'Do donor agencies address the question of the empowerment and sustainable development of poor black women?'

By Ashleigh Thompson

Supervised by Professor Sheila Meintjes

A Research Report in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Development Studies.

Faculty of Humanities
University of the Witwatersrand
February 2008

Table of Contents

<u>Dedication</u>

This study is in honour of my Ambuya Elizabeth, Gogo Gertrude, Sekuru Thompson and Sekuru Chipeni for the many lessons they have taught me in my life and for teaching me the value of education.

Abstract

Women globally are faced with many challenges and obstacles which include poverty, disease, violence and inequality. Over the years, women through their own initiative, have organised themselves nationally and internationally to have their agendas taken seriously by governments. Donor agencies did not come to supporting women due to their own conscientiousness – rather it was because of the concerted will and commitment of the international women's movement that brought attention to the need for assistance for women. In South Africa there are many donor agencies that provide funding for programmes and initiatives that address the challenges faced by women of lower socio-economic groupings. The arising question is how effective these initiatives have been in addressing poverty and inequality of women. This pilot study attempted to investigate how select donors and non-governmental organisations have fared in relation to their target group – 'poor black women'. The study addressed the issues of empowerment and sustainable development of 'poor black women' through an analysis of the work of non-governmental organisations supported by donor agencies. The findings were that donors do attempt to address the empowerment and sustainable development of 'poor black women' through the funding that they provide.

Chapter 1

Introduction

This chapter presents the research question and the research objectives. The conditions that women are faced with as well as the situations they are in because of their gender are discussed in the background of the study. The rationale and significance of this study concludes the chapter.

1.1   Research Question

- Do donor agencies address the question of the empowerment and sustainable development of 'poor black women'?

1.2   Aims and Objectives

The aims and objectives of this research are to:

- To explore to what extent Aus-Aid and the DG Murray Trust address of the question of empowerment and sustainable development of 'poor black women'.
- To assess the work of Aus-Aid and DG Murray Trust that supports the work of Edutak and HIPPY to improve the lives of 'poor black women'.
- To explore what empowerment and sustainable development mean for 'poor black women' targeted by the projects supported by Aus-Aid and DG Murray Trust.

1. 3   Background

Globally, women are faced with struggles that are related to health care, education, land ownership, access to credit, gender violence, HIV/AIDS, oppressive legislation and much more (Logan in Jones & Perry 2003:95). Global research shows that women also face discrimination based on their race, class and gender. These factors decrease ordinary and poor women's ability to participate in any planning that might improve their lives, in implementing or in having access to the benefits that they might accrue from social development. As women, they are constantly faced with exclusion and lack of access (Boserup 1984, in Jones & Perry 2003:96). Women are often 'excluded at many levels of decision making processes which vitally affect their lives' (Mosse, 1993: v). According to the United Nations Development Report of 1993, 'there is no country in the world in

which women's quality of life is equal to that of men according to measures that include health status, educational opportunities, employment and political rights' (Nussbaum, 1995:2). Women represent a 'disproportionate share of the world's poor, are increasingly represented among low wage workers and they are forced to balance wage work with subsistence and domestic production in meeting household needs' (Benería & Feldman, 1992:1). If women do get work, it is often unskilled work which has low wages (Boserup, 1970:139). 'Two-thirds of the illiterate people in the world are women' (Mosse, 1993: v) This paints a very bleak picture of the status of women globally and even though there have been efforts on a global scale that encourage gender-sensitive development strategies, unfortunately according to Kabadaki (1994 in Jones & Perry 2003:96) the majority of African women still live in poverty, and continue to get poorer. Boserup stated that 'economic progress often benefited men who were wage earners, whilst the position of women remained unchanged and often deteriorated due to the growth of the modern sector which led to the traditional enterprises carried by women being eliminated' (1970:139).

Gender is a socially given attribute of roles and activities connected to being female or male in a given social grouping (Iipinge & Williams 2000:2) Gender roles tend to change over time and vary from culture to culture, and are 'influenced by social class, age and ethnic background'(Mosse,1993:4). Gender is a key concept, as it is concerned with the social roles and interactions of men and women, rather than their biological characteristics. It is about relationships of power and authority as well (Pearson in Allen & Thomas 2000:385). This means that these relationships are shaped by a range of historical and contemporary political struggles. According to Mosse (1993:2) 'every society has different scripts' for its members to follow as they can learn to act out their feminine or masculine role'. As a concept, gender is important for the overall analysis in this report, as it outlines the roles and the positioning of 'poor black women' in society. It also means that there is an extra level to be considered in addition to these women being poor and being black. Since gender can pre-determine one's circumstances, it is important in this instance as it a basis for the analysis.

In South Africa after the first 1994 elections, the government introduced the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). The aim of this programme was to redress the injustices of the past thus making South African society most equitable and just. However, Roberts (2005:46) suggested that RDP was an ambitious set of socio-economic objectives and targets. The approach was people centred and would redress poverty and deprivation of apartheid. Targets of the programmes included the creation of two and half million jobs, the building of one million low-cost houses by year 2000 and to extend infrastructure. Criticism of this programme by business was that the targets were seen more as a 'wish list'. Other observers warned that clearer priorities and more realistic time frames had to be set (Roberts, 2005:480). The Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) was a shift from the people centred approach of RDP to a growth centred approach. Some targets under the GEAR strategy were tax incentives to stimulate new investment in competitive and labour absorbing projects expansionary infrastructure programmes to address deficiencies and backlogs. The result was that policy of fiscal prudence being adopted which led to cutbacks for local government spending and subsequent increase in the cost of services in urban and rural areas due to stringent cost-recovery policies. This saw poor people unable to pay for services such as health, electricity due to low levels of income or no income arising unemployment. Critics of GEAR found it to be unrealistic about the ability of the new government to develop effective institutions, plans and investment modalities (Hirsch, 2005:100). According to Swilling and Russell (2002:4), the RDP provided for NGOs to have a central role in development. In 1996, the government replaced the RDP with a macro-liberal economic programme GEAR. GEAR strategy 'defined central roles for the for-profit private sector in economic growth and service delivery and for the non-profit sector in poverty alleviation' (Swilling & Russell, 2002:4). The Minister of Social Development stated the role that government expected NGOs to carry out included to act as 'monitors of public good and safeguard the interests of the disadvantaged sectors of society and to assist in the expansion of access to social economic services that create jobs and eradicate poverty among the poorest of the poor' (Swilling & Russell, 2002:4). The NGOs in South Africa obviously have a huge role to play in development as do the donors that fund them.

The GEAR and RDP policies were tailored to try and make society more equitable; however poor people. This means that women were potentially excluded or the last ones to obtain any benefits, because their gender pre-determined them to be the last in line. 'Poor black women' therefore did not benefit from these policies as would have been hoped.

The situation in the world today, is that 'wealth is unevenly distributed among countries, among ethnic groups within countries, among rural and urban dwellers and among men and women' (Tisch & Wallace, 1994:4). In South Africa wealth is also unevenly distributed amongst race groups. So 'poor black women' in the rural areas for example, are probably at the lowest end of the scale. Foreign development assistance refers to resources which richer, developed countries provide to the poorer, developing countries to assist in improving the living standards of their people. It is 'an important tool used to help address some of the inequities' (Tisch & Wallace, 1994:4). With resources that are available to improve the quality of life of poorer people, it justifiably seems fair to provide 'equitable access of these goods and services to all people' (Tisch & Wallace, 1994:4). Women themselves have effectively lobbied nationally and internationally to have their agendas taken seriously by governments and donor agencies. A critical point that must be stressed is that donors did not come to supporting women out of the kindness of their hearts – rather it was because of the concerted will and commitment of the international women's movement. The lobbying of the women's movement meant that the donor agencies such as Aus-Aid and DG Murray Trust were aware of the gaps that existed in development polices in relation to women and they could try to address these through their funding.

Prior to 1970, policy planners viewed that the development process affected men and women in the same way. The emergence of gender and development in the 1970s was influenced by the 'new wave' of feminism in the West, which had come out of the civil rights and anti-colonial struggles in the 1960s. Policies were focused on enabling women to carry out their gendered responsibilities for health and welfare of their families, and their reproductive activities.

These policies were a response to women's practical needs (Allen & Thomas 2000:386). Policies which respond to women's strategic needs, address changing gender relations between men and women in developing countries, therefore making it easier for women to challenge traditional and contemporary structures and practices of subordination, such as violence against women (Allen & Thomas 2000:387). These policies have increased the participation of 'poor black women' in their societies, and have also given them opportunities to respond to their needs.

1.4   Rationale and Significance

The Women's UN Conferences since the first in 1975 in Mexico City led to an increased awareness of the need to consider women when planning for development (Momsen, 1991:3). This result being that aid agencies adopted a gendered approach to their programmes, to make visible efforts to integrate women into sectoral planning and create programmes for women's livelihoods (Visvanathan, Duggan, Nisonoff, Wiegersma, 1997:3). However, the question that must be asked is; how effective have these initiatives been? This study will not attempt a global assessment, but rather a very modest attempt to investigate how select donors, non-governmental organisations and their target – 'poor black women' – have fared. With there being thirty one donor agencies that are part of the Donor Network on Women that fund development initiatives and programmes for women, it is important to assess whether these efforts contribute in substantive ways to improving the capabilities of targeted constituencies of women and whether the women reap positive benefits. If not, then the programmes need to be adjusted so that they provide positive value. By addressing the issues of empowerment and sustainable development of 'poor black women' through an analyses of the work supported by donor agencies, this research hopes to make a contribution to improved interventions from outside the community and country. This research report is conceived to address these issues through a study of Australian Aid and Edutak the recipient of Aus-Aid support as well as the DG Murray Trust and HIPPY, its recipient. Six women from grassroots communities were interviewed and asked about the effects of the support given to them. The major issues are reflected in the questions and aims set below.

1.5   Conclusion

In chapter one, we consider the position of women together with the challenges they are faced with. Chapter two provides a discussion of the literature consulted that focus on 'poor black women', development including factors that create or maintain inequality, the history of gender and development and the approaches to gender relevant development. This literature supports the generalized conclusions of this research. The research design and methodology used in the research is discussed in chapter three as are the limitations of the research design and methodology. The main aim of this research report is to assess the work of Aus-Aid and DG Murray Trust in relation to their target group of 'poor black women'. The findings and analysis of the work of the donors is discussed in chapter four. Chapter five provides an analysis and discussion of the NGOs funded by Aus-Aid and DG Murray Trust and the women they work with. It leads into chapter six which presents the research findings and provides recommendations.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

This literature review will begin with an assessment of what has been written about the condition of women in the world today and the developmental challenges they face. The meaning of poverty in the lives of 'poor black women', the focus of this research will be discussed. In this context the significance of 'development' as an economic intervention strategy will be discussed by identifying literature. We then turn to identify the factors that create and maintain inequality in development. A history of gender and development follows. This leads into a discussion of past and present approaches to gender-relevant development. The use of concepts of empowerment and sustainable development with specific focus on poor women will be explored in order to understand what led donor organisations and non-governmental organisations to address these issues. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of policies that grew out of a 'gender and development' approach. This literature review will therefore be used to support the generalised conclusions that will be made about the extent to which Aus-Aid and DG Murray Trust address the question of the empowerment and sustainable development of 'poor black women'.

2.1   Introduction

What poverty is taken to mean depends on who asks the question, how it is understood and who is responding to the question. Over the years the definition of poverty has expanded from being of purely economic nature to a wider understanding to include human development. Further expansion of the definition now includes dimensions of poverty like rights, economic and political participation in society, exclusion and inclusion and inadequate access to capabilities to lead a fulfilling life.

The definition of poverty at the 1996 United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, defined poverty as follows :

'Poverty has various manifestations, including lack of food and productive resources sufficient to ensure a sustainable livelihood; hunger and malnutrition; ill health; limited or lack of access to education and other basic services; increasing morbidity and mortality from illness; homelessness and inadequate housing; unsafe environments; and social discrimination and exclusion. It is also characterised by lack of participation in decision-making and in civil, social and political life. It occurs in all countries – as mass poverty in many developing countries and as pockets of poverty in developed countries'

Both men and women are faced by poverty and its many challenges. This broader definition of poverty, ensures that all aspects of one's needs are catered for, enabling them to have a livelihood that is not only sustainable, but also productive. The effects of poverty are much wider than income and income may not necessarily be the answer to all the problems posed by poverty although it makes a difference. Those without income are then faced with more challenges and the poverty web becomes more complex and limiting for them. This definition emphasizes the fact that poverty is not only about lack of food, it has many aspects to it and these worsen life for women in the rural areas and in the informal settlements. It also highlights the fact that although this research was focusing on 'poor black women' , these women were not poor in the sense that they had no food, it is encompassing other things for instance access to education which is limited for them as is participation in social and political life as well as in their communities. The United Nations Human Development Index (HDI) is often used as a measure of progress towards a better life and health (Hemson & Owusu-Ampomah, 2005:530). South Africa's HDI has declined from 0.741 in 1995 to 0.684 in 2001; it paralleled trends in the statistics for life expectancy in South Africa which has decreased from 64.1 years in 1995 to 50.9 years in 2001. When considering poverty in South Africa from a gender perspective, according to Gelb (2003: 8), 'poverty rate amongst female-headed households in 1995 was 60%, double that for male-headed households, and was linked to the concentration of female-headed households in rural areas'. In addition, the unemployment rate of women is higher than that of men; in 2001 it was 46.4% whilst that of men was 35, 3%. In the rural areas, the rate of unemployment amongst women was 53.6% in comparison to 42.2% of the men (Statistics SA, 2002c cited in Gelb, 2003:8).

According to Hirsch (2005:1) South Africa is one of the most unequal societies in the world. The distribution of wealth is more unequal than income. This is mainly as because of land alienation and laws that blocked Africans' access to private and commercial property under Apartheid. The gini-coefficient can be used as a measure of inequality. South Africa's gini-coefficient ranges between 0.58 and 0.68. Inequality can be said to have decreased from 0.68 in 1997 to 0.59 in 2001. However it remains prevalent in South African society. Whiteford and MacGrath (cited in Hemson & Owusu-Ampomah 2005:528) suggest that there is a widening gap between the richest Africans and the poorest Africans and between the richest whites and the poorest whites. The gini-coefficient has risen consistently across all races. The rich have become richer and the poor have become poorer. This confirms inequality and income inequality are increasing although there have been increases in social spending by the government. Seekings and Nattrass (2005:307) refer to income inequality post Apartheid 'as not only being on an inter-racial scale, but on an intra-racial scale'. McGrath& Whiteford, (1994) and Stats SA, (2002a) (cited in Gelb,2003:4) provides figures that illustrate the levels of inequality between 1975 and 2000, the gini-coefficient in the African race has increased from 0.47 to 0.49, whilst the white race gini-coefficient increased from 0.36 to 0.45. The Coloured race gini-coefficient also increased from 0.45 to 0.48. The Indian race gini-coefficient is the only one to decrease from 0.51 to 0.41.

James (1995:4) argues that, 'women need not only be acknowledged, they must also be included in the planning, construction, implementation and operation of development schemes in Africa in order for development to be successful and widespread'. This is because women can make a valuable contribution to social and economic development in their countries, however the existence of enormous gender inequality and discrimination impede this contribution. In many respects women do not benefit in the same way as men from their efforts and often their contribution is overlooked. This is because women's work is often not counted – in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) for instance – because it is subsistence related, or household work is overlooked. Nussbaum (1995:2) notes that if women's unpaid work in their household was included as productive output in national income accounts such as GDP, global output would increase by 20-30%.

Because the work of women and its value is underrated and overlooked the consequence exacerbates their discrimination and inequality. For development programmes and policies to be of value to communities, poor women need to be included in the planning, implementing and execution of development strategies. The strategies also need to be gender-sensitive and focus on women excluded or overlooked in development strategies. A gender analysis offers an understanding of how the experience and implications of poverty are different for men and women as they face different sets of constraints and responsibilities (Jackson & Pearson, 1998:11; World Bank, 1989: iv in Jackson & Pearson). Sensitivity towards such gendered effects means that more equitable policies can be developed to benefit men and women. Gender analysis furthers and analyses the efficiency and effectiveness of development projects (Gianotten, Groverman, van Walsum & Zuidberg 1994:9).

2.2 'Poor Black Women'

'The status of black women places us at the intersection of all forms of subjugation in society-racial oppression, sexual oppression and economic exploitation. This means that we are a natural part of many different struggles-both as black people and as women….It is in the different context of an understanding of our oppression based on sex, race and class, and the recognition of our struggle being part and parcel of the greater struggle for the liberation of all our people from all forms of oppression, that black feminism has defined for us' (Brixton Black Women's Group 1981 in Mama, 1995:3).

This quote positions the 'poor black woman' and what she is faced with. Black women's lives according to Mama (1995:145) 'are structured not only by class divisions of late capitalist society, but also by the combined effects of race and gender oppression'. This approach suggests a hierarchy of oppression yet new approaches suggest a more sophisticated 'intersectional' analysis. 'Women are not only oppressed by their gender, but by their class, race, caste and colour, sharing these oppressions with men from similar social groupings. If poor men are doubly oppressed by their colour and class, poor women experience 'a triple yoke of oppression' (Mosse, 1993:86). Poverty is a different experience for women; they are excluded three-fold. Gender inequality is constructed through society's norms and law; it is insidious across all societies and makes the effects of poverty worse for women (Kabeer 2003:2).Gender inequality reduces access to resources, participation in development and decision-making for women.

This is as most public institutions are male dominated, thus policies are more likely to represent the needs and interests of men (Sweetman 2002:3-4). Within the Southern African region, poverty has been increased by incidents of drought, floods, conflicts and diseases such as HIV/AIDS, malaria. Although Southern African Development Community (SADC) member states have undertaken efforts to reduce poverty and improve human development through micro-economic policies, poverty reduction strategies and institution building the above mentioned factors make the process challenging. (http://www.peace.ca/afpeace_prevailsgaborone.htm).

The term feminisation of poverty suggests that '[w]omen tend to be disproportionately represented among the poor…..the poorer the family the more likely it is to be headed by a woman' (World Bank, 189: iv cited in Jackson and Pearson, 1998:43). Feminisation of poverty is not only about the concentration of women amongst those deemed to be living below the poverty line. It suggests that women tend to be disproportionately poorer than men. Jackson and Pearson (1998:43) refute the World Bank's contention by suggesting that according to them the assumption that only women-headed households are poor is incorrect, as this suggests that these households are poor due to the mere fact that they are headed by females. There are instances where a female headed household receives remittances from the male who may be a migrant worker. Women who head their households because they are widows or divorced or separated do actually tend to be poorer. Development policies and poverty have differing effects on urban (who are by definition not poor), middle-class and educated women than they have on poor and uneducated women. Women's status and roles vary across class, race and culture. England states that 'women are constituted as women through complex interaction between class, culture, religion and other ideological institutions and frameworks' meaning they are not a homogeneous group (cited in Presser & Sen 2000:63). In this research, the category 'poor black women' is used to describe the women who formed part of the interview sample. The group is not homogenous as their circumstances, education levels, culture and religion are different.

Jackson and Pearson highlight that *'development can have positive or negative connotations, for some it is synonymous with the gradual and progressive expansion of individual choice; it has helped to eliminate life threatening disease ad prolong human life expectancy. Whilst for others, development, has simply defined new conditions of constraint, enriching a few, impoverishing the many and in the process eroding both cultural and biological diversity across the world'* (1998:70).

So whilst the broader definition of development may encompass the needs of the people, development can have a negative effect, even though it is assumed that development is always positive. The arising problem of women being viewed as a homogeneous group is that there is an assumption that all women have the same history, face similar challenges and are affected in similar manners. Mohanty (1991:6) highlights the importance of not viewing 'poor black women' or third world women as homogeneous. 'Just as Western women' or white women cannot be defined as coherent interest groups, 'Third world women' also do not constitute a unitary group'. 'Poor black women' are not homogeneous and their experiences of poverty are determined by factors such as race, age and location. Those who 'claim to be or speak for' women of developing countries need be wary of not 'misrepresenting the diverse positions of different women, or to collapse the complex multiple social identities of women into a simplistic notion of gender identity' (Jackson & Pearson, 1998:7). However, in this research 'poor black women' are the sample that was interviewed. 'Poor black women' in this research are not a homogenous group, because they have differing circumstances which have resulted in their poverty. The term 'poor black women' is used to refer to the women that form part of the sample only to distinguish them from other women. 'Poor black women' were chosen as the subject of this research, to try and assess the affects of not only gender, but race and the socio-economic status in relation to addressing poverty.

2.3   Development

Development is 'a social, political and economic process of change, which for it to be just and sustainable, participation of all class, race and gender groups must be ensured' (Women's Feature Service, 1992:6). The development process must be people-centred because people are the ends and the means to development (Østergaard, 1992:2).

Development began to be viewed as being a Western initiative which was to 'modernize post-colonial' societies. Unfortunately, it contributed to increases in economic and gender inequality, poverty and the degradation of the environment (Braidotti, Charkiewicz, Häusler and Wieringa, 1995:1). The result of development has been the diminishing of the means of livelihood of the poor, in particular that of women. It was hoped or assumed that development problems or the lack of it in the Third world could be addressed through 'transfers of finance, technology and experience from the developed countries' (Elliott, 1994:5). Development was thought to be all about economic growth and more so as that was the route or process that the developed countries went through (Elliot, 1994:5). Kabeer states that 'previously held convictions that Gross National Product (GNP) sufficed as an adequate measure of development and that the benefits of economic growth would 'trickle down to households at the bottom of the income hierarchy had been invalidated by the experience of the First Decade of Development' (1994:3). Although many developing countries, such as South Africa achieved economic growth rates of 5% and above, there were also 'increases in unemployment, inequality and absolute poverty' (Kabeer, 1994:3). The realisation that GNP and economic growth rates do no translate into prosperity goes hand in hand with the broad definition of poverty, as it illustrates that poverty is not only about income. The expansion of the concept of development to include 'social and material well-being of all in society' meant that it had to be sustainable whilst encompassing economic and social activities as well as the use of resources and the impact on the environment (Elliott, 1994:5).

According to Sen 'development can be seen as the process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy' (1999:14). This perspective views development as being more about the people, that is more inclusive and allowing participation of all and not only limited to economic growth. The broader definition of poverty used at the 1996 United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women encompasses freedom that people can exercise to live a decent livelihood.

Development refers to *the planned process by which resources, techniques and expertise are brought together to bring about improved rates of economic growth in an area variously designated as the Third world, the developing world, the periphery, the South and so on'* (Kabeer,1994:69).

A critique of development amongst feminist academics was 'of the notion that 'development' itself was unproblematic, the problem was to integrate women into policy and practice parallel to the liberal feminist view that extending education and employment opportunities to women in Western states would eliminate gender discrimination and oppression' (Bandarage,1984 cited in Jackson & Pearson, 1998:2).

Steady (1985) states: '*In the developing world equality of women is often viewed as linked to national and economic development". In "underdeveloped" societies it's not just a question of internal redistribution of resources, but of their generation and control; not just equal opportunity between men and women, but the creation of opportunity itself; not only the position of women in society, but the positions of societies in which third world women find themselves'* (Johnson-Odim in Presser & Sen 2000:320).

Development is viewed as a process, that once one goes through it, they will attain positive benefits and results. However critics of the Western notion of development, which is readily used for 'progress' in the developing countries view development as being the cause of further poverty and inequality as it has failed to address the problems whilst at the same time taking into account the different context, the situation and the needs of the people. Development in the third world as noted by Steady (1985) is different to the development which the developed or first world is striving for. This is often because these countries have achieved economic growth, whilst developing countries are trying to address economic growth and social development which is an integral part of the economic growth. This is an important point of departure in addressing issues such as poverty and inequality. Development for women is also different and for efforts to be successful and of any use to the women, it is imperative that development initiatives and programmes are tailor suited. Women and especially 'poor black women' are not a homogenous group, thus they do not have the same needs.

Moser (1993:39) states that the distinction between strategic and practical gender needs, is important for gender planning as it enables realistic parameters to set in relation to what can be accomplished in programme planning and what challenges the process may be faced with.

'Strategic gender needs are the needs women identify because of their subordinate position to men in society. Strategic gender needs vary according to particular contexts. They relate to gender divisions of labour, power and control and may include issues such as legal rights, domestic violence, equal wages and women's control over their bodies. Meeting strategic needs helps women to achieve greater equality. It also changes existing roles and therefore challenges women's subordinate position' (Moser, 1993:39).

'Practical gender needs are the needs women identify in their socially accepted roles of society. Practical gender needs do not challenge the gender divisions of labour or women's subordinate position in society, although rising out of them. Practical gender needs are a response to immediate perceived necessity, identified within a specific context. They are practical in nature and often concerned with inadequacies in living conditions such as water provision, health care and employment' (Moser, 1993:39).

The distinction that Molyneux (1985a) makes between 'women's interests' and gender needs reiterates that in society, the position of women is determined by class and ethnicity as well as their gender (cited in Moser,1993:38). So in essence gender needs and the interests of the women will be determined or even limited because of the class, ethnicity and gender, as is their access to resources and decision making power. Although women in developing countries do not have the same needs and interests, the criteria that define their position in society are often similar. Strategic and practical gender needs although they are identified by the women are influenced by their position and their role in society, so therefore one can easily argue that these needs are not entirely encompassing of the needs of women as there is external societal influence. However if one looks at these needs in the same light as they consider the fact that women are not homogeneous and have differing needs and interests based on their age, race, location and ethnicity then Moser's distinction of strategic and practical gender makes sense. The development approach primarily based on 'economic growth with reduction of state and privatisation of public services, far from improving the women's lives, often makes them poorer, increasing their workloads and reduces their status' (Mosse,1993:v). This approach did not have positive effects on poor women's lives and their status in society.

South Africa is an example, with the adoption of the GEAR strategy was a cut in government spending on social services such as water, sanitation and housing. The women are faced with providing for their families and the lack of piped water for instance means that they spend hours collecting water for cooking and cleaning in their households.

'Gender and development' hopes to emphasize the issue that 'any development initiative will affect the lives of both women and men. It is therefore impossible, to alter the dynamics of a society in such a way that only men or women are affected' (Mosse, 1993:7). The 'failure of the development process to understand and support the reproductive and productive role of women within their households, and within the informal economy' has resulted in women in countries with weaker economies and social systems that are changing continuing to struggle to maintain 'anything like an equal share in the development process' (Mosse,1993:41)

Male bias in development facilitates a view that 'women' as a general category, can be added to an existing approach to analysis and policy, and that this will be sufficient to change development outcomes so as to improve women's position' (Elson,1991:1). This illustrates development from a male perspective as being a process that has omitted women from the process and this has resulted in them not benefiting. The assumption however is that by inclusion of the women, then their development needs will be catered for. This however is not the case. As according to Moser when planning programmes for low income women in the developing countries, it is important that the planning is 'based on their interests, their prioritised concerns which translate into their needs' (1993:37). This is important as not only will the women's needs and priorities be addressed, the chances of the programmes and interventions making a difference in their lives is higher as it is relevant and aimed at addressing any scarcity.

2.4 Factors creating and maintaining inequality in development

The lack of a gender angle in development was first, partly due to the fact that there were few or no women involved in the process and secondly, a failure to recognise that women actually do have a valuable contribution to make to the success of development, in particular with regard to the economic contribution they have made through labour inside and outside their homes (Women's Feature Service 1992:5). Although, this is no longer the case in most countries where there are ministries and government bodies responsible for involving and including women in development, it is in peripheral. This contributes to inequality in the development process, as the result is that women are excluded.

Negative consequences promote further inequality, which the development projects and programmes should be aiming to reduce. As stated at the United Nations Fourth Conference on Women in Beijing, 1995 (European Commission 2003:1), empowerment of women and gender equality are pre-requisites for the attainment of political, social, economic, cultural and environmental security for all people. Achieving gender equality is fundamental for development to be successful. Gender equality is also important in the fight against poverty, because there is a link between gender and poverty, and for the poverty eradication and development to be successful gender equality is essential.

Too often women are regarded as objects and as not active participants. Although they may be illiterate, they should be recognized in their own right as potential carriers of wisdom based on life experiences and knowledge of their reality, which the development practitioner needs (Østergaard 1992:133). This will ensure that equality is introduced to the development process, as the women are given a platform to partake in a process that will have an effect on them, whether positive or negative. It also increases the success rate of the intervention as experiential knowledge of the women contributes to the success of the programme. Thus the women do need to be a part of the development process.

Male bias in the development process also 'gives rise to the feeling that the problem with women is rather than the disadvantages women face; and that women are unreasonably asking for special treatment rather than for redress for injustices and removal of distortions' (Elson, 1991:1).

This statement provides motivation to ensure that men are made aware of the benefits of women being included in development. It is an attitude that will impede any form of progress which might have otherwise benefited the women. The women's international movement taking up their concerns about their exclusion in the development process can be said to have been a response to this perspective, it showed that the women were going to try and help themselves instead of asking for special treatment. The arising male bias in development policy according to Elson (1991:11) is as a result of the bias that is embedded in 'everyday attitudes and practices, in analysis and reinforced in politics' (1991:11). The reach of male bias is therefore extensive and will touch upon all aspects of women's life not only in relation to development. As a result gender inequality is maintained.

Mitter suggested that development aid remains largely for men in the recipient countries who were 'consulted and instructed on the trajectory of technological changes, the consequence was that resources were made available for men's dreams, at the expense of women's vision of ecologically sound and community based self reliance' (cited in Boserup, 1970:1).

2.5   History of gender and development

Since the early 1950s, planned development was based on the 'trickle down theory', which assumed that as the standard of living of nations increased, benefits would ensue to all, women included (Women's Feature Service 1992:2). In this phase of development, women were viewed as being passive beneficiaries in the development process, as emphasis was on their reproductive roles (Gianotten, Groverman, van Walsum & Zuidberg 1994:11). In the 1950s and 1960s the economic role of women was seen by development organisations as a reproductive role which included being homemakers or housewives and the bearing and rearing children. This resulted in their approach to women's development programmes being made up of family planning, child health care and home economics. Development in this era was a means of improving or enhancing their roles as wives, mothers and homemakers (Braidotti et al., 1995:78).

Moser (1989) called this the 'welfare approach' as women were merely seen as beneficiaries of the development process in their reproductive role. The start of the 1960s also saw the United Nations (UN) 'marking each official decade of development with a declaration that summarized lessons learnt from past development experiences and stated development priorities for the next ten years' (Kabeer, 1994:1). The First Decade of development, 1961 to 1970 according to Kabeer, was 'devoid of any reference to women' (1994:1).

The 1970s brought women's role in development to the fore. The birth of 'gender and development' was the outcome of the civil rights and anti-colonial struggles in the 1960s. Policies were focused on enabling women to carry out their gendered responsibilities for health and welfare of their families, and their reproductive activities. Additionally these policies were a response to women's practical needs (Moser, 1993 cited in Allen & Thomas 2000:386). On the other hand, policies that responded to women's strategic needs, address the changing gender relations between men and women in developing countries. These policies made it easier for women to challenge traditional and contemporary structures as well as practices of subordination, for instance violence against women (Allen & Thomas 2000:387). The early 1970s saw the term Women in Development (WID) being coined by the Women's Committee of the Washington DC Chapter of the Society for International Development (Moser, 1993:2).

There was an increase in the understanding of rural communities in the South and women's roles within the economy, during this time. WID was initially addressing the demand for equity. However until the late 1970s, women remained 'largely invisible to policy workers and were treated as dependants to men' (Elson, 1991:11). After the Mexico conference of 1975, governments and development agencies devised a need to target women in the context of poverty eradication as the demand for equity was linked to Western feminist ideas. The demand for equity was at a later stage associated with the argument of economic efficiency. Women were now seen as a 'valuable resource to be harnessed for economic development' (Braidotti et al., 1995:79).

The approach by international development agencies in relation to development in the 1970s was to 'integrate women into development', this was influenced by Boserup's concern that women had completely been left out of the development process (Jackson & Pearson, 1998:2). By the 1980s, the 'manifest failure of the central role of the state and international agencies' in integrating women into development negated the potential impact that international agencies could have on the way that 'development policy was to be evolved and delivered' (Jackson & Pearson,1998:3). By the end of the late 1970s women had become 'visible to policy makers, but merely as recipients of welfare benefits, rather than as producers and agents of development' (Elson, 1991:12). The women's projects that were setup during this period subsequently failed due to the lack of a gender angle in the design of the projects (Buvinic, 1986 cited in Elson, 1991:12).

The first reference to women through 'the full integration of women in total development effort' was in the Second Decade of development between 1971 and 1980 (Kabeer, 1994:2). The reference to women was included in the strategy for the 1980s and women were to be seen as 'agents and beneficiaries in all sectors and at all levels of the development process' (Kabeer, 1994:2).

The UN Development strategy for the Second Decade of development stated, '*the ultimate objective of development must be to bring about sustained improvement in the well being of the individual and bestow benefits on all. If undue privileges, extremes of wealth and social injustices persist, then development fails in its essential purposes*' (cited in Kabeer, 1994:3).

The UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) established in 1976 was for the promotion of gender equality and women's empowerment, together with the European Commission framework agreements implementing development activities in areas of reproductive health and gender responsive budgets (European Commission 2003:8).

Post 1980, a third Women in Development approach emerged. This approach acknowledged the importance of the integration of women into the development process, and was based on the assumption that if women were included, development would be more effective and efficient (Gianotten et al. 1994:11).

As Lycklama à Nijeholt highlighted 'the quest for integration of women into the mainstream development left them no opportunity to choose the kind of development they wanted, it was therefore assumed they wanted to be integrated into a patriarchal, Western mode of development' (1987 cited in Braidotti et al., 1995:81). The 1980s 'more attention was paid to women as agents of development, but as agents of social development whose caring and nurturing could substitute for expenditure on health, education and social services' (Antrobus, 1988; Dwyer & Bruce, 1988 cited Elson, 1991:12). The role of women in development was still being limited to their role as child bearers and home makers, rather than as productive agents of development. By the end of the 1980s, several organisations within the United Nations body were responsible for the integration of women into development efforts. These organisations included the United Nations Development Fund for Women, Women in Development units within the United Nations and the Legal Committee for the Elimination of Discrimination of Women (Kabeer, 1994:2). The literature on gender and development since the 1980s was concerned with the role of state and international agencies on the funding of development, a subsequent 'attack on the state coincided with a rise in the efficacy of organizations within civil society to respond more to the 'real' needs of people at the grassroots' (Sen & Grown, 1988 cited in Jackson & Pearson, 1998:4). This was because development policies were not catering for the needs or aspirations of the poor people, but benefiting the needs of the state. The state is meant to be a provider of the needs especially for the poorest people, however pursuing economic growth and then hoping that the benefits will trickle down to the poor people tends to be the stance the governments of developing countries. However, this stance has not led to the needs of the poor not being met.

The emergence of the new consciousness of women as a distinctive category in development was evident in the change in organisational structure within the United Nations in the 1990s. Previously women's issues had been seen within the context of human rights and limited to the Commission on the Status of Women and the Third Committee of the UN General Assembly which addressed 'social and humanitarian matters (Pietila & Vickers, 1990 cited in Kabeer, 1994:2).

The task the UN declared in the 1990s was 'to translate greater understanding of the problems of women into altered priorities…empowering women for development should have high returns in terms of increase in output, greater equity and social progress' (UN,1989a:41 cited in Kabeer, 1994:2).

2.6 Approaches to Gender relevant Development

Some writers have labelled the 'evolution of approaches as moving [first] from Women in Development, [then] to Women and Development, [and finally] to Gender and Development' (Mosse, 1993: 156). However Mosse (1993:156) states that the approaches were not 'tried out consecutively' and there is a possibility of there bring projects that illustrate all three approaches and some programmes and projects that are a combination of elements of the approaches.

2.6.1 Women in Development

Women in development 'more or less sums up the earliest phase of thinking about women's role in development'. This approach 'focused on initiatives for instance development of better and more appropriate technology that would lessen the workload of women' .A critique of this approach is that it often focused more on the productive side of the labour and work of women, whilst excluding the reproductive side of women (Mosse, 1993:158). The implication of a critique by Boserup was evident in the shift in focus from 'welfare to the equality of women n the development process' (1970 cited in Kabeer, 1994:6). The introduction of WID on an international scale, according the Kabeer, 'represented above all an infusion of new ideas aimed at influencing prevailing development policy, its achievements-and limitations are best assessed by locating them in the context of how women and development had been thought about and 'done' in the years prior and subsequent to the WID intervention' (1994:4). WID as a development approach, focused on women and their specific situation as a separate social category. Projects under this approach involved only women as the participants and beneficiaries. This approach failed to have an impact on policy (Iipinge & Williams 2000:7).

This was because projects within this approach were focused on adding new activities to try and generate income, without understanding the gendered nature of social relations in the development process itself. However, the approach did have a role to play; that is it contributed to highlighting the negative effects the dominant model of development had on women (Wilson & Whitmore 1994 in Jones & Perry 2003:101). The emergence of WID in the 1970s was not only because women had been 'totally overlooked by policymakers in the First Decade of development', but because their inclusion in the development process was on 'sex-specific terms'. The result being women were viewed as housewives and mothers (Jacquette & Staudt, 1988 cited in Kabeer, 1994:5). The WID approach was primarily about increasing the participation and benefits for women, with making development more effective (Braidotti et al., 1995:82). The approaches to the role of women in development were according to Moser the 'anti-poverty approach', the 'efficiency approach', 'the equity approach' and 'the welfare approach' to WID (Mosse, 1993:156).

The 'anti-poverty' approach

The 'anti-poverty' approach to WID took as its starting point poverty rather than subordination as a source of inequality between women and men, and set out to improve the incomes of women'. The approach also focused on 'income generation for women through better access to productive resources, for instance land and credit' (Mosse, 1993:156). Women's poverty is viewed under the 'anti-poverty approach' as being a result of underdevelopment and not subordination (Moser, 1993:57). Hence it is apparent that the first two approaches are comparable in the sense that, although they may have different focus points, they tend not to focus on subordination. The 'efficiency approach', however does seem to have subordination as its focal point, as will be discussed below.

The 'efficiency approach'

The 'efficiency approach' according to Mosse (1993:159) operates on two different levels. 'Ensuring efficiency in development projects requires the involvement of women because they are more efficient and committed than men are'.

The second aspect was that 'at the macro-level of development, policy pursued by governments and supported by the World Bank and IMF for instance also demand efficiency and productivity in structural adjustment programmes'. This approach is to ensure that development is 'more effective and efficient' and the economic participation of women is linked to equity (Moser, 1993:57).

The 'equity approach'

Women becoming equals in the development process can occur when they are allowed to be 'active participants' in the development process is a main tenet of the 'equity approach'. This approach however was not popular with Third world governments because it highlights and challenges the subordinate position of women and this is seen as Western feminism (Moser, 1993:56). It is important however to bear in mind that being active does not necessarily mean being equal and having equal benefits and access from and to the development process.

The 'welfare approach'

The 'welfare approach' according to Moser (1993:56) is for women in the development to become 'better' mothers. Women are seen as 'passive beneficiaries of development focusing on their reproductive role'. The main problem with the WID approach is that it tends to focus mainly on women in isolation, thus the promotion of access to credit and employment for instance. The underlying rationale of this approach is 'that the development processes would proceed much better if women were fully incorporated into them' (Moser, 1993:3). For women to be fully incorporated was for the women not to be viewed in isolation in relation to men, but for them to be part and parcel of the development process as the men were.

2.6.2 Women and Development

The women and development (WAD) perspective advocated a change in class structure as a means to attain gender equality (Iipinge & Williams 2000:7).

Problems with this perspective identified by Wilson & Whitmore (1994 in Jones & Perry 2003:101) were that the approach was based on the premise that as international structures such as the United Nations became more equal, the position of women would improve too. It did not focus on the reproductive side of women's responsibilities, but on general productivity. This is important as it means that women were viewed as being more than just child bearers, but that they could contribute productively and positively to the development process. The strategies within the WAD approach overlooked the time constraints faced by women in their daily activities, before engaging in development activities. Instead of focusing on 'strategies for 'integrating women in development', this approach highlighted the issue that women have always been an asset economically, with the work they do in their homes and communities being essential for the maintenance of society' (Mosee, 1993:160). This approach assumes that the position of women will improve as a result of 'international structure becoming more equitable and in this it tends to underplay the nature of women's specific gender oppression as women's position is seen as part of the structure of international and class inequalities rather than being a result of an ideology and structure of patriarchy' (Mosse, 1993:160).

2.6.3 Gender and Development

The gender and development (GAD) approach, shifted focus from women as a group, and focused on social, political, economic and cultural forces that determine how men and women participate in, benefit from and control project resources and activities (Iipinge & Williams 2000:7). This approach aimed to address inconsistencies of the WID and WAD approaches to development. It did not focus on women only, but considered the relations between men and women as a focus of the analysis of the relationship between gender and development issues. This approach also ensured more participation and empowerment of the women. The GAD approach provided for a holistic approach to address development, as it aimed to be inclusive, thus more effective.

GAD thus represented a shift 'not to only integrate women into development, but to look for the potential in development initiatives to transform unequal social or gender relations and to empower women' (Canadian Council for International Co-operation in Braidotti et al., 1995:82). Mosse (1993:161) distinguishes this approach as being the only one that considers all facets of women's lives and the work they do whether 'reproductive and productive, public and private and rejects any attempt to undervalue family and household maintenance work'. By taking into consideration all components or aspects of women's lives, this approach would thus ensure that the actual needs of women are addressed. GAD as an approach is popular among development practitioners who work within the feminist framework, however many developed country aid agencies and Third world governments according to Mosse (1993:161) are suspicious of the approach. GAD challenges 'commonly accepted theories of what good development entails, arguing that there is more to development than economic growth and challenges the idea that women want to be integrated into mainstream Western development in which they have little chance of determining the kind of society they want' (Moser,1993:161). This approach 'maintains that to focus on women in isolation is to ignore the real problem,' with the result being that women inevitably continue to be regarded as subordinate to men (Moser, 1993:3). .

Diane Elson suggests that *'in principle the enthusiasm for gender rather than women in development approaches signals not just a change in language or a depoliticising of the field, but reflects the fact that at all levels of the development 'business' there is an acceptance that it is not women per se who are to be problematised, but gender relations in which women are subordinated which must be problematised, and that this analysis not only justifies the concentration of resources on women's development activities and access to resources, but also points to the centrality of gender analysis in the development of effective policies at all levels'* (1995 in Jackson & Pearson,1998).

Empowerment of women is the dominant discourse in all three approaches to development – with different ways of understanding how gender relations were constituted and what was important for women. Within the WID approach, the concept of empowerment promoted the idea that women should be brought into the development process, thus become empowered to participate in economic and political structures of society.

They should be given the opportunity to occupy positions of power in these environments and take part in the decision-making processes (Rowlands, 1998:12 in Afshar, 1998). However, the focus on women empowerment did not deal with the issues raised by the GAD approach, being that relations of gender power and authority need to be evaluated in any successful gender or development intervention. Few development plans have engaged with the implications of a 'gender' approach. For women to be empowered, it is not enough that rules need to be changed, as sustainable poverty alleviation will not work without changes in policy that addresses gender inequality (Sweetman, 2002:6-7). Thus 'integrating of gender into poverty alleviation and sustainable development requires understanding of gender relations' (Osman in Sweetman,, 2002:22) and not a simplistic addition of the idea of 'women empowerment', which need not necessarily address the issues of gender power elations. A challenge for organisations involved in poverty eradication and sustainable development, is to ensure their policies are 'gender sensitive and are conscious of the limitations to the inclusion and participation of women in development' (Osman in Sweetman 2002:23). For women to be empowered, Moser states that they need to have 'greater self reliance' (1993:57). However as noted by Elson, it is important that 'self-reliance is not understood as separation or refusal to engage with existing social structures, rather it means the ability to set one's own priorities and to make one's own choices on how to engage with those structures' (1991:197). Self reliance therefore cannot be understood in isolation, but rather what it means for the woman in her context now that she is able to make choices and set priorities. It will also affect her relationships within her household and community and this must not be overlooked as she will probably be faced resistance.

2.7 Empowerment

Empowerment is the process of 'generating and building capacities to exercise control of; the process is aimed at increasing women's power in decision making processes' (Stiegler, 2004:5). It is the process whereby those previously denied the ability to make choices, attain the ability and have access to opportunities. In the development context empowerment has become a buzzword since the 1990s and it is often used to represent a wide range of political and philosophical perspectives.

It sees 'the goals of development for women in terms of self-reliance and internal strength, and places much less emphasis on legislating for equality between women and men, than on empowering women themselves to work and change and transform the structures that have been so inimical to them' (Mosse, 1993:161). Sen and Batliwana define empowerment as 'the process of changing power relations in favour of those at lower levels of a hierarchy. Although this term has been part of the gender and development discourse for years, however the meaning of the term has not been clarified (Presser & Sen 2000:17). According to Presser & Sen (2000:3) 'while the rhetoric about women's empowerment is pervasive, the concept has remained ill defined'.

Empowerment is 'associated with bottom-up rather than a top-down approach and much of the thinking about empowerment has arisen out of feminist writings and emergent women's movements of the South' (Mosse, 1993:161). It can thus be referred to as 'a Southern women's approach to development rather than a Northern white man's approach' (Mosse, 1993:161). Essentially this means that empowerment as an approach to development encompasses more completely the needs of women in developing countries and can potentially reap more positive benefits in comparison to development approaches designed by developed world practitioners but which are irrelevant to the context and challenges of women in the developing countries. Empowerment as an approach to development differs from other approaches 'in its analysis of the origins, dynamics and structures of woman's oppression and how it proposes to change the position of Third world women. The process of change and its effects on the consciousness of the people bringing about their own development is often as important as the changes themselves' (Mosse, 1993:161).

Bhat states that there is a need for organisations that not only 'seek to empower women as well as enabling them to cope' (1989 cited in Elson, 1991:193). This is important as it ensures that these women know how to deal with and progress with their improved situation that allows them access to resources, control of their capabilities and partaking in decision making processes.

There is no point of saying that women have been empowered yet they do not know how to use their acquired knowledge and experience to better themselves. Elson states that 'empowerment is not something that can be fought for in abstract' (1991:193). This is important to bear in mind as it is more about creating spaces where these women control their capabilities and access resources. It also has to be related to the strategic and practical gender needs of the women so that it is relevant.

2.8   Sustainable Development

Developing countries are continuously faced with increasing poverty, this results in a situation whereby people are unable to meet their most basic needs in order for them to survive. The outcome is 'destruction' of environmental resources that future generations will need to meet their most basic needs (Elliott, 1994:1). These resources are destroyed through the pressure on the environment of the developing countries which includes rapid population growth, increasing urbanisation, unemployment levels which are high and which keep soaring (Elliott, 1994:2). The environment and development are inter-dependant, thus the achievement of sustainable development means there needs to be 'action on behalf of all people's and places' (Elliott, 1994:12). The Brundtland Commission of 1987 defined sustainable development as *development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs'* (Elliott, 1994). Sustainable development as a concept is often taken to relate to the environment; however sustainable development does not focus solely on environmental issues. More broadly, sustainable development policies encompass three general policy areas: economic, environmental and social. In support of this, several United Nations documents, most recently the 2005 World Summit Outcome Document, refer to the 'interdependent and mutually reinforcing pillars' of sustainable development as economic development, social development and environmental protection (http:www.un.org/summit2005/documents.html).   Elliot   (1994)   states   that   as environmental issues are a threat to the 'quality of life', 'the pollution of poverty' threatens life itself. For 'poor black women' 'pollution of poverty' aptly describes a situation where they are trapped in this condition and with little or no prospect of overcoming the situation.

For development to be sustainable, it must be in harmony with nature, it must be people centred and it must be women centred (WCED 1987:43 in Parpart et. al 2000:32). The definition of sustainable development has according to Wacker, changed over time. It has shifted from 'a focus on remedial means to environmental degradation, to a preventative human centred approach to sustainable development' (in Harcourt, 1997:128).

Rodda (cited in Wacker in Harcourt, 1997:128) highlights that the experiential knowledge of women is omitted or overlooked in the debate on sustainable development. This should not be the case, because of the responsibility women have assumed the role that has been assigned to them by society of looking after the basic needs of their communities, families and society. Dankelman and Davidson (1988 in Harcourt, 1997:128) on the other hand draw attention to the fact that development should be re-oriented or re-designed towards sustainability. This will be through the repositioning of rural women in the developing countries who more than often bear the brunt of environmental degradation and are also the 'most underprivileged people' in society. Women therefore have an important role in the sustainable development process and should therefore not be excluded. Sustainable development must therefore ensure the 'welfare needs' of the poorest are addressed (Elliott: 1994). This is important as through the provision of welfare needs for the poorest groupings, in this instance 'poor black women' , it gives future generations in their homes, communities and societies an opportunity for their needs to be met and for their lives not to be plagued by poverty.

Sustainable development in the future according to Elliott (1994:21) thus requires commitment to surmount poverty. One means is to focus on the welfare needs of the 'poorest sectors in society'. The 'environmental concerns and development needs' of these sectors of society are to secure the most 'basic levels of economic and social well-being' (Elliott 1994:21).

2.9   Donor organisations

Richer developed countries through donor organisations assist poor developing countries to address poverty alleviation because the poor countries do not have the capacity to do so. It is a way of building good relations which would be beneficial for trade for instance. This then causes one to question why these countries are assisting the poor, developing countries, what exactly is in it for them especially in instances when the poorer country has nothing to trade.

Unfortunately, poverty has not been overcome or eradicated, despite the billions of dollars spent as part of development initiatives and programmes. In part this is because the assistance or aid has been distributed according to political agenda of the donor and recipient countries rather than for addressing the needs of the poor (Tisch & Wallace, 1994:4). Another reason could be that there is mismanagement of the funds on the part of the recipient country. Usually the aid is channelled through government and non-governmental agencies, however greed and theft result in those who actually do need the aid not getting any or getting very little which will not change their status, whilst the rest lines the pockets of the bureaucrats.

Bilateral treaties are 'activities that involve two states which promote security and economic relations' (Tisch & Wallace, 1994:4). They are often influenced by 'concern for humanitarian relief and alleviation of poverty in countries that are important to donors' and 'by the importance of developing countries as economic partners for sources of labour, raw materials and markets for exports and imports' (Tisch & Wallace, 1994:54). An example of development assistance that is influenced by humanitarian ends is a project that provides training for villagers. The result that is hoped for is that the villagers 'gain skills that are useful and that will improve their lives'. Again one is faced with the question as to what do those countries that have nothing to offer the donor countries give back. Kabeer states that 'donor assistance rarely goes to the poorest countries or those most able to use it effectively and equitably, rather it flows to countries which are most likely to represent donor priorities' (1994:70).

Politically motivated aid on the other hand is that in which 'the end benefit is for the donor' whereas with humanitarian aid the benefit is for the recipient (Tisch & Wallace 1994:63). The donors provide funds, non-governmental or governmental organisations provide the services and the recipients of the funds benefit from them. According to Tisch and Wallace recipients may feel they have little in terms of choice as it may be 'presented on a take it or leave it basis' (1994:53).

2.10   Non-governmental organisations (NGOs)

'Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are private, self governing, voluntary, non-profit distributing organisations operating, not for commercial purposes, but in public interest, for the promotion of social welfare and development, religion, charity, education and research' (Development Resource Centre :1993 cited in Swilling & Russell, 2002:4).

Private sources finance foundations and non-governmental organisations NGOs which are involved in socio-economic development. The NGOs work with 'poor communities at the local level, implementing projects that states cannot or will not carry out through bilateral or multilateral development programmes' (Tisch & Wallace, 1994:55). 'NGOs, bilateral government aid programs as well as multi-lateral agencies that have economic development and social change as objectives, provide humanitarian development aid' (Tisch & Wallace, 1994:63). 'NGOs that provide humanitarian aid include foundations, charitable organisations, private voluntary organisations and religious groups' (Tisch & Wallace, 1994:64).

Humanitarian aid is 'less ideological than politically motivated aid' however the effectiveness of the aid tends to depend on a good working relationship between the host country agencies and the NGOs who implement the programmes (Tisch & Wallace, 1994:64). Humanitarian aid is to address needs of the poor, however the term good – working relation can also mean that the NGO or the developing country is to adhere to certain policies or programs for the relationship to remain favourable. Although humanitarian aid may not necessarily be politically motivated, it can be influenced even if it seems like it is minimal influence. Humanitarian aid can be funded by private as well as public sources; the implementation can be done by funding organisations or by private sector actors such as NGOs (Tisch & Wallace, 1994:64).

The decision regarding the allocation of humanitarian aid tend to be influenced by the 'national government decisions regarding the substance of development programs and projects' this is as the main objective the aid is related to successful implementation and sustainability (Tisch & Wallace, 1994:64).

Foundations are non-governmental donors that provide funding 'primarily for humanitarian and disaster relief purposes'. They are often financed by private fortunes thus limit the project or research grant to specific fields and or topics (Tisch & Wallace, 1994:79). Donors seek these NGOs as partners for their programmes and initiatives.

NGOs are often established as a reaction by 'concerned citizens' to address humanitarian issues that the government cannot or will not address (Tisch & Wallace, 1994:80). NGOs have gained, and often maintained a reputation for being 'in touch with the local conditions in villages and rural areas' and for their 'operational structures that are conducive to success at the local level' (Tisch & Wallace, 1994:80). They are not aligned to and do not 'formally represent foreign or domestic governments' this often makes them the 'best vehicle for fostering local socio-economic development' Bilateral and multi-lateral donors have realised the value of partnering with NGOs for projects and the participation of the people is integral to the success of the programmes and initiatives (Tisch & Wallace, 1994:80).

The main focus of NGOs is to assist the 'poorest segments of society' and often in developing countries, this may include a substantial portion of the population. They tend not to be involved in projects of an 'infrastructural or market-oriented' nature. Tisch and Wallace (1994:81) state the views of poverty of NGOs is that poverty is a result of inequities of wealth between the rich, who are often a minority and the poor, who are usually the majority of the population. Poverty is also as a result of inequities between those residing in the urban areas and those in the rural areas, men and women and resilient and weak ethnic groupings. The NGOs are through their work trying to address these imbalances through 'direct action at the grassroots level'.

Development interventions are more 'sustainable and successful' if those who are to be affected or benefit in any way are part of the process and the realisation of this has resulted in the 'bottom up' development approach being viewed as a way of fighting poverty. Central to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) approach for achieving human development that is sustainable is 'people's participation' (Arrossi, Bombarolo, Hardoy, Mitlin, Coscio & Satterthwaite, 1994:34-5). People's participation or people centred development also ensures that the people can be agents of their own change and they do not just sit and wait for help. Participation also makes sure that the needs and interests of the people are catered for and that they are relevant as opposed to being prescribed for them.

There has been an increase in the numbers of NGOs in developing countries this is partially as a result of the conditions created as a result of the 'worsening economic, social and political crises' that developing nations are increasingly faced with as well as the inability of the governments of the developing nations to find development alternatives that are able to address the crises they are faced with (Arrossi et al., 1994:37). 'Cuts in government spending on social programmes, infrastructure and basic services, combined with economic recession, have increased the problems for the poor' (Arrossi et al., 1994:37).The key characteristics of NGOs tend to be that they are formal organisations that are involved in issues of public interest; they are non-profit making and independent from the government (Arrossi et al., 1994:39).

3   Policies relevant to gender and development

The United Nations had a role in two critical areas of gender and development, '*de jure equality*', through setting up an international legal framework and '*de facto equality*' through raising of public awareness, and being committed to changing long-standing traditions and attitudes which are responsible for discrimination (Women's Feature Service 1992:3). International conferences in Cairo (1994) and Beijing (1995) have been important in the achievement of the United Nations Development Declaration and the Millennium Development Goals.

They emphasize the needs of women and children in the health and education areas, with the third goal directed at promoting gender equality and empowerment of women (European Commission 2003:6).At these conferences, women's voices were not just heard, but were given recognition and integrated into the final outcome.

The Beijing Conference Report and the Platform of Action, 1995 reaffirmed commitment to '*the empowerment and advancement of women, including the right to freedom of thought, conscience, religion and belief, thus contributing to the moral, ethical, spiritual and intellectual needs of women and men, individually or in community with others and thereby guaranteeing them the possibility of realizing their full potential in society and shaping their lives in accordance with their own aspirations.*' The outcome was that the empowerment of women and their full participation on the basis of equality in all spheres of society, including participation in the decision-making process and access to power, came to be seen as fundamental for the achievement of equality, development and peace. (http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/declar.htm). This was one of the most decisive of the international commitments made by those who signed the Beijing Declaration. It was here that the idea of gender mainstreaming was articulated as an action plan. Gender mainstreaming strategy emphasizes gender into development policies, programmes and projects to counteract the tendency for women's concerns and gender issues to become marginalized, under-funded and ignored within the process of development (Allen & Thomas 2000:400). It integrates the priorities and needs of women and men, of all ages in development and co-operation policies (European Commission 2003:2). Gender mainstreaming calls on government to examine the effects of all policies on men and women, and does not assign women's affairs to one ministry, thus gender policy objectives of governments are binding and can be integrated into all policy areas (Stiegler 2004:5-6).

The United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) Human Development Report of 2003 recognized that unless the capabilities of women were improved and gender equality enhanced, the achievement of the other Millennium Development Goals will not be attained.

For instance, HIV/AIDS is a major impediment to achieving the Millennium Development Goals in Southern Africa. The precarious social position of women, as well as their limited options and access to resources, can result in them turning to sex work, as a means of survival. This exposes women to HIV infection.   The pandemic has resulted in increased gender inequality, as women are faced by unequal power relations, violence and discrimination, aggravated by lack of education results in them being more vulnerable to HIV/AIDS (Smith in Sweetman 2002:64). The UNDP Human Development Report therefore calls for effort in addressing gender inequality as a means to achieving development goals.

The 2000 Cotonou Africa/Caribbean/Pacific European Union partnership agreement promotes positive integration of gender concerns at every level of development co-operation (European Commission 2003:3).

The Community Framework strategy on Gender Equality (2001-2005), provides a framework for action with all community activities to contribute to eliminating inequalities and promotion of equality between women and men. This policy focuses on development areas such as food security and sustainable rural development, support for macro-economic policies and trade and development in which gender must be mainstreamed (European Commission 2003:3).

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) framed women and development issues in ways similar to the World Bank concluding that the development process needs to be more inclusive of women, and any social, legal and economic barriers that may otherwise hinder the full participation of women are to be removed (Scott 1995:82). Equal access to land, credit facilities, education and training is crucial and the special needs of women need to be catered for, to ensure productivity from their involvement (Scott 1995:82). Although SADC does not emphasize the need to increase women's productivity, as the World Bank does, there is acknowledgment that women being excluded from the development process has hampered efficiency and productivity in the agricultural sector (Scott 1995:82).

The SADC Declaration on Gender and Development raised concerns about the disparities still existing between men and women in legal rights, power-sharing and decision-making, access to and control over productive resources, education and health. Another concern was the fact that women constitute the majority of the poor in the region (http://www.sadc.int). This shows concerted effort by countries within the SADC region to address the issues of gender and development.

The SADC resolutions resulted in the commitment of the member states to the establishment of a policy framework for mainstreaming gender in all activities. They resulted too in commitment to the promotion of women's full access to, and control over productive resources for instance land, livestock, markets credit, modern technology, formal employment, and a good quality of life in order to reduce the level of poverty among women in the region (http://www.sadc.int). While this has been uneven in reality, the moral pressure of such resolutions does mean that states feel compelled to speak about these issues in a politically correct fashion.

4 Conclusion

The status of women in developing countries means that development will affect them in varying manners; it is also influenced by their race, gender age, location and ethnicity. 'Poor black women' is a term to refer to the women that were interviewed as part of this study. As stated above, women are affected differently by development and literature review focused on the effects of the development process and policy on these women. There remain factors that create and maintain inequality of women in development, addressing these factors will result in the programmes and initiatives having more of a chance of being successful and there are fewer or no impediments to the process. The discussion of the history of gender and development aimed to provide a representation of what has taken place in development over the years in an effort to not only include women, but also to provide for their specific needs and interests. Approaches to gender and development have also evolved over the years and consulting them in this literature review led to a better understanding of development through the approaches specifically designed to include women and to ensure their inclusion led to positive benefits for not only them, but the development process.

Empowerment and sustainable development are often what development aims for as it encourages the participation of those affected in making a difference for themselves and future generations. The inclusion of data from South Africa illustrated the levels of poverty and inequality which in a sense shows whether the development process has been positive or negative. The following chapter presents the methodology.

Chapter 3
Methodology

3.1   Research Design

This study adopts a qualitative approach, where the research attempts to understand how 'poor black women' experience poverty and how NGOs and donors attempt to provide economic opportunities. According to Babbie & Mouton (2004:53), qualitative research attempts to understand human action from the perspective of the actors who are the subject of research, in this case Aus-Aid, DG Murray Trust, Edutak and HIPPY, and support the 'poor black women' who are the end recipients of their funding. While the goal of research is to provide a critical analysis that explains behaviour and social conditions in a broader social context. The qualitative approach was chosen over the quantitative approach as it would allow the researcher to capture the experiences of the interviewees. Interviewees provide an account of their experiences and perceptions. The object of development studies research is applied research as it aims to solve specific policy problems or provide recommendations for practitioners to address particular problems (De Vos 2002:109). This study is exploratory, and is aimed to gain insight into the relationship between donors, non-governmental organisations and their recipients. It describes the population of donor agencies, non-governmental organisation recipients and the impact of their work on the poor women for whom programmes are developed.

3. 2   Research Methodology

This section presents the sampling approach, the data collection and the data analysis strategy adopted in the study.

3.2.1   Sampling

The population to be sampled is a non-probability, purposive sample (Babbie & Mouton, 2004). Specific selective groups are identified, the donors, who target their funding to particular non-governmental organisations who work in select communities or with organised groups of poor women.

Additionally snowball sampling was also used, as the non-governmental organizations were asked to arrange meetings between the researcher and the recipients of their funding, the 'poor black women' . The donors were selected from the Donor Network on Women, which is made up of foreign and local funders who work in South Africa supporting a range of women's initiatives in an effort to redress gender imbalances in relation to power, access and control of resources (http://www.womensnet.org.za/DNW). The Donor Network on Women provided contacts of the donors they work with. Thirty one emails were sent out to all the donors but unfortunately only a few replied. Reasons for this were that the interview process occurred during their busiest time of the year when they were required to hand in end of year reports, assess all the NGOs they funded and prepare for the new year. Only two donor organizations were thus part of the sample. Aus-Aid is a foreign donor with a regional office based in South Africa. The operations in this office cover the whole of Africa. In this office, a senior manager, and two programme managers were interviewed separately. DG Murray Trust is a local charitable trust or foundation based in Cape Town. From these donors, contacts of the NGOs they fund that focus on sustainable development of women were provided. These were used to establish contact with the NGOs, however only one replied. Edutak provided the researcher with a list of other NGOs that work in its field of Early Childhood Development (ECD).

3.2.2   Data Collection

Secondary literature and documents that pertained to the study were surveyed and analysed. Literature with specific focus on addressing issues of sustainable development and empowerment of 'poor black women' was consulted. This literature was made up of journals; policy documents the donors and the non-governmental organisations. After contact was established with the donors' convenient interview times were set up at their offices. One of the donors was based in Cape Town; therefore an interview was conducted via email due to travel costs. After meeting with the donors and obtaining a list of the non-governmental organisations they fund, meetings were set up with the NGOs.

The researcher travelled to the offices of the NGOs and the meetings were conducted there. Edutak is based in Pretoria; it trains women from parts of Gauteng that include Mamelodi, Soshanguve and Cullinan, Mpumalanga, the North West Province and Limpopo Province. The director and deputy training manager were interviewed separately at the Pretoria office. The recipients of Edutak's programme, Violet, Portia and Mercedes live in the North West province and were interviewed at the Pretoria offices whilst completing their Level 4 certificate. Edutak is a training agency that aims to empower women from rural areas and informal settlements with early childhood education and entrepreneurial skills. The researcher was then assisted by Edutak to select recipients of their programmes to interview and these interviews were also conducted at the offices.

HIPPY's main office is in Braamfontein, Johannesburg. It has programme sites in Orlando East, Orange Farm, Westbury and Winterveldt in Gauteng and Tabase and Mpindweni in the Eastern Cape. The director, training manager and programme manager were interviewed at their Braamfontien offices. The recipients of the HIPPY programme Rose, Daisy and Prudence were from Westbury, Winterveldt and Orlando East. They were interviewed at the HIPPY offices. HIPPY is a school preparedness and family enrichment programme. This programme trains and empowers parents or caregivers to be the first teacher of children. This programme also relies on paraprofessionals, which are parents and or caregivers that have been part of the programme with their children and that are interested in the program. They take responsibility for programme delivery in their communities and become grass-roots educators and educational outreach workers.

The work of Edutak and HIPPY is a modest attempt at alleviating poverty of women in the communities. This is through the education of the 'poor black women' which allows them to open and run their own early childhood education centres, to train other women and their children in their communities to read and write. This provides them with access to opportunities such as employment which they may otherwise not have had. By educating these women, they are able to contribute to the economic development of the communities they live and work in.

A qualitative in depth interviewing approach was used; with an open-ended interview schedule this allowed the researcher to further probe any ambiguous areas. The aim was to allow the researcher to explore the issues at hand (De Vos, 2005:292-3).

Data was collected through interviews from the donor agencies, the non-governmental organisations and the women who are recipients of funding through the use of a semi-structured interview schedule that was constructed around the main objectives of the study (See Appendix 1). This schedule was used as a guideline and not stuck to rigidly.

3.2.3   Collection Context

Prior to the interview, permission was obtained from the interviewee for the researcher to use a tape recorder, as it allows for 'a much fuller record than notes taken' (Smit et al. 1995:17 in De Vos 2005:298). At the same time the researcher took detailed notes where possible.

3.2.4   Use of a tape recorder

A tape recorder was used to capture the verbatim responses of the interviewees. It allowed the interviewer to concentrate on questioning, probing and listening and noting the non-verbal cues. As it was important to ensure that the respondent was not uncomfortable with the presence of the tape recorder, where possible it was placed inconspicuously allowing the interviewee to respond fully with no hesitation (De Vos 2005:298).

3.2.5   Data Analysis Process

After the interviews, all the tape recorded interviews were transcribed and manually coded into main themes, categories and sub-categories. These were linked to the broader objectives of the study. A framework for analysis of the data was then constructed by the researcher. It highlighted the main themes, categories and sub-categories.

3.2.6   Data Analysis Approach

Tesch's (1990) approach was used for first stage analysis. The steps included:

1. Reading through all the transcriptions to get a sense of the whole.

2. The researcher then drew out key ideas in selected transcripts, which formed the basis for tabulating concepts, themes, categories and sub-categories. This was done manually.

3. The themes were then linked to the research objectives and enabled the analysis to be conducted under the themes that emerge from the research.

4. The findings were discussed according to the framework for analysis drawing upon the interviews and linking them to the theoretical and conceptual framework provided by the literature review.

3.3   Ethical Considerations

According to De Vos (2005:58-63), a researcher needs to have appropriate training and preparation for conducting the research. This was important in this case, because the information was sensitive. This researcher has undertaken research methodology courses in the form of Honours and Masters programs. All sensitivities of interviewees were addressed. When questions of a personal nature were asked, the researcher ensured that the interviewees would not experience any emotional harm. De Vos, (2005: 58-63) highlights that privacy and confidentiality should be considered. The interviewees' names are not used in the study. Confidentiality was safeguarded through the use of pseudonyms, so verbatim quotes cannot be identified. The interviewees were informed of the goal or purpose of the study. The researcher took the necessary precautions to ensure that no harm comes to the interviewees. This involved the interviewees being informed about the potential impact of the interview. The questions were aimed at proving a fuller picture of what situation these 'poor black women' were in and how it has improved. Information obtained from the interviews will only be used for the purposes of this research.

3.4   Limitations

3.4.1   Research design

This study was of a qualitative nature, and is limited by its extent and time-frame. It was not an exhaustive study as it adopted non-probability sampling, so generalisations cannot be made beyond the organizations studied.

The choice of a qualitative research design has inherent limitations in that it relies on a great deal of subjectivity. However although the findings did not reflect a wide population, they will present insight into the efficacy of the programmes promoted by donors and non-governmental organisations in attempting to promote development and the well-being of 'poor black women' (Babbie & Mouton 2004:166).

3.4.2 Sampling

This research was a 'pilot study', since there were a small number of interviewees, no definite conclusions can be drawn about the broader donor population. The use of a non-probability sampling approach does not allow for generalization. However, it does give some direction for further research. Since donor agencies acted as the gatekeepers to the non-governmental organisations, who in turn were the gatekeepers to the recipients of development programmes who were interviewed, mediated responses were possible. There was thus a danger that the information could be distorted. However, the researcher endeavoured to adjust this by means of observation and a more detailed 'testing' of results.

3.4.3 Data collection

In-depth interviews take a lot of time and require the researcher to have some interviewing skills. The researcher in this case, is a novice researcher. Her supervisor provided guidance in procedures and protocols. Time constraints may have affected the quality of the research, as there was not sufficient time for the establishment of a relationship between the researcher and the interviewee. This would ensure that the information provided in the interviews was valuable and useful. The use of a tape recorder to capture data can also be off-putting for the interviewees. Moreover, transcribing data is also time-consuming.

3.4.4 Data analysis

The analysis of subjective material, lends itself to further bias and misrepresentations linked to the researcher's lack of ability regarding qualitative data analysis.

Some categories may be overlooked and some over-estimated in the analysis process and analysis may be skewed to fit the researcher's intuition. Analysing qualitative data manually can be time-consuming. It is hoped that discussion with the researcher's more experienced supervisor will overcome some of these limitations.

3.5   Conclusion

The research design and methodology in this study were to try and obtain information that addressed the main question and the objectives of the study. The qualitative approach allowed for a better understanding of the perspectives of the donor agencies, NGOs and the 'poor black women' in terms of their relationships with one another and the impact of the intervention by the donor agencies. The sampling, data collection, data analysis methods used in this research aimed at addressing the research question. The following chapter provides an analysis of the approaches to gender and development that the Aus-Aid and DG Murray Trust use in funding programmes and initiatives that address the empowerment and sustainable development of 'poor black women'.

Chapter 4

Gender and Development approaches by Aus-Aid and DG Murray Trust

Introduction

The main question that this research aims to address is how donor funders have fared in relation to their target group, the 'poor black women'. There is a lot of donor activity that focuses on the development of women and often addresses empowerment and sustainable development, but is it making a difference? The question that must be asked is; how effective have these initiatives been? It is imperative to ensure that these development initiatives and programmes actually do contribute in substantive ways to improving the capabilities of 'poor black women' and that these women reap positive benefits. If these programmes are not meeting their objectives, then they need to be reassessed and adjusted so that they provide positive value. This chapter will assess the work of donor agencies that support the work of NGOs to improve the lives of 'poor black women'. The approaches of the donors to gender and development will be discussed, followed by the donors' efforts to address poverty. As the work of donors is essentially part of development; their perspective of development will be discussed, followed by their interpretation of empowerment and sustainable development. The relationship between the donors, the NGOs they support and the 'poor black women' whose lives they aim to improve will be discussed with focus on the selection criteria and conditions of the funding. The potential disconnect between donors intentions and NGO practice will also be discussed as they are a part of the relationship.

Approaches to gender and development

The ensuing events post-United Nations Women's conferences in 1975 and 1995 were that aid agencies adopted a gendered approach to their programmes; this was to make visible their efforts to integrate women into sectoral planning and create programmes for women's livelihoods (Visvanathan, Duggan, Nisonoff, Wiegersma, 1997:3).

Aus-Aid illustrates this as the key objectives of their Small Activities Scheme are to assist local communities in meeting their basic humanitarian needs and to assist economic and social development of disadvantaged communities.

According to Program Officer 1:

'Small Activities Scheme guidelines ask how many people including women are the main focus, programmes for women and children are most of the projects we fund, but it is not exclusive.' Women have been included as beneficiaries and this may be because of the need for assisting women in improving their livelihoods through donor funding.

'Previously we had a gender violence fund, it was similar to the small activities scheme in that it was funding community based organisations and NGOs addressing gender violence issues. So that programme wound down, but we still through our small activities scheme fund those organisations, it's about helping them address gender violence issues which is a kind of assistance to women' (Senior Manager)

Aus-Aid has made efforts to create programmes which improve women's livelihoods, it is however important to note that they do not deliver the services, rather their funding enables the programmes to have an impact.

Addressing poverty of 'poor black women'

The 'anti-poverty' approach to WID took as its starting point poverty rather than subordination as a source of inequality between women and men, and set out to improve the income of women. The approach also focused on 'income generation for women through better access to productive resources, for instance land and credit' (Mosse, 1993:156). The programmes that Aus-Aid funds can be viewed as being in line with the 'anti-poverty approach', as they fund NGOs that address the issue of income generation activities for women. '*We also fund a couple of NGOs that address the issue of gender violence directly, by providing income generation activities for women*' (Senior Manager).The sectoral focus of Aus-Aid's Small Activities Scheme includes economic and social initiatives as well as promotion of skills development and employment for youth. In light of this, Aus-Aid can be said to address the poverty-stricken conditions of 'poor black women' through the funding of NGOs that address the issues of these women and try to improve their livelihoods.

Aus-Aid *previously had a gender violence fund that was similar to SAS in that it was funding community based organizations and NGOs addressing gender violence issues, which is in part assistance to women.* Gender inequality tends to worsen the effects of poverty for women, as it reduces their access to resources, participation in development and decision making as most public institutions are male dominated; they are more likely to represent the needs and interests of men (Sweetman, 2002:3-4) (Kabeer, 2003:2) However by addressing gender violence or assisting women affected by its interventions enable women to address their needs and to participate in decision making that affects their lives. Gender violence is not necessarily a problem that affects 'poor black women' only, it is a cross-cutting issue. Women of lower socio-economic classes who are victims of gender abuse often cannot leave the situation because they will not be able to provide for themselves and their children. Thus they are stuck with no alternative. Interventions that assist these women enable them to find ways of making income and providing for their children.

The focus area of DG Murray Trust is *'often collapsed into other activities and services that organizations offer. They range from employment creation, providing safe houses, counselling and legal advice'*. DG Murray Trust can therefore be said to indirectly support programmes that affect the well-being of women. Both these donors have directly or indirectly provided assistance in the form of funding which addresses poverty of 'poor black women'. The donors have provided financial assistance which through the programmes that are run by the NGOs that these women work with, provides women to access more opportunities than they ordinarily would have due to gender discrimination or lack of resources. The aim of the donors in essence is to be part of a change in the women's lives that is positive and beneficial for those concerned. DG Murray Trust mainly focuses on areas related to early childhood development, reading, writing, mathematics and general social welfare. The situation in South Africa is that often the women in communities, whether they are mothers, caregivers, grand mothers and aunts are faced with the task of providing for their families if there is no male breadwinner or in addition to the income which may be low.

Thus through the funding of these areas, women can address areas of their lives that may limit their capacity to provide for their families.

Development

Jackson & Pearson (1998:11) state that for development programmes and or policies to be of value to communities, there is a need to include poor women in the planning, implementing and execution process of development strategies. This makes sense as it is essentially the women who are going to benefit from these programmes; therefore, a contribution from these women is fundamental to the process. In turn, this would ensure that the specific needs of the women are addressed and catered for. This is important if the programme or policy is to be successful and have a positive impact. The rationale for funding that Aus-Aid subscribes to '*is to help communities to address the needs identified by themselves'* (Program Officer 1). Development processes therefore need to be people centred for them to be effective. Eligibility criteria for funding under Aus-Aid's SAS *'necessitate the involvement of the target community in the design, management and implementation of the programme activities'* (SAS Guidelines 2006/7). Thus the poor women have to be part and parcel of the process and not just passive recipients. It is interesting to note that Aus-Aid neither subscribes what it perceives development to be nor the development needs of the community, rather the needs of the communities as identified by the 'poor black women' are important for Aus-Aid and it will in turn mean that the development that does occur is for the people by the people with a little assistance. It is often the case that women are regarded as objects and as not active participants. 'Although they may be illiterate, women should be recognized in their own right as potential carriers of wisdom based on life experiences and knowledge of their reality, which the development practitioner needs' (Østergaard 1992:133). This was a case with Aus-Aid, the Small Activities Scheme guidelines require the NGO or community based organisation to provide information in their proposals that indicates how the local beneficiaries will be involved in project management and in the design and implementation of the activities. This means that the community will not only gain skills and knowledge in the time of the project, but they can use these skills in future.

It also has positive benefits for the community in that they are part of change that affects them and they do not just wait on someone to come and address their needs. Development should not be limited to getting assistance, but it must also be sustainable and add value to the community. The interviews with the end recipients of their funding provided evidence that the women have been able to participate in development programmes. This has benefited them and often this resulted in a more positive effect on them as they were important to the success of the programmes. The development initiatives that Aus-Aid fund can therefore be what Mosse referred to as (1993:161) 'a Southern women's approach to development rather than a Northern white man's approach' It is not imposed upon them, rather funding gives them an opportunity to address their problems in the way they think is best. In this research the funding that has been made available for the women has been used to train them about early childhood development and entrepreneurial skills in how to run a crèche and early learning centres and through this to provide quality pre-school programmes for the children in their respective communities. *The Small Activities Schemes sectoral focus has community health initiatives including HIV/AIDS, water and sanitation; education and training; economic and social initiatives; environmental awareness and natural resource conservation; agriculture and food security; promotion of women's activities and promotion of skills development and employment for youth.* This perhaps provides the best interpretation of what Aus-Aid viewed as development as it draws from the tenets of definitions of development from Sen who saw 'development as being the process of the expansion of the real freedoms that people enjoy' (1999:14) and Kabeer who defined development as being a 'planned process by which resources, techniques and expertise are brought together to bring about improved rates of economic growth in an area variously designated as the developing world' (1994:69). The programmes that Aus-Aid funds therefore encompass not only economic development, but human and social development as well.

Empowerment

Empowerment is the process of 'generating and building capacities to exercise control of capabilities; the process is aimed at increasing women's power in decision making processes' (Stiegler, 2004:5). It is the process whereby those previously denied the ability to make choices, attain the ability and have access to opportunities. The term empowerment is a 'slippery' term and can be taken to mean different things by different people. The above interpretation of empowerment is similar to those of the interviewees from Aus-Aid and DG Murray Trust. Grants Coordinator from DG Murray Trust states that empowerment is *'enhancing the ability of women to see to their own material and emotional wellbeing'. 'Providing alternatives, so that women are not stuck in situations'* is the interpretation of Senior Manager from Aus-Aid. Program Officer 2 stated that *'empowerment is you being able to see your needs'. 'Anything that would improve their lifestyle or their ability to take care of their families'* is Program Officer 1's interpretation.

The above interpretations are similar to that of Stiegler (2004) and Moser (1993). The donors are in agreement with what their funding addresses. The funding addresses poverty alleviation of the women through empowerment programmes that are designed to be sustainable. The donors are therefore primarily addressing poverty of women which has placed them in situations where they are stuck with no alternatives to change their livelihoods. Empowerment has become a buzzword and interpretations differ, but in essence the interpretations of the interviewees from the donors show that there is realisation to what these 'poor black women' need in their lives to enable them to provide for themselves and their families and for future generations to benefit, *the Small Activities Scheme guidelines require disclosure of how many women and children will be part of the programme.* Moser (1993:57) states that for women to be empowered, they need to have greater self reliance. The funding that these donors provide aims to provide 'poor black women' with greater self-reliance as that will be the only way that they can improve their situations. Self-reliance means that these women do not need to depend on men or on NGOs as they can help themselves. This self-reliance can be achieved through literacy training; the women now can read and write for themselves which opens them up to employment opportunities.

Literacy training also means that children can be taught how to read and write by their mothers and care givers and this will have a positive effect on the community as a barrier to employment has been removed. Empowerment can also be seen as the creation of spaces or gaps through which these women can help themselves. These spaces are created through the provision of funding which otherwise would have not been there and could potentially be the difference between them remaining trapped in poverty and suffering, or them striving to make a better life for themselves. It is also important to see empowerment as not only benefiting these women, but their families, communities and societies can potentially reap positive benefits. The donor agencies interpretation of empowerment are in line with the interpretations of empowerment in this report, as the women are now in a position where they can make decisions that affect their lives and they now have increased control over areas of their lives which they previously did not have due to a lack of education and awareness that their had choices.

Sustainable Development

By addressing sustainable development of 'poor black women', these donors are enabling future generations an opportunity to meet their own needs as well. Interpretations of sustainable development also differ within organisations; this is because sustainable development is a 'slippery' term and can mean different things to different organisations. However, for the purposes of this research it will be taken to broadly encompass economic, social and environmental development. This research could have benefited from focusing on sustainable environmental development as it also can improve the livelihoods of 'poor black women'. It is important to realise that sustainable development refers to results in the future, thus it is difficult to evaluate whether these donor agencies have achieved sustainable development. Therefore when referring to adressing sustainable development, it is rather the issue of whether these organisations have make a commitment to do so. That is have they made efforts that will ensure that their intervention and assistance will reap positive benefits in the future for the 'poor balck women'. Research by Rodda (cited in Wacker in Harcourt, 1997:128) highlighted that the experiential knowledge of women tends to be omitted or overlooked in the debate of sustainable development.

This should not be the case, because of the responsibility women have assumed the role of looking after the basic needs for communities, families and society. Aus-Aid has not overlooked the responsibility that women have in their families, communities, program officer 1 states: '*sustainable development is probably one of the objectives that we would like in the long run to make an impact on the number of women who benefit.....we would want to say that they have a skill and that skill will be able to sustain them and in the end hopefully improve the whole economy of the country'*. These women will acquire skills and knowledge that will enable them to improve the livelihood of themselves and their families. This will hopefully occur sooner rather than later. This organisation is considering the bigger picture and although their funding programme is small and resources are limited, they are making a difference to the lives of women in lower socio-economic communities who may have otherwise not have had access to opportunities to run their own businesses and be able to train the children in their communities so that they too can have access to opportunities that they might not have had because of their social status and location. The reviews carried out by Aus-Aid of programmes they fund shows that the lives of the women and their children have been positively affected by the funding. Again, one must consider whether the modest change that is made is better than no change at all. It may take a very long time before the effects of Aus-Aid's funding make a difference to the whole economy, but it has made progress which is better than nothing. This is mainly because according to Program Officer 1 *the biggest grant the Small Activities Scheme would give is R200 000*. Although this seems like a large amount, evidence from the interviews with the NGOs shows that it not that much. This therefore limits the sphere of influence of the funding. Sustainable development must according to Elliot (1994) ensure the 'welfare needs' of the poorest are addressed. Aus-Aid and DG Murray Trust meet the needs of the poor and this is part of their intentions, *'to make a difference and support interventions that have an impact'* (Grants Coordinator). The provision of welfare needs for the poorest groupings, in this instance 'poor black women' , provides future generations in their homes, communities and societies an opportunity for their needs to be met and for their lives not to be plagued by poverty. This provision of welfare is made possible by the financial support that the donors provide for the NGOs. In essence it creates hope.

Determining whether these donors have addressed sustainable development can be done through the reports and reviews they receive from the NGO programmes and projects they fund. Grants Coordinator states '*as we do not deliver any services directly, I cannot say whether we have addressed sustainable development, but saying that given the reports provided by funded organisations …and 'success' stories of groups of women who have achieved some level of sustainability are uncommon, but great success stories are limited. Improvements are gradual and small'*. Achieving sustainable development is thus a work in progress and the process has begun with success stories. In the case of Aus-Aid according to Program Officer 1, *'the reviews on programmes are basically to see the women who have been trained, where they are now, are they happy with the training they got and have they built upon the skills that we provided, and quite often we have found that they have and some are sending their children to school and university'*. Sustainable development must be an objective of donors when they fund a programme, according to Program Officer 2, *'all donor activity supports sustainable development'* and *'sustainability is more to do with the beneficiaries to sustain what they have gained'*. Donors should have sustainable development as an objective; it means there will be positive impact from their efforts. If the programmes they fund are not sustainable then they have potentially done more harm than good. In essence they would have created communities and societies that are dependent on an outside source for their livelihood, instead of that community being able to stand on its own feet and being able to provide for themselves. Proof that the work of these donors leads to sustainable development is that the positive benefits of the funding are not only limited to the women in question, but their families and communities who also benefit from their improved knowledge and skills. Sustainable development is difficult to prove, however when women in a rural or informal settlement community can educate their children and other women, the effects of that will definitely have positive effects on future generations.

Relationships between donors, NGOs and 'poor black women'

Research by Tisch& Wallace (1994:4) define foreign development assistance as resources that rich, developed countries provide to poor, developing countries to assist in improving the living standards of their people.

It is 'an important tool used to help address some of the inequities'. With resources that are available to improve the quality of life of poorer people, it justifiably seems fair to provide 'equitable access to these goods and services to all people'. However the relationship between Aus-Aid and the DG Murray Trust and the NGOs they fund is *'humanitarian in the sense of helping them address their greatest needs',* it is also to *'address areas of greatest shortcoming in South Africa'* (Grants Coordinator). NGOs are formed to address needs of a community, and donors fund programmes that will provide for or give access to the needs of the poor.

The financial assistance in the form of grants provided by the donors is therefore helping poorer people improve their livelihoods and to create opportunities for them to do this. Donors seek these NGOs as partners for their programmes and initiatives, the donor provides the funding, whilst the NGO provides and implements the services. According to Program Officer 1 the funding approach taken by the Aus-Aid *'is just to engage with the non-governmental community and especially for the rural areas where they are often usually the best service providers, they know the areas they work in, they are very well connected to the community'* (Program Officer 1). Thus, donor funders may provide the funding, but they see the value of good relationships with NGOs who are the service provider and work at the grassroots level. In essence it can be said that the NGOs help the donors achieve their humanitarian assistance goals. They can also impede this goal, through disconnect between the donors intentions and the NGOs practice.

Tisch and Wallace (1994:80) found that bilateral and multi-lateral donors have realised the value of partnering with NGOs for projects and that the participation of the people is integral to the success of the programmes and initiatives. According to Aus-Aid, the purpose of its funding *'is for shared values and it's just a nice way for us to build relationships'* (Senior Manager). The purpose of funding South African NGOs for Aus-Aid is *'an important part for us is linkages between our countries, so if we are in some way funding a programme that is in some way building those linkages, then we are likely to get involved'* (Senior Manager). The relationship between Aus-Aid and the NGOs it funds is not entirely about addressing the needs of the communities, but also about developing linkages and relationships.

Through this, both parties should realise benefits from the funding. Bilateral treaties involve two states and they are to promote security and economic relations (Tisch & Wallace, 1994:4). They are often influenced by 'concern for humanitarian relief and alleviation of poverty in countries that are important to donors' and 'by the importance of developing countries as economic partners for sources of labour, raw materials and markets for exports and imports' (Tisch & Wallace, 1994:54). Aus-Aid has subsequently moved away from bilateral programmes with the South African government and the reasons for this according to the senior manager are that *'because the South African economy is doing so well and the government is managing that well and so we see them more able to address domestic issues themselves'*. There may be capacity in the country; however one must consider whether a purported decrease or increase in poverty and inequality draw Aus-Aid to re-think the need for a bilateral programme that focuses on poverty alleviation? According to Senior Manager, *Aus-Aid replaced bilateral programmes with the South African government about three years ago and funds NGOs through the Small Activities Scheme*. Statistics on poverty and inequality over the same period have increased. Aus-Aid sees South Africa as having the capacity to address these issues, however they have not been too successful and Aus-Aid has not stepped in to help. Alternatively, does it mean that the government of Aus-Aid would like to see South Africa make a concerted effort to address poverty prior to providing assistance, especially as the GDP seems to translate to the fact that there should be progress? Aus-Aid not providing more funding or partnering with the South African government can be seen as a way of ensuring the government addresses these issues. The increase in economic growth is probably seen as a measure of whether the government has capacity or not. In terms of developing South Africa as an economic partner, according to the Senior Manager, there is *'a governance facility that focuses pre-dominantly on trade and partnering with the South African government on the JIPSA'*. The relationship between Aus-Aid and the NGOs it funds is not entirely one of dependence, as it aims to reap positive benefits for both countries.

Unfortunately, poverty has not been overcome or eradicated, despite the billions of dollars spent by developed countries as part of development initiatives and programmes.

However, most African countries that receive development aid, inequality and poverty have increased. In part this is because the assistance or aid has been distributed according to political agenda of the donor and recipient countries rather than for addressing the needs of the poor (Tisch & Wallace, 1994:4). Poverty remains a critical problem in South Africa; the question that needs to be posed is whether there is need for change. This seems obvious, that poor people's circumstances need to change is a truism, but the real issue is how that change could take place and what it should be. Then a further issue, who should take responsibility for this change. Surely if poverty has not been overcome despite the billions of dollars ploughed into the developing nations, it highlights a problem with administration of these funds. This highlights a problem with the effective use of aid by governments and NGOs. Should governments not be addressing their poverty issues alone, especially if they have the capacity and resources to do so? There was no indication or implications by either donors that their funding is politically motivated, according to Grants Coordinator of DG Murray Trust *the only projects we do not fund are ones that are purely aimed at promoting a specific religion, individual bursaries and political parties'*. The Small Activities Scheme guidelines of Aus-Aid stipulate that funding is not available for 'evangelical and missionary activities.' Therefore, it is specifically for addressing humanitarian needs. The funding is used for activities and programmes that promote social and economic development and also to accelerate economic and social development of communities that are vulnerable or disadvantaged.

According to Tisch and Wallace (1994:64) 'NGOs that provide humanitarian aid, include foundations, charitable organisations, private voluntary organisations and religious groups.' Foundations are non-governmental donors that provide funding 'primarily for humanitarian and disaster relief purposes'. They are often financed by private fortunes that limit the project or research grants to specific fields and or topics (Tisch & Wallace, 1994:79). DG Murray Trust is a charitable trust of foundation that focuses on areas such as Early Childhood Development, general social welfare and orphans and vulnerable children. The funding provides training of mothers and caregivers that will impact on the lives of the children in their care or in their communities.

Funding selection criteria and conditions are important in the administration of donor funds as they ensure that the donors have some sort of quality control and so that they can in turn assess whether their money has been used for the purpose for which it was requested for. Both donors stipulate the criteria that NGOs need to fit into their proposals are to be considered for funding. DG Murray Trust's selection process requires the NGOs they give funding to, to have *'proper management systems in place, relevance and the quality of the intervention'* (Grants Coordinator). Whilst Aus-Aid has specified criteria' *they have to be registered NGOs, we normally ask for a track record which involves previous donors contacts so that we can check and see how they managed their previous donor funding and then once during the life of the project we try and visit them to see that its doing what they said they will'* (Program Officer 2). It is unfortunate to note that there is more demand than supply of funding. Aus-Aid estimates *'we normally end up with between 60-90 that match the required criteria out of 140 proposals'* (Program Officer 1). Figures as those stated by Program Officer 1 reveal the need for funding and potentially show areas in social and economic development where there is more assistance required for development initiatives and programmes to be effective. Reporting back or giving reviews is also a condition that is attached to the funding, it ensures that NGOs are doing what they said they would and also allows the donor the opportunity to see where its funding is going and the impact that it is making. Senior Manager states: '*we have a contractual relationship with the organisation that requires them to report to us at the end of the project'*. For DG Murray Trust the relationship with the NGOs they support *'varies on the number of years projects have been funded and the nature of the grant. Organisations that receive larger grants that require more investigation and meetings obviously result in closer relationships'* (Grants Coordinator). The relationship between the donors and the NGOs is an important one, not only in achieving the objectives, but also as it results in 'poor black women' who may not have had access to opportunities to improve their livelihoods and move out of the poverty trap to do so. The relationship of Aus-Aid and the end recipients of their funding, the 'poor black women' , tends to be at arms length, Program Officer 2 states '*Aus-Aid is a donor agency, funds from Aus-Aid reach these communities through NGOs.*

So we have direct relationship with the NGOs we provide funding to and then this NGO has a more close relationship with the community they work with. Within the 12 month period in which the funds have been provided, we make sure we visit the site and meet the beneficiaries and see what has been provided according to what the proposal has said…..depending on the project we might participate in the launch or the closing of the project.' This is probably the most ideal form for the relationship between the donors and the 'poor black women' to take, as it shows there is actual interest on the part of the donors and it is not just a case of money being given to the NGOs for the 'poor black women'. Although Aus-Aid states: *'to be honest given our size (of 6 members of staff) we don't have any contractual relationship with the end recipients, but we try and have an informal relationship where we can visit if we wish' (*Senior Manager).

The intentions of the donors and the practice of the NGOs with the funding provided can result in potential disconnect in the sense that the intentions and the practices are not aligned and accordingly, this may cause friction. DG Murray Trust states: *DG Murray Trust will not fund an organisation where there exists great disconnect between the aims of the different parties or its practices. Research is done before grants are made to determine the suitability for funding'* (Grants Coordinator). Disconnect according to Senior Manager from Aus-Aid *'is when you give organisation money for something and they use it for something else'*. Aus-Aid tries to minimize this as *'their programmes are demand-driven and have broad guidelines. So the risk of disconnect is not as great…..whereas if we were saying we fund x,y and z, people put in proposals and you run a risk that organisations might frame something within your policy objectives even though they are doing something a bit different'* (Senior Manager). It seems as if the donors may actually set themselves up for disconnect, merely by the way they frame their conditions and criteria for NGOs. Given the fact that supply of grants and funding exceeds the demand, NGOs will try and adhere to frameworks just to get funding. DG Murray Trust applying a broad demand driven approach provides NGOs with an opportunity to be eligible for funding as long as it is within the sectoral focus of the donor.

Disconnect between the donor and the NGO results in relationships going sour and regrettably, the people who actually suffer from these are neither party, but the 'poor black women'. Thus both donors and the NGOs must at all costs avoid this, as it is detrimental to the achievement of humanitarian initiatives and alleviation of poverty of the 'poor black women' who without the donors and NGOs remain stuck in hopeless situations.

Conclusion

The funding provided by Aus-Aid and DG Murray Trust addressed issues of greatest need in South Africa where the lack of financial resources create a situation whereby people of lower socio-economic status, in this case women are without access to opportunities to move out of poverty. The donors can therefore be said to address issues of empowerment and sustainable development through their support of NGOs that have programmes and interventions for poor women in informal settlements and rural areas in South Africa. Through empowerment, these women gain more control over their capabilities and aspects of their lives. Sustainability of the development intervention made possible by the funding enables future generations' access to opportunities that may have not necessarily been available to them due to their socio-economic condition. Without the funding provided by the donors, these women may remain in poverty, so Aus-Aid and the DG Murray Trust have made a commitment to the sustainable development of the 'poor black women'. The following chapter will analyse the findings of the interviews with the NGOs and the women they work with.

Chapter 5

Section A- NGOs working with 'poor black women': Problems and solutions

Introduction

Research shows that the number of NGOs in developing countries has been growing, the main areas of intervention have been gender related issues, education and training, community health initiatives, environmental awareness and protection. In addition there are many donor agencies that are willing and able to fund development initiatives and programmes for poor women. The involvement of donor agencies in funding projects and programmes that address or integrate gender issues in development is largely as a result of the concerted effort of the women's movement to have their agenda taken seriously and considered. Often, the funding made available to NGOs exceeds demand. Donors have led the focus on gender planning. Thus NGOs have begun to make a positive contribution to improving the capabilities of targeted constituencies of women. The question remains whether poor women do in reality benefit. If not and that these women in turn reap benefits. If not, then the programmes need to be adjusted. First the chapter will consider how NGOs have interpreted the concepts of empowerment and sustainable development and how they have addressed them in their programmes and projects. The relationship between the donors, NGOs and the 'poor black women' they work with will be the focus. It will then discuss whether NGO practices and donor intentions are in accord.

Empowerment

Empowerment is the process of 'generating and building capacities to exercise control of; capabilities the process is aimed at increasing women's power in decision making processes' (Stiegler, 2004:5). Power in this case is access and the ability to have an impact on any change in the lives of the women. It is the process whereby those previously denied the ability to make choices, acquire the ability and have access to opportunities. The primary function of Edutak is *'to empower women from rural areas and informal settlements with early childhood education and entrepreneurial skills in order to start their own Early Learning Centres and to provide quality pre-school*

programmes for the children in their communities' (Director). HIPPY *'trains, enriches and empowers the caregiver or parent to be the first teacher of the pre-school child, it empowers parents/caregivers with coping mechanisms through training in essential life skills and transference of knowledge on issues such as HIV/AIDS, it also provides training and employment opportunities to women in disadvantaged communities and helps develop communities through confident, empowered parents....(Director)'* Both the NGOs focus on empowerment as a process of giving women in the disadvantaged communities access to resources and opportunities which in turn enable them to improve the quality of their lives. The link between empowerment and poverty alleviation is that these women are now able to address their socio-economic status and their needs through the access to training and skills development that they have received. Both NGOs were concerned to 'empower' their beneficiaries. In HIPPY *'women in the communities that HIPPY works in, (who have been part of the programme as caregivers or parents benefiting from the training of their children), who are interested are selected from a pool of parents interested in the programme and they take primary responsibility for the delivery of the programmes in their communities'* (Training Manager). As a result they contribute to addressing educational needs of the children in their communities, and empowering other women through literacy training. The HIPPY programmes not only see the women being able to assist their children in early learning and development, but they are able to get jobs and work for HIPPY in their respective communities. The interpretation of empowerment of Edutak and HIPPY is in line with that used in this report. The women through their work the Edutak and HIPPY are now in a position to make decisions that affect them.

Empowerment according to Mosse (1993:16) can be referred to as 'a Southern women's approach to development rather than a Northern white man's approach'. This is because it is an intervention that is not prescribed, but rather aims to address needs and interests of women and they define what these are for them. In this research, this is evident as the empowerment is for the women by other women from within their disadvantaged communities. HIPPY and Edutak trainers and staff are mainly women.

However it is important to note that because of differing needs and interests, women are different so the NGO needs to ensure this is not overlooked. Empowerment is a process whereby the women try and improve not only their livelihoods but also those of others in their community. Deputy Training Manager at Edutak states, *we wish that the women at the centre not only focus on Early Childhood Development. I think they can do it; they can expand their knowledge and go to universities. We need them to be leaders. Because women as you know in the past were not getting such opportunities to expose their abilities and see how far they can do it. But we know they have the knowledge, if they could just get the chance to show how much they can do. I think there are greater things for them'.* Again the empowerment needed has to be relevant to the context and situation the women are faced with and the Moose's Southern women's approach is the relevant one.

Sustainable Development

The director of Edutak interprets sustainable development as *'a fundamental reason for the existence of the organisation, as there is a crying need for children to be properly cared for and prepared for school. Sustainable development of the women benefits the children. The proper pre-school care of children has huge financial and social benefits for the country'.* In essence this is what sustainability is about, the bigger picture and the realisation by the NGOs of the importance of this is a step in the right direction. It means that their programmes will result in success and progress in the future which is the frame of mind needed especially in terms of addressing poverty and inequality amongst women. The evidence given by Edutak shows that the programmes are benefiting children in the communities of the women trained at the centre, as it ensures their formative years which are important are addressed properly. Edutak like the donors, has made a commitment to continue the support the objective of sustainable development for its particular constituency of 'poor black women'. Measurement of the success of its programmes, can, however, only be assessed in the future. For this report, a conclusion is not possible as t it is difficult to say whether it has been achieved or not.

For development to be sustainable, it must be in harmony with nature, it must be people-centred and it must be women-centred (WCED 1987:43 in Parpart et. al 2000:32). For development to be sustainable, there also seems to be a pressing need for funding in the primary stages of programmes and projects. Funding ensures that year after year women can be trained and equipped with the necessary skills and qualifications. *'We are able to do 'sustainable development' but cannot charge people for training. Corporations have social investment money, but they cannot run the programmes that we do. Their funding of us makes sustainable development possible'* (Director, Edutak). Edutak states they have and continue to address empowerment and sustainable development because *'we train in the rural areas and in Pretoria. Most of our trainees are people who did not complete their schooling and have no prospects of further study or employment above menial status. The training gives them self-confidence, a sense of achievement and status. They are able to establish their own learning centres or be employed in one. They are able to generate an income and run a centre on acceptable business lines' (*Director).This is important as it means that the donors funding is also addressing issues of empowerment and sustainable development.

Donors and NGOs

Private funding sources finance foundations and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) which are involved in socio-economic development. The NGOs work with 'poor communities at the local level, implementing projects that states cannot or will not carry out through bilateral or multilateral development programmes' (Tisch & Wallace, 1994:55). This highlights the significant role that NGOs play in addressing development. The establishment of NGOs are often a response by 'concerned citizens' to address humanitarian issues that the government cannot or will not address (Tisch & Wallace, 1994:80). *'Many ECD organisations have closed due to lack of funding…we are doing a huge proportion of what the government should be doing and they don't help us. These are the formative years and the little ones will do so much better if they have proper foundations'* (Director, Edutak). These programmes run by the NGOs contribute to sustainable development. Yet as the NGO interviewees showed, many organisations are starved of funding. Donors appear not to meet this need.

HIPPY for instance has '*suspended programs due to funding uncertainties and crises'* (Programme Manager). More than fourteen years ago, Arrossi et al. identified structural adjustment as a critical reason for exacerbating conditions for the poor, 'cuts in government spending on social programmes, infrastructure and basic services, combined with economic recession, have increased the problems for the poor' (1994:37). Resources such as Early Childhood Development were cut out when they were providing necessary costs for development of the nation.

Because NGOs are independent of government this makes them the 'best vehicle for fostering local socio-economic development' (Tisch & Wallace, 1994:80). NGOs in this study works with the grassroots communities to try and address their needs and problems. *'It is very important because we deal with communities, these ladies are from rural communities and this is where programmes like ours are scarce. We go to them and offer courses, and help them with resources because this is where resources are scarce'* (Deputy Training Manager Edutak). There is a need for services and programmes in the poorer communities and the role of NGOs is to address these needs.

Conclusion

The reason for analysing the work of the Edutak and HIPPY is because they are the service providers and they implement the programmes funded by the donors. In terms of the NGOs role in addressing empowerment and sustainable development, although they have minimal resources, as service providers, the NGOs can be said to be key to the success and effectiveness of the funding. The following section is an analysis of findings from interviews with NGOs working with 'poor black women'.

Section B- Impact of the donor and NGO partnerships:

Improving the lives of poor women

Introduction

The effects of donor funding and NGO programmes on the lives of the recipients proves whether the funding by donors and the work of NGOs is effective or not. The women in this study were so poor not that they were in a position to gain a lot if the programmes were successful. But the question is what effect do donor and NGO partnerships have on the lives of the 'poor black women' whom they support. This section explores the outcomes of the donor and NGO partnership through an analysis of interviews with 'poor black women' who have received assistance from the NGOs under review. The chapter will begin by discussing the condition that the interviewed women are in and the challenges that they are faced with. The relationship of the donors and NGOs will then be discussed and this leads into specific focus on empowerment and sustainable development.

Situation of 'poor black women'

According to Mosse, (1993:86) 'women are not only oppressed by their gender, but by their class, race caste and colour, sharing these oppressions with men from similar social groupings. If poor men are doubly oppressed by their colour and class, poor women experience 'a triple yoke of oppression'. This highlights the level of challenges that the women interviewed in this research face. Their gender, race and socio-economic class determine their life chances. The six women interviewed were from rural areas and informal settlements in South Africa which are low socio-economic communities rife with poverty, unemployment, lack of access to resources or opportunities to improve their livelihood. The women themselves state their situation prior to work with the NGOs as '*I was from a poor family*' (Portia). Mercedes states: '*In our community there are many areas developing and there are many women who are poor and have no work*'. Rose also provided a picture of some of the challenges that women in her community are faced with, '*I meet something very very hurting in my work, sometimes I can go to a family and there is hunger, for three days the mother and the baby have nothing to eat, in Orlando*

73

there are many shacks'. Poverty in itself poses a challenge, however the effects are often greater on women. These women by virtue of their gender and because of poverty have reduced access to resources, participation in development and decision-making in areas of their lives. (Sweetman 2002:3-4). *'I was poor and didn't have any money to get this education'* (Mercedes). Her socio-economic status limited the options and choices she had in life which in turn limits the potential of moving out of her situation.

Three of the women interviewed were single mothers, whilst the other three were married and living with their husbands, but this did not exclude them from poverty. *'I live with my mother and four children'* (Violet), *'I am a mother of three and have been married for seventeen years'* (Portia) and *'I am a single lady and I support my two children'* (Rose). They now survive on the salaries they earn as home visitors which are trainers in their respective communities for HIPPY. Research by Mohanty (1991:6) highlights the importance of not viewing 'poor black women' or women in developing countries as a homogeneous group. Viewing women as a singular category and homogeneous group, results in an assumption that all women have the same history face similar challenges and are affected in similar ways. The 'poor black women' that were interviewed were not a homogeneous group; their experiences of poverty were determined by factors such as class, age and location. Although these women were from different communities all low in socio-economic ranking, they are faced by a range challenges including drugs, gangsterism, high teenage pregnancy rates, illiteracy and access to social services such as water and electricity. It is also difficult to place them in the same category because they were of different ages and cultures.

Factors creating and maintaining inequality in development

Research in India by the Women's Feature Service (1992:5) found that the lack of a gender angle in development was due to the fact that there were few or no women involved in the process and a failure to recognise that women actually do have a valuable contribution to make to the success of development. The involvement of 'poor black women' in development in and around their communities as found in this research necessitates a gender angle in development.

Not only did it allow the women an opportunity to partake in the programmes or activities that uplifted their communities, they made a contribution which will hopefully continue to give themselves and other women an opportunity to progress. This is also what this study is exploring. According to Daisy, *'when I did my first year in this programme, I did meet with some difficulties of high illiteracy in my community, but for me now in this community I see a lot of changes, a lot of women even know how to read'*. The programmes run by Edutak and HIPPY are specifically tailored for women and the progress they have made shows that it is important. It means that the programmes address their specific needs, for instance literacy training enabled some of the women not only to learn how to read and write, but how to teach others.

Østergaard stated that too often women are regarded as objects and as not active participants. Although they may be illiterate, they should be recognized in their own right as potential carriers of wisdom based on life experiences and knowledge of their reality, which the development practitioner needs (1992:133). The programmes training in early childhood development and entrepreneurial skills by Edutak and HIPPY give women a platform to partake in a process that will have an effect on them, whether positive or negative. They allowed the women an opportunity to be the masters of their own destiny. Previously they would not have been able to participate in development programmes and initiatives the way these women are now. For instance Daisy is now a family support worker in her community, a development practitioner may not necessarily have the know-how of how to deal with and address issues in that community. It seems more effective with Daisy working with members of her community, *'I train the parents so that they can teach their children, after that I go for a visit, to check the progress of the child and sometimes if there is any problem in the family, we share it with the parents and if there is need for referral for the parent then I can refer to the relevant person'*.

The gender and development (GAD) approach also ensured more participation and empowerment of the women. The GAD approach provided for a holistic approach to address development, as it aimed to be inclusive, thus more effective (Iipinge & Williams 2000:7).

This approach underlies the activities of the work of Edutak and HIPPY as it is evident that the participation of the women has resulted in success. *'You find that difficulties like poverty is a problem in my community, that is where we can come with something different that you can do that would minimise that thing of poverty in our community, introducing some of the facilities like food gardening or things where they can work with their own hands for them to survive in the community'.* This approach to development as evident in the work of the NGOs has resulted in the women not just empowering themselves, but also empowering other poor women in their communities who may not have had the opportunity to participate in Edutak and HIPPY's programmes.

Relationship with NGOs and donors

It is important to consider the relationship between the 'poor black women' -the end recipients of the funding and the donors and the NGOs. The success and effectiveness of the initiatives addressed at the targeted group has a lot to do with relationship dynamics.

Tisch & Wallace (1994:4) highlighted that foreign development assistance refers to resources which rich, developed countries provide to poor, developing countries to assist in improving the living standards of their people. It is 'an important tool used to help address some of the inequities'. In essence this is what the funding provided by Aus-Aid is. DG Murray Trust being a local foundation can also address humanitarian needs to parts in society that are less privileged. The main tenet of the 'foreign funded paradigm' is that resources should improve the quality of life of poorer people, in a manner that provides 'equitable access of these goods and services to all people' (Tisch & Wallace, 1994:4).

Poverty is also as a result of inequalities between those residing in the urban areas and those in the rural areas. The NGOs are trying to address these imbalances through 'direct action at the grassroots level'. We see this in the cases under review with these women being from rural areas and informal settlements which often are at the lower end of the socio-economic ranking.

Central to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) approach for achieving human development that is sustainable is 'people's participation' (Arrossi, Bombarolo, Hardoy, Mitlin, Coscio &Satterthwaite, 1994:34-5). In terms of involvement in the process that will affect them, the 'poor black women' interviewed here have been able to participate in addressing their needs within their families and communities. '*I was a caregiver for my sister's child; I saw there was a need for her that she should get into NGO 2's programme. Then I got work at NGO*' (Daisy).

The relationship between the NGOs and the donors and their beneficiaries are also important. The NGOs tend to have a more direct relationship with the women, '*we feel at home, we are welcome in this programme, because each and everything that happens in this programme, we are informed and we participate in every meeting*' (Daisy).

The relationship between the NGOs and the women is important as it affects the success of the intervention in that the women are able to address their needs and interests and the NGOs are able to provide assistance in how the women can meet their needs and interests. Within the relationship between the women and the donors there was a great sense of detachment because they only see them once during their program, if at all. Mercedes said '*I would like the funders to come to our work so that they can see what we are doing so they can see where we are and continue to sponsor us*'. Portia would like to meet the donors because '*they have changed my life, I was from a poor family and they have done a lot for me*'. The point for the women was to highlight the plight of their communities need for further funding, '*I would like to have contact with the sponsors so that they could see what is happening in our areas, like Westbury there is a lot of stuff that we need and they can see where their money is going and helping us a lot*' (Prudence). From the interviews with these women there is a general sense of wanting the donors to be more involved than just providing money. It is potentially a way to form linkages and partnerships for the future.

Empowerment

For women to be empowered, Moser states that they need to have greater self reliance (1993:57). *'For me personally it (the HIPPY programme) has changed me a lot, before I came to HIPPY I was a very shy person and today I can say I have self esteem. It has taught me a lot like my reading skills and to see places, meet different people with different cultures. It has helped me a lot'* (Prudence). Portia states: *'it has helped my life, because when I came here I dint know nothing like to teach the kids how to do activities, how to write, how to hold a pen….so it taught me a lot because now I know how to make a daily programme'*. Stiegler (2004:5) interprets empowerment as the process of 'generating and building capacities to exercise control of capabilities; the process is aimed at increasing women's power in decision making processes', whilst for Mosse (1993:161) it is the goals of development for women in terms of self-reliance and internal strength'. As shown in the above quotes the women involved are now able to be more self-reliant they are able to take control of decisions and processes that affect their lives. The women interviewed may not necessarily be able to articulate what empowerment means for them, but they managed to express it through a description of what they are now able to do and how it has changed their lives. Empowerment is 'associated with bottom-up rather than a top-down approach. In terms of the empowerment that these women and their communities have realised, it has been through their own efforts rather than being imposed upon them (Mosse, 1993:161). Empowerment as an approach to development is reflected in how these women encompasses their needs within their communities. Their participation has produced positive benefits in comparison to development approaches designed by developed world practitioners that would be ill-fitting to the context and challenges of women in the developing parts of the world. According to Rose *'they now see light'*. 'The process of change during their empowerment training and the effects on the one of the interviewees' consciousness bringing about their own development is often as important as the changes themselves' (Mosse, 1993:161). Daisy stated : *'you will find that with the information I got from HIPPY then I can share that information with the families that I work with and take them to the relevant people that can help them'*.

The empowerment of women that has resulted through the programme of Edutak and HIPPY has changed more than these women, but their communities as well. Daisy states *We see these women that have been empowered a little bit. We want to extend our focus and activities of the organisation so that it could be more empowering to these women, we are going to take them to the community now so they feel safe and happiness....we want to introduce food gardening so that those who are not working can come and help themselves for their families. Those who are disadvantaged can support themselves in our community'*. The empowerment of these 'poor black women' has spread within their communities and is beginning to display efforts of making this positive change sustainable. *'I own a crèche and I've gained a lot from the programmes and so have the children at the crèche and their mothers who can be released in their activities including self development'* (Mercedes).

Sustainable development

Violet states '*it has changed my life and its going to change the lives of the children'*. The progress is not limited only to the women in the communities; it will also increase opportunities for future generations. In essence the development that has occurred in these women's communities is sustainable. It has also been people centred and women centred which is necessary for sustainability (WCED 1987:43 in Parpart et. al 2000:32).

Rodda (cited in Wacker in Harcourt, 1997:128) highlights that the experiential knowledge of women is omitted or overlooked in the debate of sustainable development. This should not be the case, because of the responsibility women have assumed the role of looking after the basic needs of their communities, families and society. In this research the responsibility of the women to look after the needs of their communities, families and society is evident, according to Portia, *'I hope I am going to impart the knowledge that I have gained here to the children to improve them so that they can cope and know what to do for themselves and not to feel disadvantaged but to feel advantaged and grown from here'.* The funding provided by the donors and the services implemented by the NGOs have enabled these women to address the needs of their communities, a further example that the positive effects of the funding expand is

Mercedes, *'I always have the workshop with the mothers to tell them how children are being developed and how they grow and how they learn'*.

According to Elliott (1994) sustainable development must therefore ensure the 'welfare needs' of the poorest are addressed. This is evident in this research and it is also important as through the provision of the welfare needs for the 'poor black women' , it has given future generations in their homes, communities and societies an opportunity for their needs to be met and for their lives not to be plagued by poverty. Daisy states that *'these women are now more confident they can do almost anything'*. Again the benefits of the funding are seen not only to be enjoyed by the women in the NGOs programmes, but by women they work with in their communities. HIPPY has managed not only to provide jobs for the women who were once part of its programme, it has given them a sense of purpose and drive to help their communities address their needs.

Conclusion

Funding alone cannot be said to have assisted in addressing the empowerment and sustainable development of the 'poor black women', the programmes tailored by the NGOs to help them address the needs of their families and communities has also played a pivotal role. The relationship of Edutak, HIPPY and the women has also been part of the reason for the success of the development interventions. The following chapter discusses the conclusions and recommendations of this study.

Chapter 7

Conclusions and Recommendations

Introduction

The following conclusions came out of the research that assessed the work of donor agencies Aus-Aid and DG Murray Trust supporting the work of non-governmental organisations, Edutak and HIPPY to improve the lives of 'poor black women'. The research tried to determine whether donor agencies actually do address issues of empowerment and sustainable development of 'poor black women', specifically through their funding and if so how. It also explored what empowerment and sustainable development mean for 'poor black women' targeted by the projects supported by donor funders. The chapter will assess whether we can reach any conclusions.

The work of donor agencies that support the work of NGOs to improve the lives of 'poor black women'

Donor funders have realised a need for focus on women as part of their work. This is as there is a need for funding projects and programmes that assist women in improving their livelihoods. The realisation that women have an important role in the development process for success in their communities, families and societies is also a reason. It is important to note that donors do not provide the services that assist the women, rather their funding which supports NGO activities, enables NGOs to deliver and implement programmes and projects. The donor can therefore be said to be addressing the empowerment and sustainable development of ''poor black women' ' purely in the sense that their funding is targeted at this group and that they have measures in place that ensure that the NGOs do address the issues through the effective use of the funding provided. This may mean a rephrasing of the question to donor agencies through their funding and support of the NGOs improves the lives of the 'poor black women' through addressing the issues of empowerment and sustainable development. As noted above how can one determine whether the donor has been successful in its objectives if they rely on NGOs to achieve these objectives? The addressing of the issues of empowerment and sustainable development are through funding NGOs that will deliver the results and have a positive impact on the ''poor black women' ' they work with.

Addressing sustainable development does not have tangible results immediately, as they lie in the future, in this research it referred to the organisations commitment that they have made to sustainable development. And in this respect both Aus-Aid and DG Murray Trust can be said to have addressed these issues and the reports and reviews that they obtain from the NGOs at least once a year can provide proof. A question to bear in mind is that these NGOs that are funded by the donors act in good faith and actually address the issues at hand. The NGOs that were interviewed in this research did raise any doubts as to whether they were acting in good faith and the interviews with the women they work with illustrated the positive effects.

Do donor agencies address the issues of empowerment and sustainable development of 'poor black women'?

Empowerment was interpreted by the donors as providing alternatives for women thus enabling them to improve their livelihood. The donors have managed to do this through their financial support the women are able to provide for themselves and their families; they are able to take up a role in the further development of their communities through assisting other women in similar socio-economic situations and to help in the childhood development of the children in their communities. The women are more confident and have more self esteem. The donors have therefore addressed empowerment of ''poor black women' '.

Sustainable development as interpreted by the donors is the ability of the 'poor women' to attain a skill which can sustain them and that the impact of the initiative or programme is long term. The donors when providing funding hope that the impact affects not just the 'poor women' concerned, but their communities and societies as well as future generations. Thus through the interviews with the donors, the NGOs they work with and the ''poor black women' ' who are the end recipients of the funding, it was established that sustainable development has been addressed. Evidence of that is the work of the donors has positively affected the ''poor black women' ' and they in turn have taken what they have learnt back into their families and communities. The women have been able to address issues in their communities that include early childhood development, illiteracy, HIV/Aids awareness and gender violence.

They are also equipped with entrepreneurial skills that allow them to provide for themselves and their families. The success of addressing these issues lies in the future and cannot be realised immediately. However, Aus-Aid and Edutak have made a commitment to the realisation of these issues in the future, and this is through the addressing of the gaps that exist in the education and training of the 'poor black women'. Therefore, from the research conducted and in line with the research aims which assess the extent to which Aus-Aid and the DG Murray Trust have addressed the question of empowerment and sustainable development of 'poor black women', it can be concluded that to the best of their abilities, through the selection of the NGOs they work with and through assessing the work of NGOs through visits and from reports and reviews of the programmes and projects they fund, donor agencies do address the question of empowerment and sustainable development of ''poor black women' '.

What do empowerment and sustainable development mean for 'poor black women' targeted by the projects supported by donor funders?

Empowerment and sustainable development are both 'slippery' terms and they often have differing interpretations. It depends on what the situation and context in which the terms are defined. The definitions or interpretations used in this research were quite broad in an effort to include all interpretations. Empowerment to the women meant they had the ability to make decisions and choices about things that affected their lives. They are now able to work and provide for their families, they are also part of positive change and development in their communities which they are running; they are able to help other women who are in situations similar to the ones they were in. An important result of the projects and programmes for these ''poor black women' ' is that they are now more confident, self reliant and this allows them to partake in development knowing that their efforts are useful and will bring about positive results not just for them, but for their families, communities, society and the whole country with time. Sustainable development to the women means they can improve their livelihoods and the women and children in their communities through the work they do. The women do continue to express their gratitude and appreciation for the efforts of the donors which has given them an opportunity to make a difference.

Through the interviews with the women, it can be concluded that in relation to these women, empowerment and sustainable development has been addressed.

Recommendations

The need for funding seems to be one that can not be met by the donors due to supply exceeding demand. There has however been effort made by the donors in addressing areas of greatest need in South Africa which may or may not be receiving any assistance from the government. Another issue that needs attention is the relationship between the donors and the final recipients of their funding; in this case, the 'poor black women'.

The women interviewed were all from different communities; however a common request was to meet with their donors. This may be just as a way to thank the people who have given them access to opportunities to improve their livelihoods and to give them alternatives. It may also be so that these women feel like more than just a number who is supported by the donor. So the donor meeting them and visiting their communities or centre makes them seem like they are interested in where their investment lies and to see it accrue potential and growth. The main issue with the donors is that they do not have the time or capacity to visit their end recipients more than they already do. Should more time be made and why. The donors have already provided their financial resources, is there really a need for more?

References

Afshar, H. Ed. 1998. *Women and Empowerment-Illustrations from the Third World.* USA: St. Martin's Press Inc.

Allen, T. & Thomas, A. Ed. 2000. *Poverty and development into the 21st Century.* Oxford: The Open University in association with Oxford University Press.

Babbie, E. & Mouton, J. 2004. *The Practice of Social Research.* Cape Town: Oxford University Press Southern Africa.

Boserup, E. 1989. Woman's Role in Economic Development. London: Earthscan Publications Limited.

Bhorat, H. & Kanbur, R. 2006. *Poverty and Policy in Post-Apartheid South Africa.* Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Braidotti, R., Charkiewicz, E., Häusler, S. & Wieringa, S. 1995. *Women, the Environment and Sustainable Development: Towards a Theoretical Synthesis.* London: Zed Books Ltd.

Donor Network on Women. Available at http://www.womensnet.org.za/DNW. [2007, August].

De Vos, A.S. Ed. 2005. *Research at Grassroots: For Social Sciences and Human Service Professions.* Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Elson, D. Ed. 1991. *Male bias in the development process.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

European Commission. 2003. *Gender Equality in Development Co-operation: From Policy to Practice- The Role of the European Commission.* European Commission Directorate-General for Development.

Gelb, S. 2003. *Inequality in South Africa: Nature, causes and responses.* Johannesburg: The EDGE Institute.

Gianotten, V., Groverman, V., van Walsum, E & Zuidberg, L. 1994. *Assessing the gender impact of development projects-Case studies from Burkina Faso*. United Kingdom: Intermediate Technology Publications.

Harcourt, W. Ed. 1997. *Feminist Perspectives on Sustainable Development*. London: Zed Books Ltd.

Hemson, D. & Owusu-Ampomah. 2005. *A Better Life for All?* In Daniel, J et al. Eds. **State of the Nation 2004-2005**. Pretoria: HSRC Press.

Hirsch, A. 2005. *A Season of Hope.* Scottsville: UKZN Press.

Iipinge, E. & Williams, M. (Eds.). 2000. *Gender and Development*. Namibia: Pollination Publishers.

Jackson, C & Pearson, R Eds. 1998. *Feminist Visions of development; gender analysis and policy*. London: Routledge.

James, V.U. 1995. *Women and sustainable development in Africa*. London: Westport.

Jones, N.S.C. & Perry, T.E. 2003. Women and Social Development: Global Opportunities for Gender-Conscious Transformation in the new Millennium. *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*. Vol. 39, No. 2. Pp.95-105.

Kabeer, N. 2003. *Gender Mainstreaming in Poverty Eradication and the Millennium Development Goals: A handbook for policy-makers and other stakeholders*. Commonwealth Secretariat.

Kabeer, N. 1994. *Reversed Realities-Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought*. London: Verso.

Macdonald, M. Ed. 1994. Gender Planning in Development Agencies: Meeting the Challenge. UK: Oxfam.

Mohanty, C.T., Russo A., Torres, L. Eds. 1991. *Third World Women & the Politics of Feminism*. Indianapolis- Indiana University Press,

Molyneux, M. 1998. Analysing Women's Movements. *Development and Change*. Vol. 29, pp.219-245.

Momsen, J.H. 1991. *Women and Development in the Third World*. London: Routledge.

Moser, Caroline O. N. 1993. *Gender planning and development: theory, practice and training*. London: Routledge.

Nussbaum, M. & Glover, J. Eds. 1995. *Women, Culture and Development: A Study of Human Capabilities*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Østergaard, L. Ed. 1992. *Gender and Development: A practical guide*. London: Routledge.

Oxfam. Available at: http://www.oxfam.org.uk/what_we_do/issues/gender/poverty.htm. [2007, August].

Parpart, J.L., Connelly, M.P., Barriteau, V.E. Eds. 2000. *Theoretical Perspectives on Gender and Development*. Ottawa: International Development Research Centre.

Presser, H.B & Sen, G. Eds. 2000. *Women's Empowerment and Demographic Processes: Moving Beyond Cairo.* New York: Oxford University Press Inc.

Roberts, B. 2005. *Empty Stomachs, empty Pockets*. In Daniel, J et al. Eds. **State of the Nation 2004-2005**. Pretoria: HSRC Press.

SADC. Declaration on Gender and Development.
Available at: http://www.sadc.int/key_documents/declarations/gender.php[2007, August].

Scott, C.V. 1995. *Gender and Development-Rethinking Modernization and Dependency Theory.* London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Sen, A. 1999. *Development as Freedom.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Seekings, J. & Nattrass, N. 2005. *Class, race, and inequality in South Africa.*
New Haven: Yale University Press.

Stiegler, B. 2004. *Gender Powers Policy: Ten Questions & Answers on the concept of Gender Mainstreaming*. Bonn: Friedich-Ebert-Stiftung.

Sweetman, C. Ed. 2002. *Gender, Development and Poverty*. Great Britain: Oxfam.

Swilling, M. & Russell, B. 2002. *The Size and Scope of the Non-profit Sector in South Africa*. South Africa: Graduate School of Public and Development Management, University of Witwatersrand and The Centre for Civil Society.

United Nations. *Beijing Declaration.*
Available at: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/declar.htm.
[2007, August].

Visvanathan, N., Duggan, L., Nisonoff, L., Wiegersma, N. 1997. *The Women, Gender and Development Reader.* South Africa: David Phillip Publishers.

Women's Feature Service. 1992. *The Power to Change-Women in the third world redefine their environment*. India: Kali for Women.

Appendix 1

Interview Schedule for donors

Brief intro- name, position in organisation and responsibilities.

- What funding do you grant to organizations in South Africa?

- What is the strategic focus of your funding? Why has your organization taken this approach?

- What are the conditions attached to the funding you provide?

- What is the rationale for the approach to funding that your organization provides?

- What is the selection process that determines which non-governmental organisations you give funding to?

- What are the policies, and intentions that inform the granting of funding in your organization?

- Does your organisation fund projects that focus on sustainable development and the empowerment of 'poor black women'?

- What does empowerment of 'poor black women' mean for your organization?

- What does sustainable development of 'poor black women' mean for your organization?

- Do you think that your organization has addressed the question of empowerment and sustainable development of 'poor black women'? Why?

- How would you determine this?

- Is there a timeline of funding for your recipients? Why?

- Do you think funding contributes to sustainable development? Why?

- What is the relationship between your organisation and the recipients of your funding?

- What is your organisations view regarding the disconnect between donor intentions and non-governmental organisation practice?

Appendix 2

Interview schedule for the recipients of funding

- Please tell me about your family?

- Where do you live? With whom?

- Tell me about the initiatives in your community

- How many people do you support?

- Do you work? Why?

- What kind of work do you do?

- What is your relationship with …. (Name of NGO)?

- Is it a good one or a bad one? Why?

- What do you do with the NGO?

- Do you think this NGO helps poor women? How?

- Do you know what funding is?

- Do you receive any funding? What?

- Whom do you receive funding from?

- Why do you think you receive funding?

- What do you think about funding?

- Do you think it has helped you? Why?

- Is there anything you need to do to receive funding?

- What relationship do you have those who give you funding?

- Do you think it is a positive or negative relationship? Why?

- Do you think more funding will be beneficial for you?

- Are there any changes you would like to see? Explain.

Appendix 3

Interview Schedule for the non-governmental organisations

Brief intro-name and position in organisation and responsibilities

- Please provide a brief history of your organisation.

- What is the focus of your organization?

- What is the rationale for the approach of your organisation?

- What are your policies and practices that inform the work of your organisation?

- Do you receive any donor funding?

- In what form is the funding available?

- What percentage of your income does the funding constitute?

- Are there any conditions attached to the funding you receive? What are they?

- What are your organisations intentions when making use of the funding received?

- What groups or people does your organisation deal with?

- Does this organization carry out a selection process of the groups or people you work with?

- What does empowerment of 'poor black women' mean for your organization?

- What does sustainable development of 'poor black women' mean for your organization?

- Do you think that your organization has addressed the question of empowerment and sustainable development of 'poor black women'? Why?

- How would you determine this?

- Do you think funding contributes to sustainable development? Why?

- What is the relationship between your organization and the recipients of your programmes?

- What is your opinion regarding the disconnect between donor intentions and your organizations policies?

<u>Appendix 4</u>

<u>Consent to participate in research</u>

- You have been asked to participate in a research study.
- You have been informed about the study by Ashleigh Thompson (Student # 0712399M)
- You have been informed that the interview will be recorded and the information will not be used for any other study.
- All information provided by you is private and confidential.
- You may contact Ashleigh Thompson at 0832072073 any time if you have any questions about the study.
- Your participation in this study is voluntary and you will not be penalized or lose benefits if you refuse to participate or decide to stop.
- Your name and or organisation will not be mentioned, a pseudonym will be used.
- If you agree to participate you will be given a signed copy of this document.
- The research study, including the above information, has been described to me orally. I understand what involvement in the study means and I voluntarily agree to participate.

_____   _____

Signature of Participant   Date

_____   _____

Signature of Witness   Date

Plagiarism Declaration

1. I know that plagiarism is wrong. Plagiarism is to use another's work and to pretend that it is ones own.

2. I have used the Harvard convention for citation and referencing. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this essay/ report/ project from the work or works of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

3. This essay is my own work.

4. I have not allowed, and will not allow, anyone to copy my work with the intention of passing it off as his or her own work.

SIGNATURE: …………………………………………..

DATE: …………………………………………………..