# REVIEWING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE WHITE PAPER ON FAMILIES: LESSONS LEARNED FOR FUTURE PRACTICE, POLICY AND RESEARCH

CENTRE FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA, UNIVERSITY OF JOHANNESBURG OCTOBER 2018 | LEILA PATEL, TESSA HOCHFELD, THOMAS ENGLERT







### social development

Department: Social Development REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA



NRF Centre of Excellence Human Development



CENTRE FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This review was completed with significant contributions from, and the full cooperation of, the National Department of Social Development, Monitoring and Evaluation Directorate, and the National Department of Social Development, Families Directorate. Their assistance is gratefully acknowledged.

We would like to thank the DST-NRF Centre of Excellence, Human Development, at the University of the Witwatersrand for funding both this review and the White Paper on Families Roundtable that took place on 22 and 23 August 2018.

The participants of the WPF Roundtable travelled to Johannesburg and contributed to the fruitful discussions on this family policy. We are grateful for their enthusiastic input. A list of participants appears in Appendix A of this report.

The individuals who made important contributions to this review include Dez Jason, Siza Magangoe, Lesego Mogami, Percy Ntsoane, Suzette Moss, and Dibolelo Ababio. Many thanks to them and their teams.

#### Suggested report citation:

Patel, L., Hochfeld, T., and Englert, T. 2018. **Reviewing the implementation of the White Paper on Families:** Lessons learned for future practice, policy and research. Johannesburg: CSDA, University of Johannesburg, DST-NRF CoE, Human Development, University of the Witwatersrand, and National Department of Social Development, South Africa.

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Design: UJ Graphics Copy editing: Craig Mackenzie

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### 1 INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Aim of the review

The study of family policy is relatively new. Not many countries in the Global South have a family policy per se, although various policies and social development programmes do exist to support, promote or strengthen families, especially those with children. In the Northern welfare regimes, family policy may be broadly or narrowly defined. On the one hand, family policy refers to everything a government does to promote the family while also acknowledging its contribution to social and economic development, and, on the other hand, it may refer to a specific family programme such as family allowances (Rostgaard & Eydal 2018). South Africa is one of the few countries in the Global South that has adopted a family policy over and above a range of other social policies that benefit families directly and/or indirectly. In addition, the family is mentioned in a range of other high-level documents, such as the National Development Plan, 2030, which emphasises that families are central to the developmental welfare approach, and notes that "the state is responsible for ensuring that all vulnerable families receive a comprehensive package of early childhood development services" (National Planning Commission, 2012:302). There is therefore much to learn from how South Africa's family policy is conceptualised, designed, implemented, monitored, reported, and evaluated.

This review of the implementation of the White Paper for Families (hereafter WPF) was conducted on behalf of the DST-NRF Centre of Excellence in Human Development, University of the Witwatersrand and in collaboration with the National Department of Social Development. The WPF was approved by cabinet in 2013, and five years on, it is time to take stock of the progress made in the implementation of the policy. The purpose is to document this progress, and identify any challenges in implementation. The challenges are either due to gaps in the policy itself, or to gaps in the process of implementation. The review is intended to inform a robust and constructive research and evaluation agenda for the WPF, in order to contribute to improvements in the implementation of this policy. In addition, valuable knowledge may be gained from the review that might be relevant to family policy studies in other middle-income countries.

After a short description of the methodology used, this review begins with an overview of the history, development and contents of the WPF. The criticisms of the WPF are then summarised. The next section outlines the framework for the implementation of the WPF. Using literature sources and data that is available, an analysis of the implementation is undertaken next. This is followed by an assessment of the implementation achievements and challenges, including an implementation gap analysis. The preliminary findings are considered with reference to informing thinking about South Africa's approach to family policy. The review ends with a short conclusion about the need for a family policy in South Africa, the successes and challenges associated with implementation, and a few suggestions for future research.

### 1.2 Methodology of the review

Four kinds of source material were used for this review. Firstly, publically available academic journal articles and other documents that have the WPF as their focus were used. Finding these documents was done through a literature search. The search was done initially through Google Scholar using the key words "policy", "Green Paper" and "white paper", in conjunction with the term "South Africa" and "families". The search was largely done on articles published since 2010, as the main focus was the implementation of the WPF. In addition, a search using the same key words was used in a general search engine to account for non-academic documents. Documents were selected if they specifically addressed recent family policy, its making and in particular its implementation.

The search yielded 28 papers, reports and book chapters on the WPF or family policy in South Africa. Five documents on the Green Paper specifically were also included alongside four press articles, opinions or briefs as well as two documents from the parliamentary monitoring group. In the course of writing this report, snowballing of references was used to complement the literature review.

The second body of documentation was literature from the National Department of Social Development (hereafter DSD), which consisted of internal reports, evaluation reports, minutes of meetings, monitoring and evaluation data, and other relevant information. The documents used are listed in the references section.

Thirdly, consultations with policy and programme implementers were undertaken, at both National and Provincial level. These conversations offered clarity on issues that were undocumented.

Finally, the review used information gleaned during the DSD-Centre of Excellence Roundtable on Families held on 23 and 24 of August 2018. Participants were from the DSD (national and provincial), from other government departments, NGOs and FBOs working with families and academics. The participants are listed in appendix A.

This review undertakes a systemic analysis of the implementation of the WPF, by looking at the overall outcomes that could be expected from a family policy, and evaluating these outcomes. While there were substantial gaps in the documents and information available to conduct this analysis, these limits do not detract from the bigger questions about what a family policy could be expected to do in the context of South Africa. The intention is to focus on not only the separate tasks, issues or activities of the implementation, but to appraise these parts as making up the whole, so that the review addresses how South Africa has implemented the WPF overall.

# 2 THE WHITE PAPER ON FAMILIES

As DSD's Chief Director of Families, Siza Magangoe, asserted when she addressed the Roundtable on Families event (August, 2018), the vision of the WPF is premised on well-functioning families that are loving, peaceful, safe, stable and economically self-sustaining, that also provide care and physical, emotional, psychological, financial, spiritual, and intellectual support for their members.

However, there are a number of key factors that have impacted negatively on families over the last century in South Africa. Apartheid's discriminatory policies, its exploitation of migrant labour, and its erosion of rural life were key factors in the rapid change in family structure and function in the twentieth century (Patel 2015). In addition, capitalist development and urbanisation ensured that men were largely forced to search for wage labour far from family homes, and women, black women in particular, bore the burdens of social reproduction and care (Manderson & Ellen 2016; Budlender & Lund, 2011). In the new dispensation since 1994, gender equality is constitutionally guaranteed. However, women in South Africa continue to be more vulnerable to poverty and get lower wages when they do access work (StatsSA 2018). Despite the extensive distribution of cash transfers, including the Child Support Grant system, widespread poverty among children and women continues to exist (Makiwane & Berry 2013). Historical and current social factors mean that the majority of South African children grow up with fathers who are either non-resident in their homes or absent from their lives (Hall 2018: 10; Makiwane & Berry 2013), and a third grow up without their biological parents (Hall 2018: 2). In addition, there are a range of social issues that impact negatively on families. Two stand out as having particularly pernicious outcomes: one is the public health crisis of the HIV/AIDS epidemic and the other is the country suffering unacceptable levels of domestic violence at all socio-economic levels, which is extremely damaging to the individuals involved as well as their families (Rabe 2017c).

Multigenerational and skip-generational households are common (Rabe 2017b; Makiwane, Gumede & Molefi, 2016; Budlender & Lund 2011). This is particularly true in South Africa, where in addition to this diversity, same-sex relationships and polygyny are recognised (Rabe, 2017b).

South Africa has a mixed welfare system inherited from apartheid. On the one hand it draws on market provision for those who can afford private provision and who have social insurance. On the other hand, the economic transformation objectives and the need to deliver basic services and welfare to the poor give the system almost social democratic traits at times (Button, Moore & Seekings, 2018). These pro-poor imperatives have led to a strong and widely distributed social assistance programme, with over 16 million cash transfers disbursed monthly. Similarly, family-targeted policies aim at poverty reduction, redistributive justice, citizen participation and development (Knijn & Patel 2018).

However, since the more progressive period of social policy development of the nineties, a socially conservative narrative has accompanied a shift of the responsibility of care to the family (Button et al. 2018). In this vision, the family – implicitly female caregivers – is considered to be the primary vehicle for ensuring the well-being of individuals, with the state stepping in only at a point of crisis. NPOs and FBOs play a key role in the provision of welfare services for vulnerable families and remain significantly underfunded and poorly co-ordinated (Rabe 2017c).

The rationale for the development of the WPF was multi-faceted. While there were, at the time, a number of social policies that related to family life, they all focused on individual members rather than the promotion of the family as a unit. This resulted in lower impacts, and fewer opportunities to make positive changes to different facets of people's lives.

### 2.1 The development of the White Paper on Families

While in general there has been substantial support for the creation of a policy on families in South Africa, the development of the WPF has been a contested process. It was started in 2004 with research commissioned by the Department of Social Development on the structure and needs of families. Subsequently, a Draft National Family Policy was presented to Cabinet, which recommended that a White Paper be developed. While the Draft National Family Policy acknowledged for the first time the need for families to be protected and supported (Knijn & Patel 2018), it was heavily criticised for being conservative. Critics said it implicitly portrayed mothers as being in charge of care and fathers as either absent or harmful and relied on a neoliberal vision of a self-reliant – nuclear – family that did not reflect the realities of the majority of South African families (Hochfeld 2007). In addition, critics pointed to the fact that it assumes care work is done by 'families' rather than acknowledging that it is done by women (Hochfeld 2007; Sevenhuijsen et al. 2003) as well as the discourse of 'moral regeneration' that made normative judgements about what a family is and ought to be (Hochfeld 2007). In addition, it largely ignored structural factors (race, class and gender) as well as the effects of neo-liberal economic policies on families and the perpetuation of social inequalities between them (Sewpaul, 2005).

In 2011 the "Green paper on families: Promoting family life and strengthening families in South Africa" was drafted. This was evaluated in the lead-up to the WPF during consultations with stakeholders in all nine provinces over the February-March 2012 period (Berry 2012). A particular strength of the Green Paper was that it gave more credence to historical determinants for contemporary families. However, it was also criticised for its patriarchal heteronormative approach to the family (Charles 2013). Berry (2012) notes that stakeholders recognised the value of the inclusion of different types of families and the fragmentation of families under the pressure of the challenges they had to face, but they criticised the paper for being, among other things, 'reactionary', 'unclear', 'excessively focused on the poor and disadvantaged when families across society need help and support in different ways', and for 'not engaging with existing interventions'. Some noted the prevailing normative approach to the family (Sonke Gender Justice Network 2012) and Charles (2013) argued that the consultation process showed a strong bias towards Faith-Based Organisations (FBOs). A heteronormative, marriage-based conception of the family was advocated in the WPF. In addition, Makiwane and Berry (2013) called for an African-centred approach taking the diversity of South African families as its starting point.

These criticisms were considered in the development of the White Paper for Families, which was approved in 2013 by cabinet.

### 2.2 Contents of the White Paper on Families

The aims of the WPF are to:

- · Promote family life and strengthen families through a coherent, well-coordinated framework;
- Empower family members by enabling them to identify, negotiate around and maximise economic, labour market and other opportunities available in the country; and
- Improve the capacities of families and their members to establish social interactions which make a meaningful contribution towards a sense of community, social cohesion and human solidarity.

The document is divided into five sections. It first defines its objectives and vision and then focuses on defining the family and the challenges it faces. In the third section, the current legal framework is analysed at national, regional and international level. The paper then sets out strategic priorities for families. In the last section, the WPF describes the coordination and implementation structures needed to bring the WPF into reality. This last section will be addressed under point 3 of this report.

The main focus is however on the central role of the family in building social cohesion. Quoting Saunders (1999), the document identifies the contribution of the family to social cohesion at three levels (DSD 2013: 37): (1) at the "micro level [it] refers to stability of [sic] the individual personality" as well as to socialising children; (2) at the "meso level" stability means developing strategies to deal with its various functions related to caring for its members (for example: living together, caring for ageing members or sharing domestic tasks). Finally, (3) at the "macro level" the family is tasked with ensuring stability of the relations between the family and other social institutions (the economic, political and community sub-systems). It identifies a range of "social ills" (DSD 2013: 29) that put these essential family roles under threat. Along with the social context in which families are embedded in South Africa, the WPF also seeks to address a "general decay in social values" (DSD 2014: 8). It thus aims to undertake actions and programmes to make families more resilient so that they can be self-sustaining and provide support for their members. Besides the support to family members and their development as well as to the community, the WPF also seeks families as essential to enhancing the economic participation of family members.

In its consideration of family structure, the WPF takes significant space to describe a diversity of family structures that coexist in South Africa. For example, while it clearly promotes the nuclear family through its normative approach, the WPF does recognise 13 family types in addition to the nuclear family (DSD 2013: 16-22). It also proposes a variety of theoretical approaches to understanding the family such as the Social development approach, Systems approach, Lifecycle approach, Strengths perspective and a Rights-based approach.

In the furtherance of these aims, three key strategic priorities are outlined by the White Paper. These are (1) the promotion of healthy family life; (2) family strengthening; and (3) family preservation. The promotion of a healthy family life speaks to the importance of the family, respecting the diversity of family types, fostering stable marital unions, and building intergenerational solidarity. It is also concerned with promoting positive values and moral regeneration of the populace, with, it should be noted, its unfortunate underlying general assumption that people are immoral in their behaviour. Gender equality, encouraging the involvement of fathers in children's upbringing and responsible parenting are also called for. The second priority is centred on the need for the strengthening of families. Here the WPF focuses on socio-economic interventions as well as health and community support. The priority accorded to family preservation revolves around different interventions such as prevention, early intervention, statutory intervention, reunification and aftercare.

### 2.3 Critique of the White Paper on Families

Although this section sets out the main critiques of the WPF, there have been acknowledgments of particular strengths in this policy. For example, Rabe (2017c) recognises that the WPF improves on the Green Paper by acknowledging the resilience and adaptability of South African families in the face of violence and poverty. In addition, the policy recognises a diverse range of family structures (Knijn & Patel, 2018). It is also commended for taking a rights-based approach to families (Sonke Gender Justice Network, 2012).

The primary critique of the WPF is that despite robust engagement by stakeholders, it does not sufficiently break with the social conservatism of earlier drafts of family policy, including the Draft National Family Policy and the Green Paper on Families. Its view of the family is a narrow and instrumental one geared towards mitigating social pathologies and overcoming fragmentation, disorganisation and dysfunctionality that needs to be 'cured' (Knijn & Patel 2018).

In addition, Rabe (2017c) argues that its essentially structural/functional approach results in promoting stability and cohesion and loses sight of the diversity of families and the conflicts that play out in intrafamilial relations such as gender inequality in care and gender-based violence. Despite a listing of different family structures, much criticism is devoted to the concept of the nuclear family as a central reference point of the policy. This is so despite this being primarily an imported and imposed notion in South Africa (Rabe 2017a), and it does not correspond to the reality of the majority of South African families that are made up largely of extended and multi-general families (Rabe 2017c; Knijn & Patel 2018). In addition, by privileging a particular family form as being central to family and societal stability, it fails to recognise same-sex couples/families and non-conforming gender identities (Charles 2013). The Sonke Gender Justice Network (2012) also warned that prioritising marital stability could also come into conflict with protecting family members from abuse if stability of the marriage is seen as more important than the individual wellbeing of its members.

As a result, the WPF's focus on social treatment and on self-help results in a moralistic undertone blaming poor families for 'their' "social ills". This approach tends to ignore the deep structural causes and systemic barriers that impede family well-being (Knijn &Patel 2017). This leads to a limited approach to supporting and strengthening families and in reducing social inequalities between them. In this regard, Rabe (2017b) also highlights that implementing family policies oriented towards progressive objectives like paternity leave makes sense only if people have jobs. Otherwise, the policies tend to be applicable only to the rich/middle classes while leaving the poor with self-reliance and kinship support. For example, the WPF proposes that "prospective families [should make sure they] are financially capable to dealing [sic] with the costs associated with a new born child" (DSD 2013: 40). These moralistic approaches betray a vision of the poor as responsible for their own problems, separating the deserving poor from the others (Rabe 2017).

Finally, women are still invisible as the main providers of care in the families themselves. Knijn and Patel (2018) actually argue that from that point of view the CSG is a better and more contextually appropriate family policy intervention than the White Paper in that access to social grants is gender-neutral and not contingent on a particular family form. Although lower marriage rates are a global trend, marriages rates in South Africa are among the lowest in the world (Makiwane 2010). The social and economic reasons for this are not addressed by just encouraging marriage.

The result is a policy that implicitly promotes a heteronormative nuclear middle-class family standard. This objective is not only unattainable for the majority of the poor – mainly 'coloured' and black families, but also undesirable from their point of view for a variety of social and economic reasons referred to above. There are thus important issues that lie in the way of the successful implementation of the objectives of the WPF. One other common critique is that the WPF is often vague and contradictory in its formulations, which makes policy implementation more difficult.

# 3 OVERVIEW OF THE IMPLEMENTATION FRAMEWORK

### 3.1 Three strategic priorities

The WPF proposes three strategic priorities to respond to the challenges that undermine the family's "critical roles of socialisation, nurturing, care and protection of family members" (DSD 2012: 5) and its contribution to the production of social and human capital. The implementation of the WPF is supposed to "result in well-functioning and resilient families that are able to nurture, support and care for their family members" (Ibid.).

The first strategic priority is the promotion of healthy family life. This focuses on efforts to prevent the breakdown of family life by promoting positive attitudes and values about the importance of strong families and communities. This priority is articulated around eight axes of intervention: affirming the importance of the family, the respect of diversity of families, the fostering of stable marital unions, intergenerational solidarity, positive values and moral regeneration, the promotion of gender equality, the promotion of healthy family life, and the promotion of responsible parenting.

The second priority is 'family strengthening'. This refers to the process of giving families and their members the opportunities, relationships, networks, support and protections they need to deal with the challenges they face. The WPF articulates this around family economic success (poverty reduction, economic capacity, basic income and security), family support systems (support to caregiving functions and work/family balance, family solidarity, access to health care) and thriving and nurturing communities. This priority also looks at international cooperation and advocates further research on the family. The third priority is 'family preservation'. Here the focus is on keeping families together and the specific services and programmes which are intended to strengthen families in crisis. It hopes to reduce the removal of family members (e.g. children) from troubled families. It revolves around four core interventions: prevention, early intervention, statutory intervention, reunification of families and aftercare.

The implementation approach to these priorities, however, presents challenges in translating these priorities into action. Rightly, the WPF emphasises the importance of bringing the different interventions families receive from multiple government departments and service providers under one integrated service offering for families. This implies the coordination and integration of a variety of government departments and non-state partners that are engaged in promoting families and delivering services to them (DSD 2012: 6).

This was to be achieved through the creation of Family Forums (DSD 2013) that would bring together the different stakeholders together at national, provincial and local levels. However, existing interventions are mainly concentrated on family preservation (strategic priority 3). During their first year, Family Forums were intended to focus energy and resources on strengthening and integrating those services. In years two and three, this process would continue while strategies to promote and strengthen families were to be launched. Although some interventions exist, the WPF aims to mainstream the approach by pulling scattered initiatives together to maximise their collective impact (DSD 2012: 7).

The following five strategic actions are identified in the WPF: (1) investing resources in integrating current services to families; (2) contributing to an environment in which families can thrive by providing services which will prevent family breakdown and intervene early where necessary; (3) providing services where statutory intervention, rehabilitation and aftercare of families takes place; (4) scaling up efforts to strengthen families; and (5) promoting families in policy, public life and through research.

These in turn are translated into specific outcomes and outputs as represented in Table 1 below. A limitation of the implementation framework is that it contains no outcome indicators.

	OUTCOME	OUTPUT	ACTIVITIES
1.	Increased integration in family services	1.1 Establishing and running a national family service forum	Establishment meeting; integrated plan; satisfaction surveys; quarterly meetings
		1.2 Establishing and running provincial family service forums	Establishment meeting; integrated plan; satisfaction surveys; quarterly meetings
		1.3 Establishing and running district family service forums	Establishment meeting; integrated plan; satisfaction surveys; quarterly meetings; community consultation meetings
		1.4 Developing an M&E strategy framework and plan	Baseline evaluation; M&E strategy, framework and plan; reporting guidelines; automated M&E system
		1.5 Training on the WPF and implementation plan	Training interventions; capacity building at national, provincial and district offices
2.	Support families where statutory intervention has taken place	2.1 Families supported through statutory removal of a member	
		2.2 Families supported through statutory reunification process	
		2.3 Families supported through statutory reintegration & rehabilitation	

#### Table 1: WPF implementation outcomes, outputs and activities

3.	Strengthened marriages & families	3.1. People reached through marriages programmes	Marriage preparation courses of varying duration (40hrs; 10hrs.); Marriage enrichment courses (40hrs; 10hrs.)
		3.2. Parenting skills workshops	Two types of workshops of varying duration: (40hrs; 10hrs).
		3.3. Family enrichment programme	Two types of programmes of varying duration (40hrs; 10hrs)
		3.4. Counselling and mediation services	Marriage & Divorce counselling; Divorce mediation counselling; Families receiving counselling; others
4.	Mainstreaming family approach to development	4.1. Policies reviewed with family focus	
5.	Promotion of family, community & social	5.1. Media campaigns	National (short, long); Provincial (short, long)
	cohesion	5.2. Community dialogues	
6.	Recommendations reached regarding the family	6.1. Research reports on the family	
7.	Improved policy and implementation		Impact assessment, five-day evaluation and planning summit, review of the white paper and implementation plan

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#### Source: DSD 2012

### 3.2 Theory of change



Figure 1: Theory of change

The Theory of Change (TOC) of the WPF is represented in Figure 1 (DSD, 2018a). The TOC sets out the assumptions on which the WPF establishes its activities. The results of these should lead to the desired outcomes and here too no outcome indicators are provided to assess what difference the interventions are expected to make. It is unclear from this representation what the targeted behaviours are that the policy intends to change. Outcomes are linked to the three indicators mentioned above, but these do not allow for an evaluation of how the WPF is contributing to its final aim (see section 4.2).

### 3.3 Implementation risks

The 2012 implementation plan considers the following risks (DSD 2012: 9) that could threaten the implementation of the WPF:

- a) Poor coordination of social relief interventions across government.
- b) Lack of stakeholder support and commitment.
- c) Lack of buy-in of target groups.
- d) Insufficient resources and unfunded mandates.
- e) Lack of infrastructure and care facilities.
- f) Abuse of foster-care grants by family members.

Notably the three first risks are related to the effectiveness of the Family Service Forums that perform a largely coordination function.

# 3.4 Coordination, implementation and monitoring structures at national and provincial levels

Coordination of the WPF implementation occurs around a cascade of structures starting from the national level and these structures are expected to be reproduced at provincial and district levels. DSD has a National oversight role and the concurrent functions. Inter-sectoral structures set out plans that are executed by the family forums at different levels.

Integrated plans are intended to be developed by the inter-sectoral coordination structures at national level under leadership of the DSD and the presidency. A similar structure operates at provincial level under the leadership of the provincial departments of health and the office of the premier, and at municipal level by various core government departments (DSD 2013: 44-45).

The main structures of coordination for the implementation of the WPF are family service forums (DSD 2013: 55) at national, provincial and district levels to ensure effective coordination. Under the leadership of the DSD, all primary government departments have to participate. They also call on academic and research institutions and other stakeholders (private sector, traditional leaders, FBOs, civil society) to take part.

The national family service forum develops quarterly and annual progress reports, coordinates family services, manages information and promotes the sharing of best practices. It formulates and reviews policies, sets procedures and sets minimum standards. It is responsible for monitoring and evaluation. It reviews the integrated plans every three years. In addition, it provides networking support and training. It commissions research to keep abreast of the latest developments of the family. The national structure coordinates the provincial forums, which coordinate the district forums. Their tasks mirror those of the national forum at provincial and district levels.

The WPF lists the government departments that are intended to lead the implementation of the WPF while developing partnerships with civil society and the private sector. It articulates the objectives of the WPF within each department's competencies, although there are no clear reporting guidelines to lend coherence to what and how progress is reported. The WPF distinguishes between primary and secondary departments. The first are directly involved in the implementation of the WPF.

The DSD is the lead department tasked with the implementation of the WPF. It is also the only one with a really cross-cutting approach, as it is tasked with developing the interdisciplinary and inter-sectoral protocols. The implementation plan (DSD 2012) states that it is the DSD's responsibility to mitigate risk factors that impede families from fulfilling their roles while ensuring effective service delivery (in particular on the four levels of family preservation). It is expected to develop information and education strategies for

advocacy on behalf of families. It should seek to involve men in home-based and orphan care and it will also explore the possibility of including paternity leave in the Basic Conditions of Employment Act of 1997, which has been recently amended. Finally, it will be in charge of the capacity building of provincial stakeholders.

The WPF then addresses what are considered to be primary governmental departments for the implementation of the WPF within their area of responsibility. The primary departments are: the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC), the Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (DOCGaTA), the Department of Correctional Services (DoC), the Department of Defence and Military Veterans (DoD), the Department of Education (DoE) (BE & HET), the Department of Health (DoH), the Department of Human Settlements (DoHS), the Department of Justice (DoJ), the Department of Labour (DoL), the South African Police Service (SAPS), the Department of Rural Development (DoRD), the Department of Women, Children and People with Disabilities, the Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO) and the South African Social Security Administration (SASSA). For each of these departments, the WPF sets out a series of tasks regarding the implementation of the policy within their area of responsibility.

The South African National AIDS council, although not a government institution, is required to assist with mitigating the impact of AIDS and HIV on families. The WPF lists the Department of Sport and Recreation, the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) and the Department of Water Affairs as secondary departments. It gives general indications on how the WPF can affect their work.

The policy then turns to the private sector, traditional leaders, FBOs and religious organisations as having an important role to play. In particular, NGOs and FBOs are the main deliverers of family services (DSD 2013). They are the "implementing agents" of the WPF. They promote the family, refer families to the relevant services, facilitate family reintegration, and provide training on their area of expertise. The private sector funds initiatives via CSI projects (DSD 2018a: 13).

The intention is that the coordination between these institutions takes place within the Family Service Forums, which are convened under the leadership of the DSD at national and provincial government levels. This extensive focus on including all government departments shows the importance given to overcoming fragmentation and the silos within which governmental and other agencies operate.

### 3.5 Costing

When the implementation plan was submitted in the lead-up to the adoption of the WPF (DSD 2012), the outcomes and outputs were duly costed. High-, medium- and low-cost scenarios were presented. The total cost ranged from R726 353 366 to R363 176 683 for the first three years of implementation (DSD 2012: 38'). In the table below we examine the proportion of the total budget allocated to each outcome (consistent across scenarios)

1.	Increased integration in family services	10.57%
2.	Support families where statutory intervention has taken place	5.49%
3.	Strengthened marriages & families (marriage preparation, parenting skills, divorce counselling & mediation)	71.69%
4.	Mainstreaming family approach to development	0.44%
5.	Promotion of family, community & social cohesion	10.08%
6.	Recommendations reached regarding the family	0.50%
7.	Improved policy and implementation	0.33%
8.	Communication	0.90%

#### Table 2: Proportion of WPF budget allocated to outcomes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The numbers in the table have been reproduced from the ones in DSD 2012:38. There are discrepancies and the numbers do not add up to 100%, but the figures provide an indication of the intended allocations for each of the outcomes.

The sub-programmes that were to receive the highest allocations were the "strengthening of marriages and family", followed by "increased integration of family services" and "the promotion of family, community and social cohesion". "The support of families where statutory intervention has taken place" comes fourth. (For a description of outputs and activities see Table 1 above.)

### 3.6 Monitoring of programme-level indicators

The WPF itself states the necessity of monitoring and evaluation practices but does not give much detail on how this will happen. In its report on implementation and costing of the WPF (DSD 2012: 20), the DSD provides more details.

The process would rest on the establishment of a baseline national evaluation of the issues affecting families regarding key indicators. This would then lead to a fully developed M&E strategy, framework and plan. The core of the system would be based on quarterly reports from districts on

- Key family indicators (although outcome level indicators are not specified in the implementation report)
- Results competency and training needs assessments
- Financial management issues

The process goes from the social worker, who reports to the district coordinator, who reports to the provincial coordinator, who eventually escalates the information to the national DSD. In addition, coordinators report to the family forums (see the figure below).



Source: DSD 2012:22

#### Figure 2: Reporting framework for M&E

The DSD noted that this would require training (computer literacy) and capacity building. Indeed, each province needed a "well capacitated provincial coordinator" (DSD 2012: 23) and districts needed to be equipped in order to deliver services to the communities. The plan foresees that districts often have only one person in charge of social policy and that the implementation of the WPF expects them to be in charge of "planning, implementation and monitoring of family services" (DSD 2012: 23). They thus need a team of social workers in charge of service delivery. The WPF implementation plan of 2012 thus anticipates that this will require substantial capacity building. In addition, a referral system assumes implementation capacity on the part of NGOs / FBOs / other state services to which the client system is referred, which is not always the case.

The process described in the figure above is reproduced and detailed in the draft "monitoring and evaluation framework for families programme" that the DSD has been developing (DSD 2018a). They start from daily data collection at CSO and beneficiary level, to monthly data collation at service points and district level. This is then moved up for quarterly data collation and verification at provincial and national level.

On a three-to-five-year horizon (immediate) the document sets out the implementation of prevention and promotion programmes, early intervention programmes, family re-integration/re-unification and aftercare services, protection and statutory services, therapeutic and mediation programmes, support services to ensure emancipation and empowerment of families and strengthened socialisation programmes that promote positive values in families and communities. The document proposes to evaluate those programmes against their objectives. It proposes to assess the number of vulnerable families at risk receiving crisis intervention services, accessing family programmes, who received therapeutic services, who received the mediation programme and the numbers of people who have been reunited with their families as well as those who participated in emancipation and empowerment programmes.

In addition to the family preservation, reunification services and parenting programme outputs, the M&E framework makes provision for monitoring outputs in capacity building programmes, research on indigenous knowledge systems, family care and support services, the establishment of family service forums and the celebration of international and national days 'promoting family life'.

Having set out the policy and the implementation framework of the WPF, the next section turns to a review of actual implementation based on the available information.

# 4 THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE WHITE PAPER ON FAMILIES

The previous section outlined the framework for implementation of the WPF. This section considers the information and indicators that are available with regard to what implementation has actually taken place. This section uses a systems approach to review the implementation, focusing on the overall effect of the policy rather than only isolated issues.

This was the main topic of the roundtable that took place on 22 and 23 August 2018 (see DSD 2018c for minutes). The roundtable highlighted the functioning of the National Family Service Forum (NFF) since 2014. DSD also reports that the training of practitioners has been functioning well. The participants discussed activities and programmes being implemented at provincial level. Several participants identified the 'Mencare+' programme and the Northern Cape support programme as examples to follow. In terms of cooperations with NPOs/FBOs, the collaborations with the Sonke Gender Justice Network and FAMSA seem to function well. However, significant problems were also highlighted.

Firstly, participants report that unclear and insufficient budgets make the implementation of the WPF difficult on the ground. Participants in at least one discussion group highlighted the need for better costing of programmes to improve the implementation of the policy. In addition, at provincial and even more at district level, the turnover of partner NGO representatives is high, which causes significant loss of expertise.

Secondly, provincial representatives complained that the national forum is structured in terms of programmes which often do not correspond to provincial structures, where participants simultaneously represent different departments/organisations, while at local level, services are generic. For the roundtable, this situation made linking the activities of different levels of government extremely difficult, especially in the absence of integrated plans – both at provincial and national level. The need for clear political will to prioritise family policy and programmes over others was also highlighted. As a result, everyone operates in a 'kind of silo mentality'. This has also influenced the ability to collaborate with other departments. Further, measurement of progress is largely at the level of input measures, rather than output or outcome measures. Finally, a problem of accountability was identified, as clusters are in charge of the WPF but cannot interfere with the prerogatives of other departments. It was felt that this needs to be addressed at leadership levels such as the presidency, the office of the premier or the mayor, but it is not. In the participants' view this has severely affected the realisation of the objectives of coordination and integration of the WPF.

Thirdly, participants reported on the difficulty of reporting and evaluation. The need to assess the (local) situation before and after implementation was a recurring theme at the roundtable. The quantities of paperwork generated were identified as another obstacle leading to errors and inconsistencies in data-capturing and monitoring of outputs. Participants called for electronic information-management systems,

compatible with systems in other parts of government so that information can be easily shared and used. An important part of that discussion was that monitoring is based on output-oriented indicators that do not allow for a strategic response, nor follow variations in local programmes. Participants highlighted the need for M&E to be instituted and for capacity building of service providers and practitioners. This it is hoped could lead to improvements in the quality of M&E at local and governmental levels.

In summary, the roundtable participants produced valuable insights into some of the implementation challenges and achievements. The Chief Director, Siza Magangoe, indicated that she "hoped that the roundtable will assist [them] to prioritize since they are working on a limited budget" in order to improve implementation of the WPF. The report now turns to the limited available 'hard' evidence on the actual implementation of the White Paper by examining budgetary expenditure trends and reported outputs for specific services.

### 4.1 Budgetary analysis

The provincial budget and expenditure review (National Treasury, 2014) sets out the provincial allocations and spending over the 2010/11-2016/17 period. As such it gives us insight into actual spending on family services, and whether this is aligned with the implementation plan outlined above.

Despite a restructuring of social budgets in the 2014/15 fiscal year to establish explicit family and children accounts,<sup>2</sup> the report does not mention the WPF at all. It reports spending on family programmes only in relation to the Children's Act (2005).

On average, a third of the provincial DSD budgets in 2013/14 was allocated to the sub-programme 'Family and Children'. This represents the largest expenditure line item at provincial level. Reflecting historical legacies, there are notable disparities in spending among provinces. The more urban and wealthier provinces spend relatively more per poor person than the poorer ones. As Table 3 shows, the overall spending on children and families rose steadily over the period 2010/2011 – 2016/17. When broken down by sub-programme, this growth has been mainly driven by an increase in the number of Early Childhood Development (ECD) programmes that are subsidised, with high numbers of ECD programmes supported in rural areas (Treasury 2014: 88).

Provincial expenditure on socio	al developr	ment by pr	ogramme (	Children a	nd Familie	s ), 2010/11	- 2016/17
	10/11	11/12	12/13	13/14	14/15	15/16	16/17
R Million	2 732	3 416	3 571	4 680	5 824	6 292	6 709
% of social development expenditure	27.6%	29.5%	29.5%	33.8%	37.6%	37.8%	38.2%
Growth		19.6				12.8	

#### Table 3: Provincial expenditure on Children and Families over time

Source: National Treasury 2014: 88

The 'Children and Families' sub-programme is analysed in greater detail in Figure 3. Most of the six subprogrammes see a sharp rise after 2014. However, it must be kept in mind that part of this rise is due to the budget restructuring in the MTEF period (2014/15-16/17). The reallocation of some budgets previously categorised in other sections did however 'artificially' increase expenditure in some line items.

Figure 3 shows that, on average, the rise in expenditure is around 50%, with the exception of 'Management and Support', which grew 76% and 'Community-based care services for children' (82%). The former is however most likely attributed to the budgetary restructuring (National Treasury 2014: 82), while the latter is a result of the relatively low starting point of this expenditure category, which is a new programme. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The report cautions that this might affect some of the reporting, as provinces applied the restructuring inconsistently to their social welfare budgets (Treasury 2014: 82).

increase in the budget for 'Community-Based Care Services for Children' comes from additional allocations to the Isibindi programme,<sup>3</sup> a widely recognised community support and care programme for orphans and vulnerable children, which has both treatment and prevention goals. The 'Care and Services to Families' sub-programme grew by 4.3% per year over the MTEF period, and includes allocations for some of the programmes listed as prevention and early intervention services in the Children's Act (2005). The reporting of expenditure provides limited evidence of service delivery aligned to the priorities of the WPF, except those that overlap with the implementation of the Children's Act (2005).



#### Source: National Treasury 2014

#### Figure 3: Provincial expenditure on children and families by sub-programme, 2010/11 – 2016/17

Figure 4 demonstrates the relative importance of each sub-programme in terms of expenditure. It is clear that that 'ECD and Partial Care' and 'Child Care and Protection' take up the bulk of the expenditure. Although proportions vary slightly, the relative importance of different programmes is maintained throughout the period. The sub-programmes 'Child Care and Protection' and 'Child Care and Youth Centres' both largely address statutory protections for children and institutional care, such as the significant inputs for Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVCs) and youth in conflict with the law. If the expenditure of these programmes. In other words, statutory protections make up the biggest spending line item in the Children and Families programme.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Under this programme, it was anticipated that between 2014 and 2016, a total of 10 000 unemployed people will be trained to become child and youth care workers. It is not clear whether this actually occurred or not.



Figure 4: Provincial expenditure on Children and Families by sub-programme

These budgets show the dominance and continuity of statutory protection services in child and family policies. The spending patterns and choices are not well-aligned with the policy orientations of the WPF or the costing of its implementation. In addition, programmes linked to the Children's Act (2005) clearly overlap with programmes associated with the WPF, making an audit of the implementation of the WPF almost impossible due to the vagueness of programme descriptions. At the same time, ECD is a sub-programme that is dominant in spending patterns, but ECD does not feature in the WPF theory of change.

The dominance of statutory protection in these spending patterns gives the impression that the implementation of the WPF has mainly focused on the third strategic priority of the WPF, family protection services. It also raises the question of how the other two other strategic priorities are funded, as 'Family Strengthening' and 'Promotion of healthy family life' seem totally absent from these expenditures. Indeed, Mbecke et al (2017) conclude in their investigation into the challenges of the implementation of the WPF that resource allocation for implementation was severely inadequate, and 77% of their participants had no allocated budget to implement the WPF.

To summarise, the promotive and preventive aims of the WPF are not prioritised in the way DSD budgets are allocated. There is no separate budget for the WPF implementation. This is subsumed into the budget of the Children's Act, and the programmes pursued under the WPF are not detailed or costed. If related to the 2012 costings, this suggests that the bulk of the funding in the first three years would go to marriage preparation, parenting skills, divorce counselling and mediation, but this could not be picked up in the budget.

### 4.2 Reporting against indicators

The DSD has been using three indicators to monitor and evaluate the implementation of the WPF (DSD 2018b: 6). These are supposed to be collected on a quarterly basis:

- 1) The number of families participating in **family preservation services**
- 2) Number of family members reunited with their families
- 3) Number of families participating in parenting skills programmes

Exactly how 'reunification' and 'family preservation services' are defined for the purposes of this tracking is not spelled out in the WPF, or in supporting documentation. While these terms seem to be an accepted 'short-hand' in DSD discourse (it seems self-evident to officials), this is not clearly delineated for transparency and outside scrutiny, nor would provincial or district variations be picked up.

The three indicators above are the only ones being tracked, despite the 2018 draft M&E framework (DSD 2018a: 19) listing long-term, intermediate and short-term outcomes in the log frame, which could be used as indicators. Therefore why these particular three indicators were chosen, and why others were excluded, is not clear.

The data is gathered at district level, then collated by province, and then fed to the national office. It was anecdotally reported during the DSD/Centre of Excellence Roundtable on Families, that the reliability of the information is verified by the national office. However, the auditing process and methodology is not transparent. This throws into question the integrity of the data.

When examining the numbers reported (DSD 2018d), which can be found in Table 4, the dominance of family preservation services is apparent. For the fiscal year 2017/18 they represent almost twice as many families than the families participating in parenting programmes. The reunification of family members represents a much lower number, with a total of 8 108 families nationally. In addition, important differences between provinces are evident. Indeed, for Family Protection Services, Gauteng represents a third of all families nationally.

Further, target-setting processes appear not to follow a particular set of standardised procedures. Output exceeds the targets in the majority of provinces, sometimes by a long way (up to over 200%). These large variances between targets and outputs should be treated with caution due to a lack of data integrity.

In addition, the data presented in these tables cannot be disaggregated to identify which outputs would fall under the WPF rather than the Children's Act (2005), as reunification and family preservation are also considered core tasks of statutory services governed by the latter Act.

The unit costs of the programmes identified here are impossible to calculate, as the categories are different to those in the treasury breakdown. Finally, although significant numbers of people are being reached through the three programmes reported on in Table 4 below, there is no evidence on programme effectiveness and the tracking of outcomes.

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			Numbe	er of familie	s participat	Number of families participating in Family Preservation Service programmes	eservation	Service pro	grammes			
		2014/15			2015/16			2016/17			2017/18	
Province	Annual Target	Actual Output	% Performance	Annual Target	Actual Output	% Performance	Annual Target	Actual Output	% performance	Annual Target	Actual Output	Percentage %
EC	6 592	14 788	224,33	10621	12880	121,27	11590	17685	152,59	14939	25461	170,43
FS	6 170	3 030	49,11	4862	5470	112,51	5700	14828	260,14	9289	12044	129,66
GP	37 404	51 217	136,93	50641	75208	148,51	67070	76351	113,84	74504	101527	136,27
KZN	11 661	31 326	268,64	11997	17638	147,02	61574	58920	95,69	51102	58433	114,35
LP	27 000	36 967	136,91	42000	42435	101,04	43235	43987	101,74	44039	63383	143,92
MP	7 226	12 157	168,24	12596	11097	88,1	12596	11813	93,78	12256	13160	107,38
NC	3 761	4 740	126,03	5840	5875	100,6	5840	6658	114,01	10500	12442	118,50
NW	28 790	28 391	98,61	35000	68703	196,29	38718	61982	160,09	7500	11478	153,04
WC⁴	13 363	13 976	104,59	11753	11412	97,1	11976	14060	117,4	12364	13149	ı
Total	141 967	196 592		185 310	250 718		258 299	306 284		236 493	311 077	

		Percentage %	97,52	132,90	178,61	123,92	103,23	146,67	185,83	107,35	158,59	
	2017/18	Actual Output	472	206	2004	3150	734	572	223	73	674	8 108
		Annual Target	484	155	1122	2542	711	390	120	68	425	6 017
	2016/17	% performance	112,2	70,85	191,19	126,43	109,56	158,03	188,69	166,18	149,88	
Number of family members reunited with their families		Actual Output	469	141	1671	2679	722	482	217	113	637	7 131
		Annual Target	418	199	874	2119	659	305	115	68	425	5 182
		% Performance	66,34	49,15	159,04	124,2	112	147,87	200	I	86,09	
er of family	2015/16	Actual Output	406	87	1390	1509	672	451	220	-	297	5 032
Numbe		Annual Target	612	177	874	1215	600	305	110	-	345	4 238
	10	% Performance	66'09	44,3	113,82	170,09	124,2	225,64	291,4	141,33	105	
	2014/15	Actual Output	460	70	939	1871	621	352	271	212	399	5 195
		Annual Target	696	158	825	1100	500	156	93	150	380	4 058
		Province	EC	FS	GP	KZN	ГЪ	МР	NC	NN	WC	Total

<sup>4</sup> The 2017/18 outputs were not available for the Western Cape; we thus integrated an average of previous years to allow for comparisons.

-04

				Number o								
		2014/15			2015/16			2016/17			2017/18	
Province An	Annual Target	Actual Output	% Performance	Annual Target	Actual Output	% Performance	Annual Target	Actual Output	% performance	Annual Target	Actual Output	Percentage %
<b>EC</b> 19	1979	2455	124,05	4632	7435	160,17	6810	12213	179,34	9581	14316	149,42
<b>FS</b> 16	1643	764	46,5	1178	2746	233,11	1254	3508	279,74	2460	4502	183,01
<b>GP</b> 35	3500	5954	170,11	5041	15172	300,97	7635	18517	242,53	15531	26572	171,09
<b>KZN</b> 70	7079	37020	522,96	15641	24620	157,41	41474	49520	119,4	55584	64760	116,51
<b>LP</b> 50	5000	11030	220,6	7800	9722	124,64	8766	11590	132,22	9624	18467	191,88
<b>MP</b> 13	1339	1797	134,2	1705	1700	12,99	1705	5520	323,75	2475	3285	132,73
<b>NC</b> 19	1918	2472	128,88	4380	4405	100,57	4380	5022	114,65	4460	5598	125,52
NW 63	6310	8518	134,99	I	I	I	6000	16225	270,42	16349	18534	113,36
<b>WC</b> 10	10596	8732	82,41	8441	5912	70,04	7741	7627	98,53	I	I	I
Total 39	39 364	78 742		48 818	71 712		85 765	129 742		116 064	156 034	

Source: DSD, 2018d

### 4.3 Family forums

### National

There are no reports documenting the existence, functioning and outcomes of family forums. The interpretation of how the family forums work is based on the analysis of the minutes of 11 meetings of the National Family Service Forum. This section will try to briefly give a sense of the national forum's activities. We have no documented evidence on the provincial and district forums, although the minutes testify to the fact there is some provincial activity.

Most of the forum meetings were attended by national and provincial DSD representatives. In addition, some national departments seem to attend but, with a few exceptions (DIRCO, Home Affairs), most do not attend consistently (minutes, and DSD interview 08/08/2018). In addition, four or five Faith-Based Organisations (FBOs) and one or two Community-Based Organisations (CBOs) are attending regularly. There seem to be periods of strong attendance and periods where it is mainly DSD staff.

The meetings report on the activities of national and provincial DSD activities on each of the WPF's strategic priorities. Most of this is not reported beyond a certain number of families reached. As regards the promotion of healthy family life, provinces report mainly on the fatherhood and parenting programmes. There seems to be a strong focus on teenage parents. For family-strengthening programmes, provinces report on the use of social relief and distress, counselling for families facing crisis situations and therapeutic services. In addition, some provinces have a focus on or fund organisations oriented towards income-generation activities (food gardens, for example). Finally, the number of families reached via family preservation is reported per province. A mention is made of a revised family preservation manual training (NFF minutes 20/04/17). There is however no further reporting on this.

Programmes are then discussed. The discussions are mainly on general points, missing programmes and some collaboration with other departments in some provinces. The need for better integration is mentioned (NFF Minutes, 20/07/17) but it is unclear what integration (efforts) are taking place beyond the reporting of what is done locally.

Additionally, the national DSD reports on capacity building and training on these programmes in the provinces. Again no details are given on what this entails in practice and in its content. There is also some focus on the celebration of the International Day of Families (IDF).

After reports from the DSD, other national departments report on their activities in regard to families. DIRCO reports on attending a UN forum on family issues. On 20 April 2017, the Department of Health mentions several awareness weeks (child protection, measles, immunisation, HIV, teenage pregnancy). The SA Police Service (SAPS) mentions it has communicated to its members on family issues and counselling that is offered. Home Affairs reports visiting a children's home for Mandela Day and its commitment to procure documents for the Children for the International Day of the Family or on the modification of documents for international travel with children (NFF Minutes, 24/04/2016). On 20 July 2017, the SA National Defence Force (SANDF) reported that it had a youth development programme, an HIV programme, pre-deployment preparation for families and individual counselling. Correctional Services also mentions a marriage and care service and a parenting skills programme.

These anecdotal examples show that departments seem to know of the NFF's existence and participate at least occasionally. The minutes do not seem to indicate whether efforts are sustained with follow-ups. But as for the DSD contribution, the minutes give us little information on what their programmes mean in practice and there is no evidence that, beyond sharing what each department does, what the implications are for the quality of family life or whether actual integration of programmes is occurring. Participants – all DSD officials – in the investigation of the implementation of the WPF undertaken by Mbecke et al. (2017) stated that forums were not running properly and 72% stated the implementation of the WPF was not supervised, monitored, or evaluated.

The minutes reveal that a few other organisations report on what they are doing. Some of them seem to be consistent in attending (FAMSA, MARFAM, HOMESTART, SAVF, SACBC, Family Impact). It appears

those are mainly FBOs and CBOs. They seem to execute mainly parenting training (focus on fathers and teenagers) and counselling, as well as marriage promotion (via media). Some present their work through the lens of the WPF strategic priorities, most simply present what they did.

In January 2018, a presentation was organised on two policy reforms – the amended private maintenance obligations and the new strategy regarding the removal of a family member. In addition to those kinds of discussions and or consultations, there are administrative discussions regarding the family forums like the adoption of the terms of reference for the forum. A recurring theme, in particular more recently, is the forum members' concern about the low FBO participation rate (see for example NFF minutes 25/01/2018 and 20/07/17).

From the minutes and the different reports at the roundtable meeting convened by the Centre of Excellence in Human Development, it appears a number of programmes are being implemented nationally and provincially. However, references to the programmes make mention of achievements such as capacity building that has been undertaken or the adoption of an M&E framework for families or simply that young men have been reached in a particular province. Beyond this, there is no specific information on what these programmes are, how they are being designed, implemented or evaluated.

One of the programmes the minutes give some information on is the MENCARE+ programme (NFF minutes: 25/02/2015; 20/07/17). The programme was started in 2015. It is led by the Sonke Gender Justice Network. They were joined in 2016 by UNICEF. It reports to have trained 190 social workers and 123 social service professionals. Through the joint efforts of these organisations, programmes reached 600 fathers and 1007 men. The minutes of the report to the Family Forum note improvement in gender perspectives as regards the perception of women, the role of mothers and involvement of men in the home (NFF minutes, 20/07/17). There is no information on the impact of those programmes and its multiplier effects.

### Provincial

All of this indicates that there are programmes running at provincial level. The different minutes from 2014 even attest to the launch of the provincial fora. However, it is very unclear what this means in practice. As explained above, at best we have abstract numbers of families reached (see 4.2), or one phrase stating that "capacity building was conducted on the fatherhood strategy in KZN" (NFF minutes 24/07/2014). We can thus state that implementation of programmes and interventions appear to be occurring but these cannot be evaluated, nor can any comment be made on what this means in practice. Again, there seems to be very little coordination of the programmes.

Indeed, implementation seems to be very uneven and staff face many obstacles. During the national forum meeting of July 2014, Mpumalanga DSD officers reported on the difficulties in setting up district forums. In general, national approaches are difficult to transfer at local levels (province and districts) as 'people wear different hats' (i.e. they are often representatives of different departments/programmes/organisations) at lower levels (DSD 2018c).

The views set out above were confirmed by the Gauteng DSD officials. Indeed, they reported that it was difficult to implement the WPF as departments operate 'in silos', offering services to different members of the same family, as there is no integrated service delivery plan for the province (DSD 2018c: 9). In addition, they complained about the lack of capacity and budget. Other stakeholders including national DSD recognised the lack of coordination, knowledge of the WPF (DSD, 2018c) and capacity. National DSD also recognised that the output-oriented monitoring leads to many inconsistencies.

Two other cases studies were presented at the roundtable of the Centre of Excellence on the WPF. The Northern Cape Province reported having a relatively well-functioning provincial structure and capacity building. It reported problems in managing the differences and difficulties of implementation in rural and urban areas in a province spread over vast distances. On the other hand, the North West province gives a report based essentially on the Children's Act. It seems the White Paper is not really used for implementation purposes. The province reported difficulties in building collaboration and capacity, in part because of high staff turnover and subsequent loss of institutional memory. No solutions of how to deal with the loss of knowledge seem to be in place.

### 4.4 Training

According to DSD officials (DSD interview 08/08/2018), training was started in 2014 for all nine provinces. In the latter financial year, 40 delegates per province were trained. It is not known whether further national training was done, but in 2018, according to the DSD's Chief Director Families, 2000 delegates from civil society and government departments have been trained (DSD, 2018c: 7). Capacity building specifically on the WPF explicitly appears only once in the national forum minutes (NFF Minutes 22/10/2015). The objective was for coordinators to cascade the training into all districts. It is not known if this has occurred and to what effect. Barriers to the efficient running of the training programmes are a lack of resources at local levels but also turnover of staff, leading to a loss of expertise (DSD interview 08/08/2018). Corroborating the training gaps, in their investigation into implementation challenges of the WPF, Mbecke et al. (2017) state that 70% of their research participants did not receive any training. In addition, national officials were more likely to be trained than provincial and district officials.

No information is available on the community dialogues held.

# 5 ACHIEVEMENTS AND GAPS IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE WHITE PAPER ON FAMILIES

### 5.1 Toward an approach to family policy

Despite the critiques of the existing family policy in South Africa and the implementation challenges outlined in this report, the fact that such a policy exists is a significant achievement. There is a dearth of research on the nature, scope and direction of family policies in the global South compared to the North, where there has been a resurgence of interest in the study of family policies (Rostgaard & Eydal 2018). South Africa's approach to family policy fills an important knowledge gap. The approach is a broad one in that conceptually it includes social and economic policies that affect families, on the one hand, while emphasising family support, reunification, family strengthening, service integration across government departments as key interventions to achieve social and family cohesion and child and family well-being.

The current approach to the country's family policy takes the family as the starting point. It includes a range of other policies executed by various government departments. The synergies between these social and economic sectors are assumed, but how these will work together and which strategies are prioritised and why is not well conceptualised or linked to specific outcomes. Coordination and integration of services and sectors could be better articulated and linked to outcomes. The nexus between the state and families and non-state service providers is an underlying tenet of the policy and in line with international approaches to family policy. However, what the balance is between state and other actors in ensuring family well-being could be better addressed when revisiting the South Africa's family policy. For instance, this includes the nexus between state actions through fiscal policies such as taxation policy, cash benefits, childcare support, and access to basic services (e.g. housing, sanitation, water and electricity), social care and support services. The balance between individual provision (what individuals do for themselves), extended family provision (how families help each other), work and family life balance (what private employers do to support employees) and state also needs to be found. These talk to the need to clearly identify what family and social cohesion outcomes are priorities, to ensure that the different levels of support and provision align.

This broader approach to family policy in South Africa, while useful, also presents a major challenge for implementation of the policy, because this requires significant capacity – dedicated financial resources and trained personnel with the appropriate knowledge and skills – to implement the policy as it currently stands. These challenges are considered further below, but how family policy is defined and conceptualised has significant implications for implementation or the lack thereof.

One of the key conceptual issues with the policy relates to its normative underpinnings, namely the privileging of the heterosexual, nuclear and marriage-based family norm. While marriage-strengthening

interventions are in order in any family policy, people's rights to choose whether to marry or not should be respected and upheld. Social and economic factors, including historical factors such as apartheid policies and migrant labour, have had a disruptive impact on families, which cannot be ignored. These factors go some way to explaining why South Africa has one of the lowest marriage rates in the world. Family policy therefore needs to be in touch with the realities of family life in contemporary South Africa. How family structures and relations are changing, including policy changes in the recognition of same sex marriages and the rights of LGBTI partnerships, also needs to be revisited in the policy.

The question of outcomes of family policies is also receiving international attention. What difference do they make? Do they contribute to the wider social good of society? There is currently no evidence that South Africa's family policy has achieved these outcomes. Sufficient evidence is provided in this review that the policy has been inadequately monitored and evaluated. Lessons from family policies in middle- and high-income countries show that family policies that are most effective in addressing poverty and inequality gaps are those that have a combination of interventions (Rostgaard & Eydal 2018). These interventions include: government taxation, fiscal spending on cash benefits e.g. child support grants; pensions and disability grants; income protection through social insurance schemes e.g. employment benefits, maternity, and paternity and parental leave; child care support to facilitate women's labour market participation; higher employment rates and investments in care and basic services for vulnerable members of families. Countries that provide these types of supportive interventions tend to lower the burden of care on families and recognise the contribution that families make to the good of society as a whole. These policies then contribute to family and social cohesion.

While the review shows that significant resources are allocated to social services through the Children's Act (2005), the actual budgets for the implementation of the family policy are obscure. It is therefore not an unfair conclusion to reach that the policy exists on paper but not in practice. This is not to undermine the considerable efforts of many government departments, NGOs, FBOs and CBOs in delivering services to children and families. These are well documented in the sections in this report on the National Family Forums. Coordination of services is one the key strategies of the policy to improve synergies and cost efficiencies in a resource constrained environment, but the findings show that better coordination has not been achieved at national and provincial levels, while it is non-existent at local government level. Local government ought to be playing a central role in family services as they are closer to the real lives of families.

Although family policies around the world do prioritise a focus on families with children as a key function of family policies, a life cycle approach is advocated by the WPF and the White Paper for Social Welfare (1997). Thus, the needs of vulnerable members of families such as the care and support of older persons, persons with disabilities and those who suffer from chronic illnesses are beginning to feature in family policies around the world. The review of the policy needs to grapple with how members of the family in different stages of the life cycle may be supported. Finally, the policy makes significant commitments to gender equality and the engagement of men in social and economic development. The various minutes of the National Family Forums over the past few years show a strong partnership with Sonke Gender Justice and UNICEF in engaging men in family matters and in de-gendering social care, which is an important achievement. South Africa has a long way to go in redistributing care burdens more equally between men and women, and limited attention is paid in the policy to understanding how these dynamics work in practice and how a family policy might specifically address this.

Given this wide-ranging agenda for family policies, it is critical to revisit the approach to the family policy in relation to the above issues. What should be prioritised and what the focus should be remains a critical challenge. This is so because current implementation of the policy amounts effectively to the implementation of the Children's Act (2005) and to addressing the 'social ills' of society, which is assumed to be best achieved through remedial and a social treatment approach to the family policy. In short, family strengths, social and economic empowerment of families, the nexus between cash transfers and family-strengthening services, prevention and promotion of family life all receive limited attention in the policy and its implementation.

### 5.2 Implementation issues and challenges

Fixsen et al. (2005) argue that implementation is more complex than we think and that far too little attention is paid to learning from implementation to improve policy formulation and service delivery. Among some of the key lessons learnt from a review of evidence-based policies and programmes around the world, Fixsen et al. (2005) identify the following lessons: first, is the importance of training, supervision, coaching and mentoring, including management of performance of the purveyors or implementers of social service policies. Lack of knowledge of the WPF and how to mainstream the policy across governmental and non-governmental service providers were identified as significant challenges. Although some training has occurred at national level as documented in the report, its content, effectiveness of the delivery of the training and the adoption of new and different ways of working among practitioners and service providers were not evident in the review. The intention was to cascade the knowledge and skills gained to service delivery agencies and practitioners at local levels, but did not appear to have occurred. In order to improve delivery and implementation, this remains a critical area for review and action. There is also no indication of the staffing numbers across the programmes who are engaged in policy implementation and service delivery.

Second, performance monitoring and evaluation of staff and of the programmes as a whole have not been conducted, which is a critical component in successful implementation. There is a lack of standardised monitoring and reporting protocols on M&E, indicators are poorly defined and data integrity is questionable. Although attempts have been made to articulate a theory of change of the policy, it does not capture the complexity of the domains covered and the outcome indicators that need to be assessed. Since there are many different programmes, no theory of change appears to have been developed for the respective programmes, which complicates assessment of outcomes. An integrated and overarching integrated strategic plan with operational plans could go some way in guiding the implementation of a diversity of stakeholders whose efforts are expected to be coordinated. The WPF is rather vague and does not provide adequate guidance to implementing agencies as to what they are expected to deliver and how outputs and outcomes will be assessed. In addition, there are no clear budget allocations for the implementation of the policy.

Third, alignment of budgets to ensure implementation is a key lesson learnt from the research by Fixsen et al. (2005). Budgets appear to be inadequate and are not aligned with a strategic plan and the three national priorities. Allocations across provinces are uneven and the new budget structure does not allow for disaggregation of spending on the Children's Act (2005) and the WPF. There appears to be no monitoring of provincial allocations and expenditure on the family policy and in Gauteng, one of the largest provinces, there is no dedicated budget for implementation. The policy and cost allocations made provision for moving from current programmes funded such as the Children's Act (2005) towards the implementation of the new priorities in the medium and longer term. Spending allocations have shifted to new policy initiatives such as Early Childhood Development (ECD) and community-based care through the Isibindi programme, which envisages the employment of 10 000 child and youth care workers. These shifts should be commended. However, here again, how these programmes are rigorously monitored and evaluated remains unclear.

Fourth, a key mechanism for change outlined in the policy refers to the role of family forums at national, provincial and local levels. A review of the minutes of the forums suggests that the forums succeeded in achieving information exchange between the various partners (government and non-governmental) in monitoring implementation. The minutes provide useful insights into what is happening, but there is no standardised reporting system in place. The reports presented are not audited and it is therefore difficult to assess what the outputs and outcomes might be. While interest in the family forums at national level was strong in the early years, this does not appear to have been sustained subsequently. Few government departments attend consistently at national and provincial levels. Issues of accountability were also raised by members of the forums. The need for political will and leadership at senior governmental levels to mandate and prioritise participation was also recommended. Coordination through provincial forums and local level coordination appears not to be occurring. This is critical to successful implementation, especially at local level, as this is the tier of government that is closest to supporting and enabling family well-being.

There is a lack of focus on one of the key priorities of the WPF, which is to promote economic empowerment of families and to assist them in maximising economic opportunities. There is limited evidence that this component of the policy was addressed in the forums at all levels. The optimal realisation of local-level economic opportunities for families could be better prioritised. While training has taken place, exactly what form this took is unclear, therefore a review of the training curriculum and who is trained would be important. Further, if the forums are to achieve their intended purpose of improving coordination and collaboration, the agenda of the forum meetings needs to be revisited. At national and provincial levels, a strategic approach to the leadership and management of the forums is indicated. Finally, citizen voices are largely absent from the forums. There might be opportunities for citizens to take part in deliberations on families at the district level, but no evidence of this currently exists.

In conclusion, the WPF appears to acknowledge the importance of government investment in families to promote social cohesion, but what government actually invests in families across its different budgets is unknown. Perhaps there is scope for conducting a family-oriented budget analysis to determine what public investments are being made to optimise existing expenditure and address shortfalls over time. An overreliance on families and the notion that families must pull themselves up by their own bootstraps can disadvantage already poor and marginalised families who are struggling to survive and care for vulnerable members such as children, older persons, the sick and for people with disabilities. Unsupported familiaism is not an option for South Africa. It will not address the huge inequality gaps between families and will lead to poor long-term social and economic outcomes for individuals and families reflected in achievements in education, health, employment and income. Domestic and gender-based violence is one of South Africa's key national priorities. Sufficient international and local evidence exists of the association between high rates of family violence and wider socio-economic factors, including a growing culture of violence in South Africa. Innovative and evidence-based family and parenting interventions are needed to support families in their various roles in productive activity and in reproducing future generations.

# 6 CONCLUSION

This preliminary review of South Africa's WPF is the first of its kind and has several limitations in that it is essentially a desktop study of available literature and documentation, augmented by feedback from a roundtable meeting with practitioners, researchers and governmental and non-governmental partners. It does not represent the full spectrum of views on the implementation of the policy in that few provinces and local government partners attended the roundtable discussion convened by the Centre of Excellence in Human Development at the University of the Witwatersrand in collaboration with the Department of Social Development. In addition, certain aspects of the implementation of the WPF are not included in this review due to a lack of information in these areas, such as reporting lines, structures, and protocols. Nonetheless, this review begins to identify key issues in the formulation of the policy and the challenges of implementation. It also provides some pointers for revisiting the policy and the framework guiding implementation, monitoring and evaluation, including resource allocations and institutional capacity to deliver on the policy aims, objectives and outcomes.

Despite the numerous challenges with the policy outlined in the report, the fact that South Africa has a family policy is laudable given the country's past legacy of family disruption and the new challenges facing families in contemporary South Africa. Further review and reflection of the policy could focus on the approach to the policy. Consideration will need to be given to how expansive the policy agenda should be – that is, the view that family policy is everything that government does – or whether a narrower approach would be more beneficial based on national and local priorities and variations. What the nexus is between the state and families and what the respective roles of each are in promoting family well-being might go a long way towards arriving at a workable definition and focus for the policy. Other relevant critiques that challenge the normative assumptions underpinning the policy also need to be addressed. Finally, what the key national policies are that are central to enhancing family well-being could be agreed. Such a pragmatic approach could focus implementation on a more strategic agenda and action to promote family life in South Africa. While some critics question the relevance of the institution of the family as normatively defined – based on marriage and the heterosexual nuclear family for many citizens – the notion of family, however defined, remains the most fundamental unit of society in meeting human needs

and in securing a sense of identity. This is not to romanticise the notion of 'the family', however, as families can be both benign and harmful to people's development. The point remains, though, that families are changing globally and locally, and our family policy needs to be responsive to these changes.

Finally, the review confirmed significant implementation challenges and complexities across multiple sectors and partners, institutional constraints and issues, ranging from the availability of financial and human resources to staff training and monitoring and evaluation of implementation. The broad approach undergirding the family policy also makes implementation more complex. Nevertheless, the policy-development process and implementation achievements and challenges provide a rich case study of a family policy in a middle-income country in the African context.

# 7 SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Evaluating and learning from models of family policies from other Low and Middle Income Countries globally would be instructive in helping move South Africa's family policy forward. In addition, identifying the international best practices in assessing outcomes for family policies could offer a sound evidence base for shaping the evaluation and monitoring agenda in South Africa.

Family policy is usually understood as what governments do for families. Therefore conducting an audit in South Africa on what different parts of government actively do to support healthy families would be a productive way to assess the policy beyond what is contained in the WPF.

Linked to the above, it is crucial to decide how to monitor the services supporting families that fall outside the direct ambit of family policy. For example, providing decent housing, offering comprehensive and quality health care, and ensuring children are well-educated are critical to the positive functioning of families, but are not deliverables that can be claimed as family policy outcomes.

Key to a WPF research and evaluation agenda would be the finalisation of the Theory of Change and the specification of outcome indicators of the WPF. Clarifying the Theory of Change and the indicators will require significant decision-making regarding the scope of the implementation of the policy, moving from broad intentions to specific objectives and actions.

Separating out the objectives and programmes linked to the Children's Act vs. the WPF is important, so that evaluation processes assess the appropriate outcomes. In addition, family forums are a key tool of the WPF, and it would be important to monitor the strategy and outcomes of the National, Provincial and District Forums.

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# Appendix A: Participants at WPF roundtable August 2018

		ole on the White Paper on Families Date: 22 – 23 August 2018 List of Participants
Surname	Name	Organisation
Buthelezi	Thabani	DSD: Monitoring & Evaluation
Chirwa	Kingwell	DSD: Gauteng
Crouch	Sharon	DSD: Northern Cape – Monitoring & Evaluation
De Wet	Johannah	DSD: Northern Cape
Dr Hall	Katherine	University of Cape Town – Children's Institute
Prof Hochfeld	Tessa	CSDA
Hlongwa	Khethani	DSD: Social Policy
Dr Lalla	Vedhna	University of the Free State
Wendy	Landau	Wits CoE
Jason	Dez	DSD: Monitoring & Evaluation
Prof Makiwane	Monde	HSRC
Dr Makusha	Tawanda	HSRC
Makhubedu	Yvonne	Child Protection
Mabane	Fridah	DSD: Monitoring & Evaluation
Mogami	Lesego	DSD: Monitoring & Evaluation
Matladi	Boipelo	DSD: Monitoring & Evaluation
Magangoe	Siza	Families & Social Crime Prevention
Masuku	Naku	Families South Africa (FAMSA)
Mathebula	Gracious	DSD: Families
Mbowenile	Mmapule	DSD: North West
Moss	Suzette	DSD: Families
Motshedi	Mercutio	DSD: North West – Monitoring & Evaluation
Mosuwe	Sarah	DSD: Families
Muller	Carina	DBE: National School Nutrition Programme
Ntsoane	Percy	DSD: Families
Prof Patel	Leila	Centre for Social Development in Africa (CSDA)
Phakoe	Jabulani	DSD: Gauteng – Special Needs and Services to Families
Prof Rabe	Marlize	University of South Africa
Prof Richter	Linda	Wits CoE
Rapelang	Batlhobogeng	
Rowland	Toni	MARFAM

Rheeder	Erna	SAVF
Schmidt	Isabel	Statistics South Africa
Sibisi	Welcome	DSD: Gauteng – Monitoring & Evaluation
Skosana	Nkere	DSD: HIV/AIDS Programme
Vujovic	Marnie	Right to Care
Petersen	Laetitia	Wits
Ndlovu	Sindiso	Wits
Oliphant	Lunka	DSD
Makhubedni	Yvonne	DSD
Mamatshiliso	Nhlapo	DSD
Mkize	Vuyo	
	Jaconia	DSDN
Mmotory	Lillian	National DSD
Monnakgotle	Clara	
Mongale	Lesego	DSDN
Groenewald	Candice	HSRC
Mogotsi	Maureen	NDSD
	Muzi	NDSD
	Anne	SADAC
Mutanda	Nyasha	DPS
Nathane	Tlale	Wits
Mdlouv	Zama	SACBC
Pienaar	Elmo	CoramDeo
Kerileng	Motsani	DSD National
Khoza	Gloria	UNICEF
Lethu	Кариеуо	COE-Human
Wiesse	Hessie	DSDN
Govender	Meenaloshim	DPME
Mdumela	Mtsikelelo	

# Appendix B: programmes quoted in DSD documents

Pare	nting programmes
1.	Fatherhood strategy
2.	Mencare+ programme
3.	Parenting skills trainings
4.	Active parenting of teenagers: Sinovuyo
5.	Ubaba unathi programme
6.	Teen parenting
7.	Parenting plans and services
8.	Parenting progammes focusing on teen parents, foster parents and guardians
9.	Hands on parenting
10.	Single-headed households
11.	Skip-generation programmes
12.	Teen pregnancy
13.	Botswadi
14.	Rebuilding dreams
Fami	ly preservation
15.	Marriage preparation and enrichment
16.	Mediation services (family disputes, parenting plans)
17.	FPS manual and guidelines for FBOs and CBOs rendering FPS
18.	Marriage separation
19.	Practice guidelines for social workers to foster and sustain family resilience
20.	Casework focus (referrals)
Fami	ly reunification
21.	Case work
22.	Group work (8 weeks with contract for commitment)
23.	Positive values and morals
24.	Prevention of family ills
25.	Moral decays
26.	Strategy on holidays for families
27.	Strategy to support families facing the imminent risk of removal of a family member
28.	Reunification services
Othe	ers
29.	Outreach (advocacy and education)
30.	Norms and standards for services families

### Appendix C: WPF Roundtable programme:



CENTRE FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA







#### social development

Department: Social Development **REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA** 

#### What lessons can be learned from successes and challenges in implementing the White Paper on Families in South Africa?

#### **Roundtable Programme**

22 - 23 August 2018

Venue: Resource Centre, Ground Floor, School of Public Health University of the Witwatersrand (Education Campus), 27 St Andrews Road, Parktown, Johannesburg

Aim: The aim of the roundtable is to share knowledge on strategies for the implementation of the White Paper on Families, and to suggest a way forward for a research and evaluation agenda that will generate robust evidence on the implementation of the White Paper to inform policies and programme development for families.

The **objectives** are as follows:

- 1. To clearly understand the context of the White Paper on Families and its implementation in South Africa, including the complexity of the links between various DSD and other government department programmes, as well as civil society.
- 2. To identify the range of challenges that interfere with effective implementation of the White Paper.
- 3. To identify any current or potential positive and productive responses to these challenges from government departments and civil society.
- 4. To identify and explore possible avenues for future cooperation between all affected programmes and partners on issues of families.
- 5. To develop a set of resolutions to frame the research and evaluation agenda.

Workshop facilitators: Prof Leila Patel and Associate Professor Tessa Hochfeld, Centre for Social Development in Africa, University of Johannesburg

#### Day 1: 08:30 – 16:00

Time	Agenda Item	Person responsible
08:30	Arrival, registration & tea	
09:00 – 09:15	Introduction and Welcome	Conny Nxumalo Deputy Director General: Welfare Services
09:15 – 9:45	Purpose and Background	Siza Magangoe, NDSD: Chief Director: Families and Social Crime
	Part 1: Understanding the White paper: Mandates, implementation & context	
09:45 – 10:45	Panel Discussion: challenges and complexity of implementation of the White Paper on Families	<ul> <li>Facilitator: Leila Patel</li> <li>Panellists:</li> <ol> <li>Naku Masuku: FAMSA</li> <li>Dr Tawanda Makusha: HSRC</li> <li>Toni Rowland: MARFAM</li> <li>Jabulani Phakoe: Families, Gauteng</li> <li>Mapule Mboweni: Families, North West</li> <li>Percy Ntsoane: Acting Director Families, NDSD</li> </ol></ul>
10:45 - 11:00	Теа	
11:00 – 11:30	Presentation of review of the implementation of the White Paper on Families Questions and discussion	CSDA
	Part 2: Case studies on implementation: learning from practice	
11:30 – 12:00	Presentation of Case Study 1	Ntokozo Nala, Families, KZN
12:00 - 12:30	Presentation of Case Study 2	Lesego Mongale, Families, Northern Cape
12:30 - 12:45	Questions and discussions case studies	Facilitator: Tessa Hochfeld
12:45 - 13:45	Lunch	
13:45 – 15:00	Break-up into Mini Working groups What do we learn from practice?	Facilitators: Dez Jason Dibolelo Ababio Suzette Moss Percy Ntsoane Charlotte Mukhovha Lesego Mongale (Northern Cape)
15:00 - 15:30	Feedback on working groups by rapporteurs	Facilitator: Tessa Hochfeld
15:30 – 16:00	Summary and closure	Erna Rheeder, SAVF

Time	Agenda Item	Person responsible
08:30 - 09:00	Tea/ Coffee	
09:00 - 09:10	Welcome and Outline: Day 2	Dez Jason: NDSD: Director: Policy & Programme Evaluation
09:10 - 09:30	Recap and implications of Part 1 and 2 for M&E	Lesego Mogami: ASD, M&E, NDSD
09:30 – 10:00	Understanding Families in the South African Context Questions	Dr Katherine Hall, UCT: Children's Institute
	Section 3: Strategies for the future.	
10:00 – 11:30 (including tea)	<ul> <li>Break-up into Mini Working groups: Identification of gaps, challenges, and best practices of:</li> <li>1. Coordination, implementation and monitoring structures at national and provincial levels. <ul> <li>a. Coordination and collaboration across government departments.</li> <li>b. Systems (budgeting, HR capacity, knowledge and skills, policies and guidelines)</li> <li>c. Monitoring &amp; reporting Programme level indicators.</li> <li>d. National &amp; Provincial Forums</li> </ul> </li> <li>2. Coordination and integration of community-based services to promote and strengthen family life. <ul> <li>a. Partnerships &amp; collaboration.</li> <li>b. Systems strengthening.</li> <li>c. Referrals and channelling.</li> <li>d. Use of family service forums.</li> </ul> </li> <li>3. Assess the strategic priorities of the WPF related to investment of resources &amp; effort; definition of understanding; programme delivery; leadership &amp; management approach; aspects of sustainability <ul> <li>a. Promotion of healthy family life</li> <li>b. Family Strengthening</li> <li>c. Family Preservation</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	Facilitators: Dez Jason Suzette Moss Percy Ntsoane Charlotte Mukhovha Lesego Mongale (Northern Cape)
	a. Identifying issues and challenges	
10:30 - 10:45		
11:30 - 12:15	Group report back by rapporteurs	Facilitator: CSDA
12:15 – 12:45	Development towards a research and evaluation agenda	Facilitator: Leila Patel, CSDA, UJ
12:45 – 13:00	Closure and Lunch	Percy Ntsoane, NDSD: Acting Director: Families

#### Day 2: 08:30 - 13:00 (then lunch)

Scribes: Lesego Mogami, Gracious Mathebula, Boipelo Matladi

