promote human resource development. One aspect of employee working conditions is the training opportunities availed to them. To establish whether female employees benefit in terms of career advancement or not, it will be determined whether the utility has a gender target in its equity plan or not. This is followed by an assessment of training opportunities to establish if training acts as an aid to achieve the gender target set for 2003/2004 as well as its benefit to female employees as compared to males. It will be examined whether training is given with this target in mind.

Tables 3, 4 and 5 above show that women constitute less than ten percent of the utility's workforce and that more female employees are appointed and promoted to the clerical category than the other occupational categories. Given the employee cost to the utility stands at almost 13% (Table 1), the low representation of women indicates they benefit disparately in terms of income as employees when compared to male employees because of the significantly less numbers in the workforce. This phenomenon is further explored below in respect to training opportunities provided by the utility in 2003/2004.



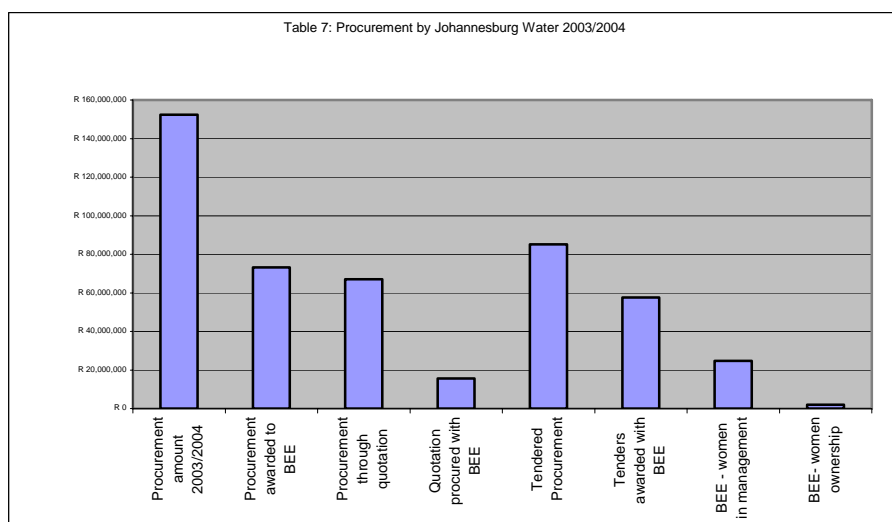
Compiled by A. Kithatu Sources: JW 2003b: 22; 2003c: 64; 2004:52

Table 6 shows that the female employees receive disproportionate training as compared with their male counterparts in 2003/2004, that is, 631 training opportunities as compared to 3001. When compared against the total number of employees, female employees receive less than 25% of the training opportunities awarded to all employees. The only exception is in the clerical category where training for female employees exceeded that of male employees in the same category. On the other hand, training opportunities were available to male employees in each occupational category with significant opportunities given to male employees in the elementary occupation. When the training opportunities are compared against 36% gender target set by the board for 2003/2004, the training for categories immediately below the professional category is not significant enough to propel upward mobility of female employees except to concentrate them in the clerical category. Women's strategic needs have not been met therefore women have not really been empowered despite the gender target mentioned above. This means that women employees are still retained in gender stereotype jobs (clerical). Finally, the level of benefit accrued to women led businesses that supply goods and services through the utility's procurement are determined below.

4.3.3 Benefit accrued to women entrepreneurs

Johannesburg Water has a procurement policy through which it purchases goods and services to facilitate its implementation of the water budget. The utility uses two methods to procure goods and services. Firstly, Johannesburg Water invites and awards tenders for goods and services. Secondly, it may select and purchase goods and services through quotations. Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) is a guiding principle for the utility's procurement policy. The target set by the board for 2003/2004 is 55%. The intention of this target is to open up business opportunities for companies that are headed by historically disadvantaged groups which include African men and women, Indian men and women, coloured men and women and white women to provide good and services to Johannesburg Water (Interview, Mayne, 13 April 2004). Presently, there is no gender criteria stipulated and the target concentrates on rectifying racial imbalances toward tender beneficiaries (Interview, Mayne, 13 April 2004). Despite this it is prudent to determine whether women led businesses do benefit at all from the utility's procurement as part of designated groups that must benefit from procurement.

As illustrated in Table 7 below, the target of 55% procurement to be done in favour of BEE falls short by seven percent. Tendered procurement awarded 48% to BEE companies in comparison to 23,1% given through non-tendered procurement. The amount awarded to women owned or managed businesses progressively diminishes away from the total procurement amount. Companies with women in management were awarded 42,8% of BEE tenders as compared to 29% of total tenders awarded during the financial year, whereas BEE companies with women ownership were awarded 3,6 % of BEE tenders and 2,4 % of total tenders. Women are part of the designated group that should benefit from BEE yet as illustrated above, companies they manage benefit significantly more than companies they own from Johannesburg's procurement during 2003/2004, which can be attributed to the BEE target that is set.



Compiled by A. Kithatu. Sources: JW 2003b: 79, 80; JW 2003c: 71, 72; JW 2004: 58, 59

Therefore, Johannesburg Water has not yet met in terms of procurement the BEE target set by the board for 2003/2004. This target has nominally benefited women owned businesses that were awarded the tenders. The lack of a gender target within the BEE target marginalises these businesswomen further.

4.4 Summary of the main findings



The three broad criteria of representation, participation and benefit accrued to women have been used to determine the gendered impact of Johannesburg's water budget process. Gender indicators have been adapted to each criterion of which the main findings are summarised below.

Two aspects of representation have been examined in this section. In the drafting phase of the budget the political representation of women in decision-making structures which are: the municipal council; mayoral committees; the governing board of Johannesburg Water; Budget office and CMU reflect that the critical mass of 30% has been attained. Political representation is not sufficient in its own right to promote gender equality therefore administrative representation has to be examined. On closer scrutiny, there is no committed gender structure in the council administration and Johannesburg Water to monitor for gender sensitivity as envisaged by national policy (OSW, 2000: 33). The administrative representation of women especially in the

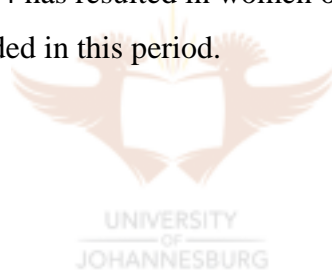
Finance Department of Johannesburg Water is not seemingly sufficient to ensure that gender issues are included in the drafting of the water budget. In addition, women comprise 8,2% of total employment by the utility, and in 2003/2004 fewer women have been employed or promoted in Johannesburg Water when compared with men. This perpetuates the constriction of the administrative representation of women in drafting and implementing the water budget by the utility.

Participation is examined in a two-fold manner. Firstly, the level at which poor women participate in the consultation phase of the budget and the way in which the needs they voice are determined. Secondly, the effect of the inclusion (exclusion) of gender needs on vote choice is assessed. During the consultation phase, the participation of poor women is not adequately addressed. They have been afforded a platform in consultation forums to be informed of implications of municipal service delivery but their gendered need to have water at a closer proximity is not noted and recorded into consultation comments. Poor women have vigorously voiced the need to access water at a closer proximity at regional meetings. This voice of poor women disappears in the council administration and thereby misses an audience before the municipal council when councillors vote for the budget votes. As a result the potential to voice gender needs and values for the provision of water and sanitation services is undermined. Besides, voting is done along political party allegiance and 60% of the female ward councillors dissent the water vote in favour of political party agendas further subjecting the gender agenda to a full spectrum of policy considerations over which political party discipline is maintained. As a result there has been no improvement on the provision of water to marginalized sectors of the municipal community such as Lawly nor has there been value placed on the time and energy spent by poor women in fetching water.

Finally, examining the benefit accrued to three categories of women reveals the following: Poor women access basic level of service although most are left with the burden of fetching water from the communal tanks for their productive role. The minimal few near the communal tanks exploit this advantage and are able to meet their productive role as well. Secondly, in the case of Johannesburg Water its female workforce constitutes 8,2% of the total workforce. Female employees benefit disparately from training opportunities when compared to the male employees given

during 2003/2004. Finally, the utility's governing board has set a BEE target of 55% to be achieved through procurement for the financial year 2003/2004 that has got no gender criteria built into the formula on which tenders are awarded. In spite of this, women owned businesses benefit albeit less than their male counterparts from tenders awarded during this period.

Therefore, the water budget process has a potentially significant gender impact on women. On the one hand, the exclusion of gender needs of poor women in developing the water budget diminishes the likelihood attaching a value of unpaid labour to this service and as a result, there is no improvement to the basic level of service provided in marginalized communities. The presence of a gender target in the utility's equity plan does not guarantee the upward mobility of its female employees. Rather female promotions and external appointments are as nominal as the female component of the workforce. Furthermore, the presence of an affirmative action quota in the form of BEE for tenders for 2003/2004 has resulted in women owned and managed businesses benefiting from tenders awarded in this period.



Section 5: Conclusion

Feminist scholars have put forward the need to include women in political and decision-making structures as a matter of democratic justice and the different values they bring to the patriarchal governing process (see section 2). Gender sensitivity operationalised by Moser (1993) means that government policies and programmes need to be sensitive to the roles women fulfil which are: reproductive; productive and community management as well as enable women to meet their strategic and practical needs.

With regard to the water budget, practical needs of women are met in that women are employed and also promoted in Johannesburg Water. They therefore have an income. Furthermore, women owned businesses are servicing Johannesburg Water through its procurement for 2003/2004. Lastly, poor women have access to water, which fulfils a practical need and also assists in their reproductive roles. However, the strategic needs of women are not sufficiently met. The critical mass for the political representation of women in the municipality and utility's decision-making structures is satisfactory but the administrative representation of women in Johannesburg Water is still limited despite legislative measures in place to rectify this. As a result, they still continue to be concentrated in gender-stereotyped roles of clerical work.

One of the most important reasons is that the City of Johannesburg has neither gender as its guiding principle nor does it have a gender structure. Gender neither features as a KPA, nor is it incorporated into any of the identified KPAs. There is no pressure on decision makers in the utility's senior administration to proactively pursue a gender agenda and perform against an agreed target. Moreover, underlying the problem is that within the official ranks there was found to be a general misnomer that gender was synonymous with the representation of women in council or in executive positions. This led to general defensiveness because the political and executive representation of women was inaccurately seen to suffice for gender sensitivity. This could be a problem in introducing gender sensitive budgets and other municipal policies.

This study examined the level of gender sensitivity of the water budget process to determine its gendered impact on women. It revealed gaps in the municipal budget process that need to be gender sensitive. Two areas are recommended for further study firstly, a gender assessment of the municipal budget process for the three municipal categories (metropolitan, district, local) to illuminate phases of the municipal budget process that need to incorporate gender sensitivity. Secondly, the gendered impact of other municipal services, for instance electricity provision could be assessed on the various categories of women. This could encourage the municipalities to mainstream gender into their programmes and policies thereby promote gender equality and empower poor women.



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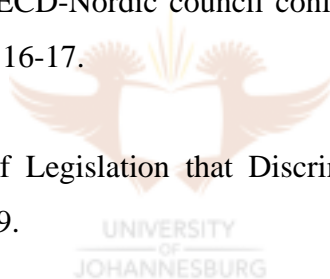
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