UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

SCHOOL OF & ARCHITECTURE PLANNING

For Us, By Us? Investigating How Women Leaders Centre Women in their Development Planning Practice.

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A research report submitted to the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, School of Architecture and Planning, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Science in Development Planning, December 2020.

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School of Architecture and Planning

MSc Development Planning Research Report

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22 December 2020

Declaration

I, **Sikhokele Ncame**, declare that this research report is my unaided work. It is being submitted for the Degree of Master of Science in Development Planning to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree for examination to any other University.

Signed on the **22nd** day of **December** 2020.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CGE	Commission for Gender Equality
GAD	Gender and Development
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GII	Gender Inequality Index
HDI	Human Development Index
HDR	Human Development Report
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
JSE	Johannesburg Stock Exchange
KPIs	Key Performance Indicators
LFPR	Labour Force Participation Rates
NDP	National Development Plan
NGPF	National Gender Policy Framework
NPM	New Public Management
OCB	Organisational Citizenship Behaviour
OSW	Office on the Status of Women
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SMME	Small Medium and Micro Enterprise
SMS	Senior Management Service
UN	United Nations
WEGE	Women Empowerment and Gender Equality Bill

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ABSTRACT

The majority of studies that have been conducted on the subject matter of women leaders have primarily focused on how women's styles of leadership differ from those of their male counterparts. The study presented in this research report, which was conducted in the period between March 2019 and April 2020, investigates how women in top leadership positions in development organisations centre women at the grassroots level in their daily development practice. The title of this study, **"For Us, By Us?..."** is indicative of how this study interrogates the extent to which women leaders feel an obligation to be women-centric in their development planning practice once they ascend into top leadership positions in South Africa's development organisations.

In creating a literary framework for the research, the study has highlighted the barriers women face in their ascension to top management positions within public and private sector organisations. It has also drawn attention to how, even when appointed, women often command less power than their male colleagues. This leads the study to explore why and how women-sensitive approaches to development have found a home in the gender and development (GAD) discourse, and how this discourse has been translated in the creation of legislation in the South African context. Since the drafting of the Constitution in 1996, gender mainstreaming in the South African legislative framework has been a practice that has been encouraged and endorsed by the Bill of Rights and Section 9(4). It is widely understood that public policy has to assess the different implications of any planned policy action for people of different genders. This includes legislation and programmes in all areas and levels of civic life. While strides towards gender equality have been made in the period since then, a lot more still needs to be done to ensure that women enjoy equal rights and equal opportunity.

The research findings chapter concerns itself with the practicalities of women-centric development and the strategic ways women leaders work towards realising this ideal for their presumed constituents in the development field. One of the biggest takeaways from this chapter is that there is no set or defined outcome when you incorporate more women into the leadership structure of an organisation. The social justice imperatives that women choose to align themselves with professionally are contingent on a larger set of variables that are not necessarily determined by their gender. The women in this study, however, made it a point to centre women in the development initiatives and programmes they championed in their professional spaces. The presence of women in leadership does not have a definitive set of outcomes, but the study revealed that there is the consensus that **representation matters.**

1 FOR US? BY US? INTRODUCING THE RESEARCH REPORT

"I want to see more women seeing leadership and innovation and being creators as a space that is welcoming to them." -- Afua Osei

1.1 Introduction

The subject of women and leadership has been the subject of empirical research since the 1980s (Nixdorff, 2004). A less researched aspect of this subject matter is how women in leadership affect the outcomes and livelihoods of the women they interact with as part of their professional practice. This is what this study seeks to explore in the context of development organisations and the field of development. Development can be defined as the process through which societies around the world increase the possibilities that people have to realise their potential (Kevane, 2014). From this definition, development planning is thus the institutional arrangements and initiatives society develops to expand the range of possibilities for its citizens to be fulfilled. It seeks to equip people with the capabilities and freedom to realise their true potential. While it is a noble exercise, development planning does not affect everyone equally and fairly. The spaces that we inhabit as people mirror broader power structures and hegemonies that favour some features over others (Eliasson, 2017). This accounts for why society is continuously defined by the haves and the have nots, and why certain groups of people advance at the expense of others.

The state, as well as a number of public and private sector organisations, are involved in pushing forward development initiatives for various interest groups across society. Outside of the state, development organisations can play an important role in targeting vulnerable groups such as women; the landless; disabled persons; historically disadvantaged groups and groups affected by poverty and inequality. Traditional planning practices, by both the state and development organisations, have often neglected to fully acknowledge the effects that planning has on different groupings and interests within communities, consequently not taking the multitude of everyday living into consideration in its design. It is because of this that there has been a move towards more gender-sensitive approaches to planning that consider that planning has remained largely gendered – adversely affecting vulnerable and marginal groups such as women in their ranks. UN-HABITAT (2012a) highlights that planners initially neglected the issue of gender as the profession developed, with subsequent movements in planning now attempting to address gender equality and the requirements for recognising and accommodating the specific needs of women and men in urban environments around the world.

In the context of this study, the term 'women leaders' is not used to stereotype women or further gender the ideals of leadership. Instead, the term is used to draw specific attention to

leaders who are women within the development field, without justifying the fact that social representations of leadership remain predominantly male. This study acknowledges that the gender and development framework is one that considers both men and women within its discourse, as will be explored later on in this report. For the purposes of analysing the extent to which women leaders use their influence to affect the outcomes of women on the ground, however, approaches to development that are women-sensitive will be the primary focus.

1.2 Problem Statement

Feminist spatial and development practitioners have, for a long time, raised the issue that the voices, experiences, challenges and value of marginal voices (like those of children, the elderly, ethnic minorities, the LGBTQI+ and others) are under-represented in planning and development discourse and decision-making (Eliasson, 2017 and Moser, 1993). While there have, and continue to be, small pockets within urban and rural spaces where these groups have been included in decision-making processes, there are considerably more places where they are not (Eliasson, 2017). Women continue to be excluded from platforms that make decisions on issues that affect them directly such as healthcare; reproductive rights; access to family planning services and access to education.

In Africa specifically, women still face major challenges and obstacles despite some progress being made towards women's empowerment and gender equality. In many African countries, primary development policies do not take into account the differences in income and power between men and women (Mutume, 2005). This affects efforts to finance programmes that reduce inequality, the consequences of which are felt heavily by women. African women face further subjugation by being denied education and employment opportunities and having limited opportunities in trade, industry and government (Mutume, 2005). The exclusion of women from key decision-making processes does not only occur in developing countries. A number of developed nations continue to undo the years of activist work that has sought to empower women and gain them a seat at the table. An example of this can be drawn from the Republican Party's delayed vote on the updated measure to repeal and replace the United States of America's Affordable Care Act in 2017. The bill had all the makings of regressive gender politics where a group of 13 men were deciding the fate of millions of American women. The bill barred women from getting care from Planned Parenthood; it no longer mandated insurance companies to cover services such as maternity care and birth control; and it put women in a position where they would have to pay $1000.00 more per month for reproductive services (Graves, 2017). From these cases, an argument can be made that beyond the issue of representation, the question of who has real power has long-lasting effects on everyday people on the ground. It can also be concluded that African governments and organisations are not doing enough to consistently affirm equal

opportunities, equal rights and equal treatment policies. In the case where the policies do exist, they are not being fully enforced.

A focus on women-sensitive approaches to development and development planning involves rectifying long-standing inequalities experienced by women involving men, including the subordination of women in all aspects of society (UN-HABITAT, 2012a). According to the UN Habitat (2012b), the creation of inclusive planning procedures will only be achieved when the diverse experiences and needs of both men and women are integrated into planning and development. This research acknowledges that 1) gender equity cannot happen without men; 2) masculinity norms affect outcomes for both men and women; and 3) men can use their power and privilege to be effective advocates for the empowerment of women (Amaya et al, 2019).

While getting women into leadership positions within public office and development organisations is a vital step towards representation and equality, the presence of women in these positions does not guarantee that the interests of women will be represented (Beall, 1996 and Rai, 1995). Ideas surrounding political beliefs, ideology, race and class all intersect, and sometimes compete with the claims of gender, which tends to complicate the relationship between women in leadership[1] and their presumed female constituency (Beall, 1996). The empowerment of women and their leadership development needs to stretch far beyond filling mandatory quotas and employment equity targets. It is an incorrect assumption to think that women are primarily defined by one aspect of their identity given that there are other intersecting identities that also influence the way in which they experience the world. It is for this reason that this research seeks to explore this relationship (women leaders and their presumed constituency) in the context of women-sensitive approaches to development.

1.3 Research Objectives

This study has a strong focus on the individual practice of women leaders in the development space and the implications of said practice on the everyday woman. The main objectives of the research are to:

- Explore the strategies employed by women leaders to centre women in the agendas of their respective organisations;
- Establish how women leaders position themselves within the women and development movement; and

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[1] The phrases "women in power" and "women in leadership positions" cannot be used interchangeably in this report because they do not necessarily mean the same thing. Women can be in leadership positions without wielding power or having any real influence. For the purposes of this report, "women in leadership positions" will be the preferred phase.

- Determine whether the presence of women leaders in development planning organisations has had any significant bearing on the prioritisation of women's issues within their respective organisations and the development space as a whole.

1.4   Research Rationale

Most of South Africa's development organisations work within a sustainable human settlements paradigm that actively promotes integrated development and the improved livelihood of communities (NGO Pulse, 2006). These organisations can be broadly categorised into two main groups, namely those with a specific focus on housing and those dealing with issues related to governance (NGO Pulse, 2006). It is because of the immense impact of these organisations that this study will focus on the strategies its women leaders employ once they are in leadership positions to advance issues that are important to women. Given that increased representation in the decision-making process does not necessarily ensure influential impact, this study will explore issues relating to the productive role of women in the development field; access to the same opportunities and resources as men; power, control and agency over their own lives both inside and outside of the home; and women's ability to effect change.

1.5   Main Research Question

The main research question for the study is:

What strategies are being employed by women leaders working in development organisations to incorporate more centrally women-sensitive approaches to development planning?

1.6   Research Sub-Questions

- How do women leaders perceive women-sensitive approaches to development planning?
- What strategies do women leaders employ to centre women in their everyday practice?
- To what extent do women leaders recognise the value in women-sensitive approaches to development planning?
- What opportunities does the presence of women leaders present for development organisations?

1.7   Research Design

The reliability of any study is dependent on the way in which the intended concept is researched or measured, and how it is subsequently presented to its intended audience. Research design is thus concerned with the overall strategy a researcher employs to incorporate various components of their study in a way that is coherent, logical and that

addresses their main research question (De Vaus, 2001). It represents the path researchers take to conduct their research, from when they formulate their research problem and question to when they present the data they have gathered during their period of study. Broadly, this study intends to investigate whether having women in leadership positions within development and development organisations has any bearing on the prioritisation of women's issues in real-time development planning practice. It seeks to gain a better understanding of the complicated relationship that exists between representation in development planning and meaningful change on the ground. The main research question interrogates what strategies (if any) are being employed by women leaders to centre women's issues in their daily practice as professionals in the field of development planning. This chapter of the research report will outline the way in which this study has been conducted and the methods that have been used to collect and interpret data in trying to answer the main research question.

1.7.1   Research Approach

Scientific research is premised on finding a solution to an identified problem. The two broad approaches to data collection and interpretation that are widely used in research are qualitative and quantitative research (Kalra- et al, 2013). The nature of this study is qualitative. Qualitative research understands research queries as humanistic or idealistic approaches where people's beliefs, experiences, attitudes and interactions are sought to be interpreted and understood (Kalra et al, 2013). An important aspect of qualitative research is that it is based on the fundamental idea that reality is subjective unlike quantitative research where each individual participating in a study can be given a numerical score on each of the variables that are being explored (Cropley, 2019:7).

The data for this study has been gathered through an analysis of existing literature (theory and policy), electronic media (TED Talks and audio-visual material) as well as through direct interactions in the form of semi-structured interviews with four women occupying top leadership positions within four South African development organisations. The existing literature and media provide context to the study and outline the debates and discourses about women leaders; power; gender and development; and the field of development. The interviews conducted with research participants provide real-time insights into the aforementioned concepts and into how the participating women leaders understand the world as it relates to the research question.

1.7.2   Research Participants

The participants forming part of this study were chosen through a process of purposive sampling. This type of sampling, also sometimes referred to as judgemental, involves the researcher relying on their own judgement when choosing the members of the population

they want to participate in their study. The participants were sampled according to two fundamental criteria, namely: 1) them being women (with the study identifying women as adult humans that explicitly includes not only cisgender women, but trans women and feminine-identifying gender queer and non-binary people); and 2) them occupying high ranking leadership positions (including but not limited to: executive and managing directors, board members and founders) within development organisations and/or development NGOs in South Africa. These organisations are involved in several activities that are focused on policy advocacy work, promoting people-centred approaches to housing and local government policy formulation – in addition to advocating for changes in the segregated landscape of South Africa.

1. **How and Why the Research Participants Were Chosen**

When the study was still in its proposal phase, the initial plan had been to interview at least a dozen women leaders from just as many development organisations. These women leaders were going to form a diverse sample that consisted of women from different races; ethnicities; nationalities; socio-economic backgrounds; geographies all around the country; different areas of expertise within the development field; etc. After drafting this very ambitious initial list of possible participants, obtaining the contact details of these women become the next priority. When initial contact with possible participants was made (for those whose contact details were publicly available), it became clear that gaining access to women in top leadership positions in the development field was not going to be as simple as initially assumed.

After weeks of either not receiving replies to my email correspondence or receiving polite emails declining to participate in the study, the prospects of the robust sample gradually started to dwindle. As a researcher, the criteria for research participants become very simple. A woman leader in a top position in a development organisation. The demographic profile of participants became less important when the study was faced with the reality of possibly not having anyone participate in it. After a couple of more weeks of back and forth correspondence, the first two interviews managed to be secured with two participants. One of these interviews took place in person as the participant resides in Johannesburg, while the other one was telephonic as the participant was in Pietermaritzburg.

At the beginning of December 2019, two more participants scheduled their interviews telephonically and sacrificed a few hours of their festive season to participate in the study. At this point, a lot of time had passed and on the research timetable, the study was falling behind. Further attempts were made to try and secure at least two more interviews, but these never came to fruition. Realising that the data collected from the four participants was insightful and rich, data analysis was the next logical step in the research process. This explains how and why the participants were chosen, as well as why these specific women leaders were engaged.

2. **Gaining Access to Participants and Fieldwork**

The difficulties encountered in securing interview participants can be attributed to three main factors, namely: scheduling conflicts (women leaders are busy); possible participants not thinking they would contribute meaningfully to the study and thus declining; and the long time it took for the study to obtain ethics clearance. The latter will be discussed in a separate sub-section.

Outside of the challenges experienced in trying to secure participants, the actual interviews went well. Interview participants were very excited about the study and about being a part of it. They engaged meaningfully with the interview questions and spoke candidly about their individual experiences and perspectives. One of the interviews went so well, its duration was almost two hours. While the writing process has been stressful, the fieldwork aspect of this study was thoroughly enjoyed once interview participants had been secured. At first, it was intimidating interviewing such successful women but once the conversation started, it was great. Being in proximity to the kind of success I aspire to one day as a professional was enriching.

As a result of how things unfolded during the process of securing participants, the women who participated in this study are not demographically representative of women leaders in the development field in South Africa. A short profile of each research participant has been included in Chapter 4 of this report. The profile maintains the anonymity of participants and their organisations while giving insight into the participant and the root of their perspectives.

1.8   Details of Data Collection

The data from research participants, as previously stated, was collected through semi-structured interviews that were facilitated by a single interview guide. These interviews were conducted both in person and telephonically as the research participants in this study reside in different parts of the country. Below is a table cross-referencing some of the questions in the interview guide with the research sub-questions they sought to respond to. All of these questions and their subsequent answers contributed to answering the main research question as comprehensively as possible.

Table 1: A Cross-Reference of Research Sub-Questions and Interview Questions

RESEARCH SUB-QUESTIONS	INTERVIEW QUESTIONS
How do women leaders perceive gender-sensitive approaches to development planning?	▪ In your opinion, do you think the increasing emphasis on women in development and development planning is warranted? I.e. do you think there is a need for it?

RESEARCH SUB-QUESTIONS	INTERVIEW QUESTIONS
	▪ What is your understanding of women-sensitive approaches to development planning? I.e. what do you understand the significance of considering women in development practice to be? ▪ What do you think women-sensitive approaches to development and development planning are trying to achieve? Do you think these objectives are valid? ▪ What are your general thoughts on this approach to development planning? ▪ Do you think that women are prioritised in development planning by the state and development organisations such as yours? Why do you think this is the case?
What strategies do women leaders employ to centre gender in their everyday practice?	▪ What strategies (if any) do you employ in your professional capacity and practice to centre those issues that are important to women?
To what extent do women leaders recognise the value in women-sensitive approaches to development planning?	▪ Do you think that women should be singled out as a priority group in development and development planning? If so, how and why? If not, why? ▪ As a leader in your organisation, how do you position yourself when it comes to issues of gender equality within development planning? I.e. where do you stand? ▪ Which interests do you prioritise in your everyday practice as a women leader in a development organisation? Which causes/groups/struggles are near and dear to you? ▪ Do you, in any way, incorporate these interests in the agenda of your organisation? If so, how? If not, why?
What opportunities does the presence of women leaders present for development NGOs and non-profit organisations?	▪ Would you describe yourself as an advocate for women's rights and issues in your professional capacity? If so, how and why? If not, why? ▪ Have you been a part of any initiatives or programmes that were specifically targeted at women in your professional capacity? If so, what was your experience? If not, why?

RESEARCH SUB-QUESTIONS	INTERVIEW QUESTIONS
	▪ In your opinion, what opportunities does the presence of women leaders present for development organisations? Are there any disadvantages?

Source: Ncame, 2019

The full interview guide (Annexure 1) includes a host of other supporting questions that allowed for a robust understanding of the perspectives and experiences of each individual participant. Given that the interviews were semi-structured, the interview guide was standardized for the most part but did allow for digressions and further probing, depending on the flow of the conversations with participants. Some of the interviews were audio-recorded for data analysis purposes.

1.8.1 Data analysis

Data analysis is the process used by a researcher to reduce data collected to an interpretation or a story (Kawulich, 2004). This is the stage of the research process that involves going through all the data collected; summarising and categorising it; noting patterns and themes in the information; and presenting the data in a way that is logical and clear (Kawulich, 2004). The analysis of the data for this study followed five distinct stages that are summarized in the table below.

Table 2: Stages of the Data Analysis Process

STAGE OF THE DATA ANALYSIS PROCESS	DESCRIPTION
Stage 1: Initial Review of the Data Collected	This stage of the analysis process involved playing back the audio from the interviews conducted with each participant and making rough notes of initial findings, patterns and links in the data. This stage was primarily concerned with becoming familiar with the data post field-work stage.
Stage 2: Transcribing the Data Collected	This stage of the analysis was concerned with translating the audio interviews into written form. This assisted in synthesizing the data and better understanding it. This stage also allowed for the data to be put into a format that can be packaged for the research report and edited accordingly.
Stage 3: Categorising and Sorting the Data	This stage of the analysis involved taking the written interview transcripts and extracting the major themes and patterns that emerged from all the interviews. From this, linkages and conflicts

STAGE OF THE DATA ANALYSIS PROCESS	DESCRIPTION
	were identified in the responses of the respective participants and initial assumptions about the data were made.
Stage 4: Writing Up Research Findings	This stage was an extension of the previous one. Following the initial assumptions made about the data, detailed findings were written up according to the identified themes and categories. Data from participants was compared; linkages and conflicts were identified, and initial answers to the research questions were drafted.
Stage 5: Linking Research Findings to Literary Themes and Discourses	The findings from the data collected were then referenced back to the major themes and concepts covered in the literature review.

Source: Ncame, S (2019)

1.8.2   Research Limitations

The nature of qualitative research, as discussed in a previous sub-section, is subjective. This imposes several limitations on a qualitative study that affect how the data collected can be interpreted and whether it is able to be applied in a general societal context. The time-consuming nature of qualitative research, as well as the way it limits the size of the sample used, are other factors that can limit the scope of a qualitative study and impose limitations on the research process. With this in mind, the following factors have been identified as key limitations to this study:

1. **Size of the Sample**

Initially, the study had sought to interview at least a dozen women from just as many development organisations in South Africa. It would have been great to have been able to secure the sample size that was part of the initial plan, but this was not possible. The insights gleaned from the four women participants proved invaluable and allowed for the study to continue and for meaningful findings to be collected. Being in the presence of these women was also fantastic. A truly amazing experience.

2. **Ethical Clearance Process**

The process of obtaining ethical clearance from the School of Architecture and Planning was long and spanned over a couple of months. The delay in obtaining this clearance cast a cloud of uncertainty in terms of whether the study could continue and delayed the conducting of fieldwork by a considerable amount of time. Eventually, ethical clearance was granted by the School and the research commenced. As the researcher, I could only start contacting possible

participants when clearance had been granted. From that point, it took a couple of weeks to secure interviews, with some having to be scheduled in December 2019. Although the process of obtaining clearance was long, it highlighted the importance of research ethics and how careful measures need to be taken to ensure the legitimacy of any study, particularly a study involving human subjects.

1.8.3   Ethical Issues

Research ethics are similar to the ethical principles of social responsibility. They are not just the requirements written in a code of ethics such as the one utilised by Wits University, but also act as the researcher's philosophical and value proposition, as suggested by (Zukauskas, 2018). In conducting this study, the participation of the women interviewed was completely voluntary and no participant was forced or coerced to agree to an interview. No participants were offered any money in exchange for their participation and there were no conflicts of interest related to the researcher and the study participants. The study did not include any sensitive or vulnerable groups (as described by the Wits Central Ethics Committee) and the questions posed to participants did not expose them to any risks or possible trauma.

The protection of the identities of participants was a fundamental aspect of the terms agreed to by research participants. The women interviewed as part of the study were guaranteed confidentiality in the data collection process and anonymity in the resultant research report using pseudonyms or un-identifying references. All participants were made aware of the purpose and objectives of the research, as well as how their insights would be used solely for academic purposes.

1.9   Positionality: What Prompted the Study?

As a researcher and as a young black woman, I have always been passionate about women. I have always been curious about how we navigate the world and how this then translates into how we experience the working environment once we leave school. As a black woman, the overlapping and concurrent forms of oppression that define my existence also add different layers to my experience and I have always been interested in other women's experiences too. Having worked in the development space for two years after leaving school, the idea of women's ascension up the corporate and organisational ladder has continued to take up a lot of space in my mind. I have always wondered whether the social justice causes I believe in and advocate for would ever inform my professional practice when I am in a position to make decisions and influence real-life agendas.

This curiosity is what catalysed this study and what made me look into women in leadership positions in the development space. One day, I hope to be one of these women in whatever role or organisation I may find myself. Of particular importance to me were the strategies

women employ once they are in leadership to empower other women. Believing in the empowerment of women as a concept is different to acting on that belief and being proactive in being a part of change. Essentially, I wanted to find out whether women can "walk the talk" because one day, I hope I will be able to. This point of departure helped me frame my research question, as well as the interview guide I subsequently created to help me answer my main question. It was important for me to find out what leadership means to those women who have been given the titles and the roles of being leaders in their organisations. I was also interested to find out what leadership means to them in the context of their own personal identities and how they bring these into the work that they do.

As the world increasingly starts to recognise the importance of representation in institutions and popular culture, whether said representation has any tangible contribution to the groups it seeks to empower is where my interest lies. I believe it is important to interrogate this issue in trying to bridge inequality and in giving everyone equal access and opportunity. I think where passion and social justice meet professionalism in the development field is where we can start to make meaningful contributions in the work we do every day. Development is a field that works with people and their personal and collective outcomes and successes. It is important that as practitioners we are able stand for something that will ground the work that we do and that will fulfil a greater purpose than that which is professional. I hope this study will be useful to the field of development and I hope it will prompt others to research this topic and its associated discussion points further going forward.

1.10 Chapter Outline

Chapter One: For Us? By Us? Introducing the Research Report

This chapter introduces the research and provides a framework for how the study will determine the impact women's leadership in development organisations has on the prioritization of women's issues in development. The chapter details the research question and sub-questions; as well as the methods used in the collection of data.

Chapter Two: Locating Women and Development in SA Policy and Strategic Frameworks

This chapter deals with the policy context of women and development in South Africa. It explores how women are written into South African policy using the following headings: Gender Mainstreaming in South African Policy Making; the South African Constitution, Gender Equality and Human Development; The National Gender Policy Framework; The Strategic Framework for Gender Equality within the Public Service; the National Development Plan (NDP); and the Women Empowerment and Gender Equality Bill.

Chapter Three: Leadership, Development, the Workplace and Power: Literature Review

The literature review chapter explores the literary discourses that underpin the study and the related concepts that facilitate a clearer understand about women leaders and the manner in which they conduct themselves in their professional capacity. It explores issues related to gender and development; power and leadership; women's leadership development; factors inhibiting women leaders' prosperity in their work; and the role of development organisations in society. This chapter seeks to give context to the research and its findings.

Chapter Four: Women Leaders in Development: Perspectives and Lived Experiences

This is the findings chapter of the report. This chapter details how four women leaders centre women's issues in their development planning practice and what their perspectives on women's issues within development are. This chapter has been organised according to three major themes that emerged from the interviews conducted with interview participants, namely: Leadership and Identity; Prioritising Women in Development: Real-Life Perspectives; and Women Leaders and Value Adding: A Critique.

Chapter Five: So What? Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter concludes the report by providing a summary of the key findings of the study and the lessons that can be learned from the manner in which South African Policy is drafted. This chapter also makes recommendations regarding policy formulation in the context of women in South Africa and how women can be put in the best position to succeed in the workplace. Lastly, the chapter closes off by looking into recommendations for future research.

2   LOCATING WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT IN SA POLICY AND STRATEGIC FRAMEWORKS

"I stand for simple justice, equal opportunity and human rights. The indispensable elements in a democratic society – and well worth fighting for." **– Sophia Williams-De Bruyn**

2.1   Introduction

Gender equality is a fundamental principle of the South African constitution and has been mainstreamed into policy discourse in the country in recent years. The definition of gender equality is contested but in simple terms, it can be described as the equal ease of access to resources and opportunities, regardless of gender. This includes economic participation and decision-making; and the government valuing different aspirations and needs equally, regardless of gender. 26 years into South Africa's democracy and the country has made some positive strides in transforming policies that constrained women's participation in the social, economic and political spheres of society. Although there has been progress regarding the legal status of women to date, South African women do not enjoy equal rights in practice. Unequal gender relations, coupled with the complexities of race, class, religion, disability and geographic location further exacerbate the challenges faced by women. Patriarchy remains entrenched across all the different groups and institutions in our society. This leads to the under-representation of women in key decision-making structures, as well as the creation of hostile and violent spaces within our societies for women. The focus of this research report on women is particularly important when one considers that within South African society, women carry more burden than their male counterparts in the social, political, legal and cultural spheres of their existence (Ntlama and Stevens, 2016).

While we can agree that the liberties women have on paper do not translate into their actual lived experiences, it is still important to locate the research within policy discourse and evaluate the legal strides that have been made thus far. The new political dispensation that was ushered into the country in 1994 made provision for gender equality and the equal rights of all people, primarily through the adoption of the constitution in 1996. Since then, a number of policies and frameworks have been adopted that have sought to further this agenda and create a more just and equitable society for South African women. With global and local movements such as #MeToo and #UyineneMrwetyana coming into the forefront in recent years, it is becoming even more important to create policies that not only recognize women as vulnerable groups within our societies, but that also allow for institutional reforms that enable women to thrive and prosper in all aspects of their lives.

In trying to understand how women leaders centre women's issues in their daily development planning practice, it is important to evaluate the policy environment they work within because it affects how they navigate their professional responsibilities.

This chapter will begin by exploring what gender mainstreaming is in the South African context. It will then briefly review the supreme law of the land and the provisions it has made for women in the country. Lastly, this chapter will explore South Africa's policy perspectives on women through the analysis of five policies, namely: The South African Constitution; The National Development Plan; The Gender Policy Framework; The Strategic Framework for Gender Equality within the Public Service; and the Women Empowerment and Gender Equality Bill.

2.2   Gender Mainstreaming in South African Policy Making

In 1995, gender mainstreaming was identified as an important process in effecting change in the new democratic South Africa (Moothoo-Padayachie, 2011). This process represented an agenda towards the empowerment of women, and a firm commitment to mainstreaming gender in the Public Service by creating the National Gender Machinery (Moothoo-Padayachie, 2011). The rationale behind this strategy came directly from wanting gender to take centre stage in public policy instead of remaining at the margins of development practice (Mukhopadhyay, 2004).

In simple terms, gender mainstreaming can be defined as a strategy to support the goal of gender equality. According to Mukhopadhyay (2004:95), this strategy involves two main aspects, namely: "the integration of gender equality concerns into the analyses and formulation of all policies, programmes and projects" and "initiatives to enable women as well as men to formulate and express their views and participate in decision making across all issues." Gender mainstreaming is important in the context of participatory democracy. It enables international agreements in the area of gender given that it is still considered a marginalised issue (Moothoo-Padayachie, 2011). It is also said to be important when wanting to align with international organisations such as the United Nations (UN). The UN is increasingly focused on issues of gender and the empowerment of women.

In South Africa, the Gender Policy Framework and the Strategic Framework for Gender Equality within the Public Service ensure that the process of gender mainstreaming is at the centre of transformation processes in the policies, procedures, practices, programmes and structures of the country (Morwamohube and Van Djik, 2015). The Women Empowerment and Equality Bill gives effect to Section 9 of the Constitution that argues for the equal representation of women in all decision-making structures and platforms (Morwamohube and Van Djik, 2015). These legislations will be explored in the subsequent sub-sections of this chapter.

As a concept and a strategy, gender mainstreaming is not fully understood by government officers. This creates a very narrow focus of women, affecting the ability of decision-makers to make decisions that yield desired outcomes. Some of the challenges that gender mainstreaming contends with in South Africa are:

- The empowerment of women is not taking place in a significant and meaningful way in state departments;
- There is no clearly defined institutional framework to facilitate achieving the vision of gender mainstreaming;
- Gender mainstreaming is not included in departmental planning, monitoring and budgeting processes;
- There is insufficient provision made for family-friendly policies that will allow women to attend to their practical needs;
- There is a lack of support for gender mainstreaming within senior management;
- Recruitment and promotion practices are not devoid of subtle discrimination;
- Women face sexual harassment in the workplace and are further victimised by the societal culture of protecting perpetrators; and
- There is a lack of institutional capacity to monitor compliance on gender mainstreaming within departments (The Public Service Commission, 2015).

The public sector has not made a strong enough commitment to upholding and executing ideals related to gender mainstreaming. It is possible that this comes from a lack of understanding about what it practically entails and requires in order to be executed successfully. Gender mainstreaming in South Africa has been conceptualised narrowly, presenting only employment equity targets as its indicators (The Public Service commission, 2015).

This re-enforces the point made earlier about South Africa being progressive on paper but not in the physical realities of women. The manner in which gender mainstreaming is written into legislation will be explored through an analysis of South Africa's policy perspectives on women later on in this chapter.

2.3 The South African Constitution, Gender Equality and Human Development
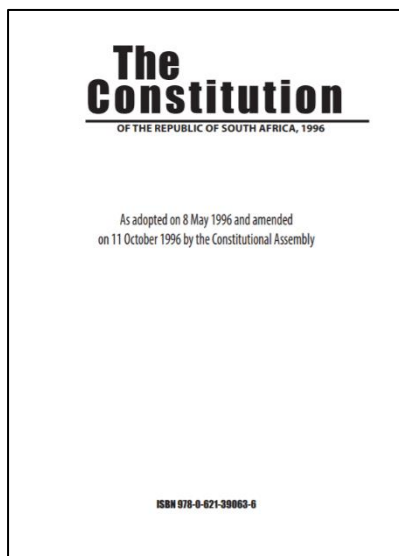
The Constitution of South Africa, passed in 1996, is the supreme law of the land. It was passed by parliament in 1996 and details the values; the rights of the people; and the way parliament, the legislatures and the different spheres of government operate. Section 9 of the Constitution is titled 'equality', and women are protected by the full range of rights guaranteed in that section and the constitution as a whole. Section 9 (3) of the Constitution of South Africa states that: "The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth" (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996: 1247). Some of these prohibitions are clearly put in place to protect women specifically. Section 9(4) further states that: "No person may unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds in terms of subsection (3). National legislation must be enacted to prevent or prohibit unfair discrimination" (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996:1247).

Chapter two of the Constitution is the Bill of Rights. The introduction of this bill ensured that South African women, particularly black women, were formally recognised as citizens in their own right (South African History Online, 2019). Prior to this, women were regarded as second-class citizens who were under the legal control of their fathers or their husbands. This was also echoed by customary law in the way that it excluded black women from rights related to children and property. It designated them the status of being minors and disenfranchised them in many ways. 26 years into the South African democracy and the legacy of this still lingers. Women, particularly black women, remain socially and economically disadvantaged and at the bottom of the societal totem pole. The systematic exclusion of black South Africans from adequate educational opportunities also resulted in a large unskilled labour force that the economy was unable to absorb. A large part of this labour force consists of women.

The following table presents South African gender inequality indicators in comparison to Sub-Saharan Africa. These were extracted from The Status of Women in the South African Economy report compiled by the Department of Women in 2015.

Table 3: Gender Inequality Indicators in Comparison to Sub-Saharan Africa

Country	South Africa	Sub-Saharan Africa
Gender Inequality Index (2013)	0.461	0.578
Maternal mortality ratio (deaths per 100 000 live births) (2010)	300	474
Adolescent birth rate (per 1,000 aged 15-19) (2010/2015)	50.9	109.7
Female share of seats in parliament (2013)	41.1	21.7
Females with some secondary education (% aged 25+) (2005-2012)	72.7	21.9
Males with some secondary education (% aged 25+) (2005-2012)	75.9	31.9
Female LFPR (% aged 15 and above) (2012)	44.2	63.6
Male LFPR (% aged 15 and above) (2012)	60.0	76.3

Source: Department of Women (2015a)

The gender inequality index (GII) was introduced in 2010 and reflects inequalities in reproductive health, empowerment and economic activity (UNDP, 2019). Reproductive health is measured using maternal mortality and adolescent birth rates; empowerment is measured by the percentage of parliamentary seats held by women and the levels of secondary and tertiary education by both genders; and economic activity is measured using the labour market participation rate for both men and women (UNDP, 2019). Data gathered in the period between 2005 and 2015 shows that as of 2015, South Africa's GII was lower than that of Sub-Saharan Africa. The figures in this table can be broken down as follows:

- South Africa's mortality rate is less than two thirds that of the region;
- The country's adolescent birth rate is half that of the region;
- In South Africa, women occupy twice as many seats in parliament as a proportion of the total in the country than they do in the rest of the region;
- There is an almost gender parity in the proportion of adults with some form of secondary education in the country than there is in the region; and
- South Africa only performs poorly relative to the region in terms of labour force participation rates (LFPR). The LFPR is the proportion of the working age population, aged 15 and above that is economically active, either employed or unemployed (Department of Women, 2015a:29).

While South Africa still has a long way to go in terms of the above-mentioned gender inequality indicators and gender equality as a whole, it is in better standing than the rest of the region. Given that South Africa's GII remains higher than other developing BRICS nations such as Brazil, China and the Russian Federation, the comparison to Sub-Saharan Africa is not an indication that the country is making notable strides across the board. In the 2018 index, South Africa had a GII value of 0.422, ranking 97th out of 162 countries. The breakdown of the GII in 2018 was as follows:

- 41.8% of South African parliamentary seats are held by women;

- 75% of adult women have at least reached a secondary level of education in the country compared to 78.2% of their male counterparts;
- 138/100 000 women die as a result of pregnancy related issues;
- The adolescent birth rate in South Africa is 67.9 births per 1000 women between the ages 15-19; and
- Women's participation in the labour market is 48.9% compared to 62.6% for men (UNDP, 2019).

South Africa also does well when compared to other African countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo (ranked 145th) and Namibia (ranked 108th).

Figure 1: South Africa's GII in Comparison to the DRC, Namibia and Sub-Saharan Africa, 2018

	GII value	GII Rank	Maternal mortality ratio	Adolescent birth rate	Female seats in parliament (%)	Population with at least some secondary education (%)		Labour force participation rate (%)	
						Female	Male	Female	Male
South Africa	0.422	97	138.0	67.9	41.8	75.0	78.2	48.9	62.6
Congo	0.579	145	442.0	112.2	14.0	46.7	51.3	66.9	71.6
Namibia	0.460	108	265.0	63.6	39.7	40.5	41.9	56.2	65.9
Sub-Saharan Africa	0.573	—	550.0	104.7	23.5	28.8	39.8	63.5	72.9
High HDI	0.331	—	56.0	33.6	24.4	68.9	74.5	53.9	75.6

Maternal mortality ratio is expressed in number of deaths per 100,000 live births and adolescent birth rate is expressed in number of births per 1,000 women ages 15-19.

Source: UNDP (2019)

The UNDP's 2019 Human Development Report (HDR) emphasises how policies matter for inequalities and inequalities matter for policies (UNDP, 2019). Looking at inequalities from a human development perspective interrogates how inequalities matter; how they manifest themselves; and how best they can be tackled (UNDP, 2019). This report goes on to ascertain that gender inequality is correlated with a loss of human development due to inequality (UNDP, 2019:148). Drawing from the discussions in the literature chapter, imbalances in power eventually translate into political dominance that can lead to greater gender inequality. The actions that countries take to try to combat this type of inequality will not take the form of a single policy, nor will the same type of policies be appropriate for all nations. Policy and legislative responses have to take into account the significant differences in history, institutions, culture, social norms, incomes and administrative capabilities. The incorporation of human development within this section has sought to frame the context for why the Constitution as a supreme law was and still is necessary in South Africa. The Constitution is asserted and upheld through various policies, frameworks, legislations and the judiciary. Forming part of the judiciary is the constitutional court. Over the years, the Constitutional court has handed down several judgements that have affirmed and entrenched women's rights. These judgements range from ruling against depriving married women of the benefits of the life insurance policies taken out by their husbands for them; and putting in place new Acts focusing on issues such as domestic

violence and child maintenance (Department of Women, 2015a). The constitutional court also ensures that acts and laws that are found to be unconstitutional are corrected.

2.4 Upholding the Constitution: South African Policy Perspectives on Women

This section of the chapter will explore how women have been incorporated and mainstreamed into South African policy. This chapter will focus on a few policies that are centred on development and gender equality. The scope of analysis for this section of the chapter is limited and not extensive. Even so, this section will provide meaningful insights into how women are factored into policy in the South African context.

2.4.1 The National Gender Policy Framework

South Africa's National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality

Prepared by:
The Office on the Status of Women

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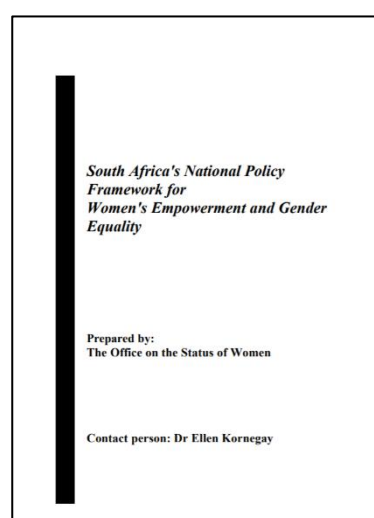
The National Gender Policy Framework (NGPF), formerly known as South Africa's Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equity was drafted by the Office on the Status of Women (OSW). This policy framework details South Africa's vision for gender equality and how it plans to realise this ideal (The National Gender Policy Framework, 2000). This framework, by its own admission, is not meant to be prescriptive for the different sectors of government but instead details overarching principles that will be integrated by respective sectors in their policies, practices and programmes (The National Gender Policy Framework, 2000). The core mandate of the department responsible for drafting this framework was to establish mechanisms and procedures that would advance the government and its institutions towards gender equality. The principles and guidelines that have guided the drafting of this document are drawn from a consultative process with various stakeholders from what was called the 'New South Africa" (The National Gender Policy Framework, 2000). Currently, the implementation and the coordination of the priorities that were identified by the National Gender Policy Framework are centralised within the Ministry of Women in the Presidency. The drafting of the document is heavily premised on the following key assumptions:

- The NGPF has taken a basic needs (also known as practical needs) approach that takes into special consideration women living in peri-urban and rural areas;
- The basic needs approach is holistic and encourages an inter-sectoral strategy for programme implementation;
- The focus of the policy on women's empowerment affirms the satisfaction of basic needs as a necessary precondition for the identification and the attainment of strategic needs;

- The NGPF is driven by broad issues rather than being sector specific. It promotes a cooperative approach among sectors towards achieving gender equality;

- The framework draws heavily on the Beijing Platform of Action as an analytical and organising tool as it is comprehensive; and

- As a generic policy framework, the NGPF will set guidelines that various sectors can use to issue more detailed policy documents that are sector specific and that integrate the principles outlined in the framework into their prevailing policy and strategic documents (The National Gender Policy Framework, 2000).

The NGPF acknowledges that in moving towards gender equality, distinctions of race, class, sexuality, disability, age, etc. should not be overlooked. With this being said, the framework also highlights how similarities should be used to strengthen the initiatives and the programmes proposed by the framework. Broadly, the NGPF proposes the following overarching principles:

- Women's rights should be seen as human rights;

- Customary, cultural and religious practices should be subject to the right to equality;

- Affirmative action programmes that target women should be developed and implemented;

- Policies that have traditionally presented barriers to women's access to basic needs, the economy and decision-making should be amended or done away with;

- Legislation that encourages women's empowerment and gender equality should be drafted wherever the need arises;

- Capacity should be established at both national and provincial levels, as well as in public and private organisations to ensure that the policy framework is implemented. Resources should be specifically designated to guarantee the implementation of programs;

- Policy makers and managers must receive training that will equip them with knowledge, skills and attitudes in gender analysis and gender equality; and

- Effective collaborative strategies must be developed to enhance the relationships between formal political structures such as the cabinet, the ministries, government departments, the CGE, the OSW and other relevant portfolio committees (The National Gender Policy Framework, 2000).

The overarching principles of this policy framework are indicative of the time it was written. All of the principles outlined in this framework are quite standard when viewed through a contemporary lens. Since the policy framework was drafted in 2000, much progress has been made towards achieving some of its principles to date. The NGPF is one of the policies that seeks to assert the constitution, particularly section 9 as it relates to women. Legislatively, women's rights are now recognised as human rights. The constitutional court has made strides

in handing down judgements that have ensured equality for women when it comes to culture, religion and customary practices. Gender mainstreaming has become a requirement in policy-making and the empowerment of women has been made mandatory across all sectors of government, albeit the enforcement of it has not been up to par. There is still a long way to go in terms of building the capacity within government to drive gender equality but positive steps forward have been taken in the 9 years since the policy framework came into effect. The analysis of documents such as the National Development Plan (NDP) later on in this chapter will further highlight the extent the thinking around gender equality in policy-making has changed and how it has become nuanced and complex.

2.4.2   The Strategic Framework for Gender Equality within the Public Service (2006-2015)
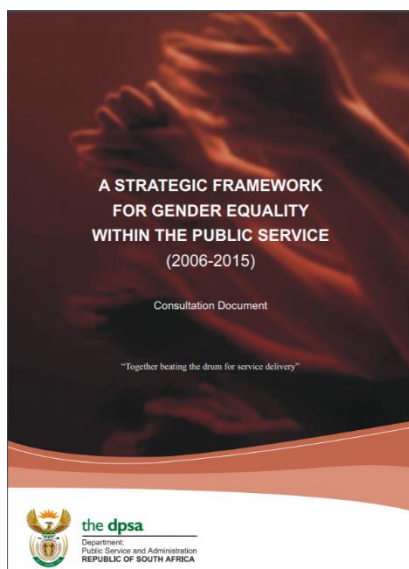
The Strategic Framework for Gender Equality within the Public Service (2006-2015) is aimed at achieving women's empowerment and gender equality in the workplace. It is also aimed at ensuring a better quality of life for all women through improved and accelerated service delivery by the public service (The Strategic Framework for Gender Equality within the Public Service, 2006). The framework was drafted in 2006 by the Department of Public Service and Administration and was premised on the promotion and protection of the human dignity and rights of women, including those women with disabilities (The Strategic Framework for Gender Equality within the Public Service, 2006). This strategic framework primarily sought to champion the creation of an enabling environment that allowed for the development of strategies, mechanisms and interventions by government departments and provincial administrations, to achieve the objectives of women's empowerment and gender equality (The Strategic Framework for Gender Equality within the Public Service, 2006). Since this document is rooted in the principles of the National Gender Policy Framework, it holds all of the overarching ideals previously outlined in this chapter in trying to transform the public sector. This strategic framework is also aligned to the following eight national government priority areas, as outlined in the Constitution:

- The transformation of South Africa into a non-sexist state;
- The eradication of poverty, the development of an advanced economy and the transformation of the second economy in a way that actively contributes to development;
- Ensuring that the safety of citizens is a top priority;

- Ensuring that all people benefit equally from the South African democracy;
- The building of a democratic state that serves the people according to the eight Batho Pele principles;
- The transformation of South Africa into a non-racial society;
- Promoting an environment of spiritual and material fulfilment for every South African; and
- Contributing to the attainment of the African Renaissance and the transforming of the livelihoods of all the people of South Africa (Mokhele, 2016).

In trying to carry out the vision embodied by the above priority areas, the strategic approach adopted by this framework is based on short, medium and long-term objectives that are mainly targeted towards gender mainstreaming (The Strategic Framework for Gender Equality within the Public Service, 2006:14). This is illustrated in the table below.

Table 4: A Strategic Approach for the Strategic Framework for Gender Equality within the Public Service

	Short-Term Objectives	Medium-Term Objectives	Long-Term Objectives
Strategy Approach	Increased representation of and participation by women in key decision-making levels. Improved service delivery to women	Policy development and implementation Phase. Training and development phase. Impact evaluation of interventions.	Gender Mainstreaming Strategy for women's empowerment and gender equality. Transformation for non-sexism.
Target Date	31 March 2009	March 2010	March 2015
Macro-Indicator/s	50% women appointed in all levels of senior management service (SMS). Increased access by women to basic services, health care, education, land, housing, economic opportunities, finance and micro-credit.	Recruitment and other HR Policies reviewed, and where necessary, new policies formulated. Guidelines for implementation of policies developed. Full rollout of Training Manual on Gender Mainstreaming in the Public Service. Number of women trained in leadership and management. Number of public servants trained on mainstreaming in the Public Service. Impact Assessment reports	Sectoral Gender mainstreaming Strategy in place. Gender considerations integrated into all programmes, policies, projects. Impact evaluation reports. Equitable access by men and women, including persons with disabilities, elderly women and young women to resources and opportunities

Source: The Strategic Framework for Gender Equality within the Public Service (2006:13)

Notable strides have been made towards achieving some of the objectives highlighted above. The short-term objectives of the strategy that called for the increased representation and participation of women at key decision-making levels have come to fruition in a historic way

in 2019. For the first time in the history of the country, women make up half of the government's cabinet following changes that were made by President Cyril Ramaphosa. This development has cemented South Africa as one of ten other countries that have achieved gender parity or a female majority in their cabinets (Fleming, 2019). More women are also occupying key decision-making positions within various sectors of government. As of 2018, 40% of the SMS in the public service and more than 50% of employees in the public service are women. This type of progress has been slower in the private sector and in state-owned enterprises, with women only comprising 21.2% of management positions (Department of women, 2019). The development and the effective implementation of a national and sectoral gender mainstreaming strategy is still a work in progress. Public management and public service reform in the South African democracy has been influenced by the core values of the New Public Management (NPM), which places a strong emphasis on decentralised management (Bangani and Vyas-Doorgapersad, 2020). In South Africa, this decentralisation has not yet been achieved in terms of embracing diversity. This is why the South African public service has lagged in following through on gender mainstreaming and equality processes, structures and programmes (Bangani and Vyas-Doorgapersad, 2020). Gains have been made, however, in hiring practices and in achieving equitable access for men, women and people with disabilities.

Unlike the National Gender Policy Framework, this strategy is a lot more prescriptive in terms of the interventions that need to be taken to implement the principles of the project. Its implementation plan includes a number of short, medium and long-term projects that are geared towards carrying out the strategic approach outlined in the table above. It is quite comprehensive in its nature and has the potential to effect change if sufficient capacity is built to implement it correctly.

2.4.3   The National Development Plan 2030
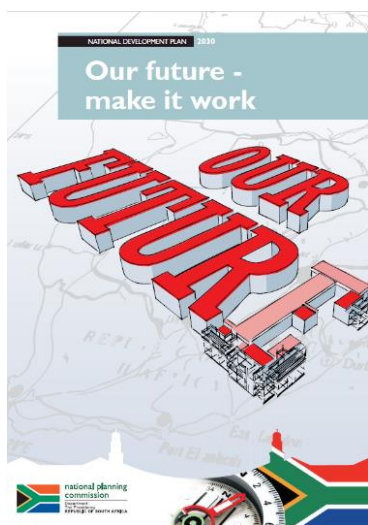
The NDP 2030 is a long-range plan for South Africa that details the desired destination of the country and that identifies the role of the different sectors of society in reaching that goal (South African Government, 2013). The overarching goals of the NDP are to eliminate poverty and reduce inequality by 2030. According to the plan, South Africa can reach these objectives by "drawing on the energies of its citizens; creating an inclusive economy; building capabilities within the country; enhancing the capacity of the state; and promoting leadership and partnerships throughout society" (National Development Plan, 2012:14). The plan is not only seen as a vison for the country but a policy driver as well. In driving various policies that will ultimately result in the implementation of the plan, the plan itself needs to take into account the differential ways its prescriptions will affect men and women. The NDP's focus where women are concerned is focused on interventions that take women, race and geographic location into account in the recommendations and interventions it proposes. Gender equality is also one of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that form part of the NDP's vision. Whether the plan has done enough to propose meaningful interventions for women will be discussed as part of this analysis.

Women make up 52% of the total South African population and are an important policy constituency in South Africa. Women also make up a large portion of the poor population in the country, especially in rural areas (Department of Women, 2015b). Taking into account the vulnerable state of South African women, the NDP has proposed a range of measures to advance women's equality in South Africa. These measures can be summarised as follows:

- Employment in the public sector should specifically focus on unemployed women;
- The transformation of the economy should involve the active participation of women;
- Women leaders in all sectors of society should be given adequate support;
- Active steps need to be taken to enable women to gain access to basic services;
- Women should feel safe and protected by the law and should not live in fear of being violated;
- There should be nutrition intervention for pregnant women; and
- Women should have access to antiretroviral treatment and other effective routine micro-biocides (Department of Women, 2015b:10).

In analysing the perspective of the NDP on women, an argument can be made that the measures it proposes are not sufficient. The Commission for Gender Equality (CGE) found that the NDP had been drafted in a gender blind fashion that has contributed to a lack of

understanding of the impact the policies suggested may or may not have on women (Commission for Gender Equality, 2014:64). It is useful to note that in conducting this analysis, the CGE was carrying out its legislated mandate of reviewing state documents from a gender perspective. This assists in ensuring that policy-making is gender aware and responsive (Commission for Gender Equality, 2014:2). The CGE was not consulted in the process of drafting the plan and as a result, the plan lacks human rights discourse in its analysis and planning. The critiques of the plan brought forward by the CGE are extensive but a few of the main ones can be summarised as follows:

- The NDP does not adequately draw a link between the complexities of policy-making and the patriarchal culture that has contributed to gender equality;
- The plan does not frame the concept of growth in a developmental context that embraces gender equality and women's empowerment;
- The plan has not taken into account gender disaggregated data as it relates to key issues such as urbanisation, education, human settlements, agriculture, social protection, building safer communities and infrastructure;
- Gender inequality within the plan is framed too broadly. The concept should rather specify what is being addressed and highlight specific issues such as gender income inequality or inequality in terms of race for example;
- The chapter about the economy and employment does not acknowledge that women have been and remain marginalised within the country's economy;
- The plan fails to address the fact that women remain under-represented in the workplace, particularly in senior management positions;
- The failure of the plan to recognise women's contribution to the economy through unpaid domestic, child care and home-based care for the elderly, the disabled or the ill, continues to create an environment for women to become trapped in situations of poverty;
- The NDP does not mention the gendered implications of access to basic services such as electricity and water or the mainstreaming of gender into service delivery;
- Where rural economies and rural development is concerned, the NDP does not factor the unique challenges and barriers faced by women in these areas;
- Rural development that is focused on agriculture should be based on successful gender sensitive land reform, employment creation and environmental protections;
- The NDP has major gaps when it comes to women's health, particularly as it relates to women's reproductive health. It is also silent on the medical consequences of GBV and rape in particular; and

- In talking about societal transformation and uniting the country, the NDP makes a major omission in its analysis by limiting this to class and racial divides where improving public spaces and services is concerned (Commission for Gender Equality, 2014).

The critique of the CGE highlights the importance of policy approaches that consider women as more than just an add-on or an after-thought. The addition of gender-disaggregated data is an important step in ensuring that women, their potential, their needs and their standing in society form an integral part of policies and documents such as the NDP. The lack of consultation with a stakeholder as important as the CGE indicates that the plan and the commission tasked with putting it together did not consider how policy making for men and women is inherently different. The NDP did not probe into the realities of women in the country and did not seem to have a firm grasp on how meaningful strides towards gender equality and women's empowerment will look like from the perspective of a long-range vision for the country such as this one. Given that the state has an obligation to ensure that planning and policy processes are gender mainstreamed, the plan is disappointing. It is often said that when you plan for women, you plan for everyone. The vision for 2030 cannot leave the issues that affect more than half of the population to interpretation. It needs to be clearer in its stance where women are concerned in order to ensure a sustainable, implementable plan that will result in meaningful outcomes for the population.
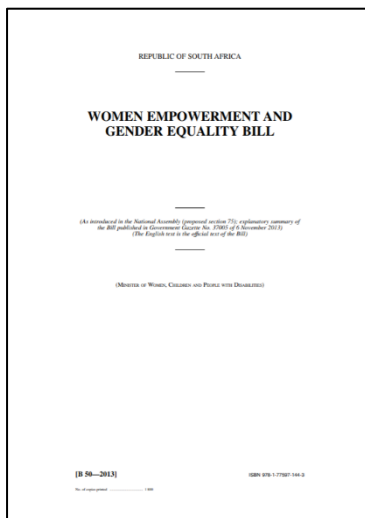
2.4.4 Women Empowerment and Gender Equality Bill

The Women Empowerment and Gender Equality Bill (WEGE) was drafted to establish a legislative framework for the empowerment of women (Women Empowerment and Gender Equality Bill, 2013). The primary aim of the bill is to align all the aspects of law and implementation relating to women empowerment and the appointment and representation of women in decision-making positions and structures (Women Empowerment and Gender Equality Bill, 2013:1). The bill calls for at least 50% of decision-making posts in South Africa to be filled by women; it seeks to improve women's access to education, training and skills development; it wants to ensure the safety of women by eliminating harmful practices such as gender based violence; and it lobbies for the protection of women's reproductive health (Bliss, 2014). The main provisions and interventions of the WEGE are found in chapters two and three.

Chapter 2 focuses on the social development of women. It asserts that patriarchal attitudes and the legacy of apartheid continue to hinder women's access to education. This needs to be addressed by both public and private bodies. This chapter frames education and training

as a tool for women to participate in decision-making structures; become educated on their reproductive rights; create equal opportunity for women; provide knowledge on harmful practices such gender-based violence; and foster an environment that encourages gender equality and social cohesion (Women Empowerment and Gender Equality Bill, 2013). Chapter 2 further emphasises the importance of the delivery of women's healthcare in achieving the realisation of reproductive rights. Chapter 3 deals with equal representation and the empowerment of women. It frames these ideals through the progressive realisation of a minimum of 50% representation and meaningful participation of women in public and private decision-making structures (Women Empowerment and Gender Equality Bill, 2013). This is inclusive of businesses and political parties. This chapter also emphasises gender mainstreaming, as well as the socio-economic empowerment of women in the rural areas and women with disabilities.

It is clear to see that the provisions of this bill are aligned with the core principles that are enshrined in the Constitution. As such, few people would argue with the intentions of the bill. The critiques of the bill therefore do not centre on its justifications or its legitimacy, but on the manner in which the state has drafted this bill and how it has approached wanting to enforce and implement it. Some of the major critiques that have emerged from this bill are summarised below.

1. **The legislation is vague.**

The entire bill lacks the detail that would have clarified how it plans to realise the ambitions it has for South African women. Each section and chapter of the bill follows the same template and does not give adequate guidance on what the 'further plans for implementation' that the minister might request need to contain and look like. The bill leaves a lot open to interpretation. This makes it very unclear and possibly hard to enforce and implement.

2. **The bill focuses many of its interventions on the 4.2 million women who already have formal sector employment.**

This is problematic given that the vast majority of women in South Africa engage in economic activities that do not fall within the formal sector. Some of the interventions in this bill exclude the vast majority of women in the country who exist on the margins of formality to make a living and survive every day. What was supposed to be a bill for all women now becomes a bill for those who fit the narrow classifications that allow them to be recognised by the bill's interventions.

3. **The bill has fallen into the trap of using broad descriptive ideals without meaningfully addressing the plight of ordinary South African women**.

When the bill was sent out for comment, it sparked fierce criticism from women's rights organisations. The bill was met with hostility and outrage, as it was felt that its provisions were insignificant in the face of the injustices women face on a daily basis (Bliss, 2014). The bill presents a plan or vision for the ideals it would like to realise, but lacks an implementation plan that includes actionable activities and mechanism for tracking progress and deliverables. The lack of enforcement mechanisms in the bill is one of the main reasons why it has been widely discredited (Bliss, 2014).

4. **There is a huge overlap between the WEGE and already existing legislation**

Many of the provisions that are made in the WEGE can be found in other legislation such as the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act of 2000 (Bliss, 2014). Policy-making would benefit from enforcing those provisions that already exist instead of re-purposing them into new legislation that could cause a lack of harmonisation from a policy perspective.

The WEGE is an example of a piece of legislation that had the opportunity to effect meaningful change but has not. While the bill might be politically palatable, it does not adequately engage with the patriarchal structures of society and the complex root causes of women's issues in the country (Bliss, 2014). The bill is very simplistic in how it frames the myriad of issues women have to contend with daily and it places the implementation of the bill entirely on the public and private bodies that are expected to adhere to it.

2.5 Conclusion

In analysing how women are located within South African policy and strategic frameworks, this chapter has highlighted how unclear policy-makers are on how substantive gender equality and women's empowerment can be achieved in fact and not only in law. There is a recurring pattern of broad ideals, vague principles and surface-level interventions in South African policy-making. This fails to deal with the complexities of women and how they exist in society. There are also major overlaps and duplications in how South African policies locate women. Different policies are regurgitating the same provisions that are continuously not being enforced and implemented.

The policies analysed in this chapter are clear on what they want to achieve but not necessarily on how they want to do this practically. Because of this, what should be a strategic framework ends up reading as a vision or a wish list. More needs to be done to construct concrete plans to achieve gender mainstreaming; the economic, social, cultural and spiritual empowerment of women; and the transformation of the public sector as it relates to the provision of basic services for women. The government has to consult as extensively as it can in order to create meaningful policies. The exclusion of key stakeholders such as the CGE is a

grave oversight that has proven to have adverse effects on the policy deliverables that are produced.

The table below presents a summary of the policies and strategic frameworks contained within this chapter of the report. This tool is useful in critically reflecting on the similarities, differences and nuances between and within each of these documents.

Table 5: Summary of Policies and Strategic Frameworks as they relate to Women's Empowerment

Policy Document	Who drafted the document?	When was the document drafted? (ie. What was happening in the country?)	Key Issues Addressed	Tone of Document Regarding Gender Mainstreaming	Implementation Achievements/ Shortcomings
The Constitution	Constitutional Assembly (New parliament after 1994 elections)	May 8, 1996 (Approximately 2 years after SA's first democratic elections).	The values; rights of the people; and the way parliament, the legislatures and the different spheres of government operate.	**Advocate for gender mainstreaming** Formally recognised women as citizens in their own right with the introduction of the Bill of Rights (Chapter 2) and Section 9(4).	**Achievements:** Guarantees basic human rights and fundamental freedoms; Lays out policy measures and targets areas of particular concern to women (such as sex roles and stereotyping, affirmative action, trafficking in women, access to health care, education and benefits, and the special needs of rural women). **Shortcomings:** Has failed to protect women's constitutional rights in practice. SA has a GBV and femicide problem.
The National Gender Policy Framework	Office on the Status of Women	2000	South Africa's vision for gender equality and how to realise it. Establish mechanisms and procedures that would advance the government and its institutions towards gender equality.	**Advocate for gender mainstreaming** Details overarching principles that will be integrated by respective sectors in their policies, practices and programmes.	**Achievements:** Since the policy framework was drafted in 2000, much progress has been made towards achieving some of its principles to date. The constitutional court has made strides in handing down judgements that have ensured equality for women when it comes to culture, religion and customary practices. Gender mainstreaming has become a requirement in policy-making and the empowerment of women has been made mandatory

Policy Document	Who drafted the document?	When was the document drafted? (ie. What was happening in the country?)	Key Issues Addressed	Tone of Document Regarding Gender Mainstreaming	Implementation Achievements/ Shortcomings
					across all sectors of government, albeit the enforcement of it has not been up to par.
Strategic Framework for Gender Equality within the Public Service (2006-2015)	Department of Public Service and Administration	2006 (50th anniversary of women's march to the Union Buildings in Pretoria).	Development of strategies, mechanisms and interventions by government departments and provincial administrations, to achieve the objectives of women's empowerment and gender equality in the public sector.	**Advocate for gender mainstreaming** The strategic approach adopted by this framework was based on short, medium and long-term objectives that were mainly targeted towards gender mainstreaming.	**Achievements:** For the first time in the history of the country, women make up half of the government's cabinet following changes that were made by President Cyril Ramaphosa in 2019. More women are also occupying key decision-making positions within various sectors of government.
The National Development Plan	National Planning Commission	August 2012 (Marikana Massacre, 16 August)	Elimination of poverty and reduced inequality by 2030.	**Not an advocate for gender mainstreaming** The NDP did not probe into the realities of women in the country and had no firm grasp on how meaningful strides towards gender equality and women's empowerment will look like from the perspective of a long-range vision for the country.	**Shortcomings:** NDP had been drafted in a gender blind fashion that has contributed to a lack of understanding of the impact the policies suggested may or may not have on women. The plan lacks human rights discourse in its analysis and planning.
Women Empowerment and Gender Equality Bill	The Ministry of Women, Children and People with Disabilities (Now called **the Ministry** of Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities**).**	6 November 2013 (ANC enforced a 50% representation of women in leadership for the first time in its history).	To align all the aspects of law and implementation relating to women empowerment and the appointment and representation of women in decision-making positions and structures.	**Advocate for gender mainstreaming** The bill calls for at least 50% of decision-making posts in South Africa to be filled by women. Seeks to improve women's access to education, training and skills development. Wants to ensure the safety of women by eliminating harmful practices such as gender based violence. Lobbies for the protection of women's reproductive health	**Shortcomings:** Legislation is vague Focuses many of its interventions on the 4.2 million women who already have formal sector employment. Uses broad descriptive ideals without meaningfully addressing the plight of ordinary South African women. Huge overlap between the WEGE and already existing legislation.

Source: Ncame, S (2020)

Another aspect of South-African policy-making that is holding women back is how policies related to women do not do enough to challenge the inherently oppressive status quo. The provisions for women in policy are 'safe' and do not engage with the harsh realities of South African society. If policy is going to be transformative, it needs to push boundaries. The inherently conservative nature of our society and its decision-makers is likely to be what is preventing this from happening. While the government has made great strides in increasing the number of women in its apparatus, this alone is not enough. Women-centric policy making must move beyond surface-level analyses of the status quo. It needs to acknowledge that women's issues are complex and need a substantial challenging of the status quo to be meaningful and significant.

3 LEADERSHIP, DEVELOPMENT, THE WORKPLACE AND POWER: A LITERATURE REVIEW

"Leadership is all about providing a vision and a direction for the organisation and the ability to inspire people to go there with you." -- **Nonkululeko Gobodo**

3.1 Introduction

The world as we know it is still largely run by men. While the number of women occupying leadership positions in various organisations and sectors across society has undoubtedly increased in the last 100 years, it is still widely acknowledged that women remain under-represented in top leadership positions (Cook and Glass, 2014). Patriarchy continues to pose the most significant barrier to women who find themselves outside the structures of decision-making and power (Poltera, 2019). This is particularly true in the African context. Members of Parliament (MPs) who are women in countries such as Uganda often have their capacity to introduce legislative change circumscribed because of the low numbers of women in Parliament (Poltera, 2019). Even when they attempt to negotiate and caucus across party lines, the numbers are just not there. Women in this position often find themselves having to engage support for women's issues and pro-women legislation from men.

In South Africa, women remain underrepresented at the executive level of corporate South Africa with 31% of companies having no female representation in their senior leadership roles (IOL, 2018). Between 2015 and 2017, female directorships in corporate South Africa also fell from 21% to 19%, 85% of which were non-executive (IOL, 2018). This effectively means that women are mainly concentrated in middle management and are not ascending to the top like their male counterparts. In trying to explain why this is the case, (Cook and Glass, 2014; and Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001) explain that a glass ceiling exists that presents women with invisible barriers in their ascension to top leadership positions because of factors such as discrimination; implicit bias; tokenism; a lack of quality mentoring; and exclusion from social and informational networks.

Other barriers and obstacles faced by women in the workplace, as highlighted by Sandberg (2013:8) include blatant and covert sexism; sexual harassment; and a lack of flexibility and access to child care and the parental leave that make it possible for women to pursue their career ambitions while also raising children. In 2013, women only occupied 20% of seats in parliament globally and lead 17 of the 195 independent countries in the world (Sandberg, 2013:5). Women face considerably more barriers to becoming top leaders in their given sectors than men do, particularly for leadership roles that are traditionally dominated by men (Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001).

Given the many factors that prevent women from becoming top leaders in their respective fields, it is an interesting academic exercise to study those women who do manage to shatter the glass ceiling and become leaders in their area of expertise. Of particular interest to this study are women leaders in the development field and their everyday practice as it relates to women's issues. The literature on this specific subject matter is not vast and has not been researched extensively, particularly in the South African context. O'Neil and Plank (2015:5) highlight that there are few studies that report on how women's leadership has influenced outcomes for women where factors such as more equitable laws and policy; improved services and inclusive political settlements are concerned. This is what this study is interested in exploring.

There have been some common findings that have identified factors that influence whether or not women are able to use their leadership capabilities and positions to advance their interests and achieve their goals, whatever those may be (O'Neil and Plank, 2015). These goals are not necessarily always aligned to advancing the interests of women, which is why there is a gap in the literature regarding this specific subject matter. In a study of the women's rights organisation Nagorik Uddyog in Bangladesh, it was argued that, fostering women's solidarity and common interests while also enabling them to reflect on their diversity was critical to building women's leadership in the organisation (O'Neil and Plank, 2015). This study also found women had more presence in male-dominated, traditional community mediation and were able to get outcomes that are more favourable for women in property or marriage disputes (O'Neil and Plank, 2015).

The way women leaders conduct themselves within their profession also has a major bearing on whether or not they achieve their goals and drive their mandates in the places where they work. In an interview with Julian Bond for the Exploration in Black Leadership series, Vivian Pinn, (American physician, scientist and pathologist) highlights how women leaders always have to be conscious of how they speak out in their positions of influence in order to not be seen as aggressive and 'bossy'. (Explorations in Black Leadership, 2014). Women leaders always have to strike a balance between being perceived as outgoing and knowledgeable without seeming obnoxious, something their male counterparts do not necessarily have to deal with as overtly (Explorations in Black Leadership, 2014). These sentiments are echoed by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) about women leaders in the workplace. In South Africa, there is an obvious mismatch between qualities traditionally associated with leaders and those associated with women (HSRC, 2013). Behaviours that are authoritative and assertive (typically linked with leadership) tend to be viewed as atypical or unattractive in women (HSRC, 2013). What is deemed assertive in a man is viewed as abrasive in a woman. This creates a situation where women always need to make trade-offs between competence and likability, often greatly compromising their career and prospects for ascension (HSRC, 2013). This does not only

affect women leaders in the context of organisational hierarchies, but the women who are lower in the organisational ranks as well. Given that feminine traits are a hindrance to career development and advancement, many women then adopt masculine approaches to leadership and general workplace conduct as this is the standard modelled by men.

Considering this background, this chapter seeks to understand the research topic comprehensively through a review of literature under the following major themes:

1. Women and Equality on the African Continent;
2. Power and Leadership as a Gendered Concept;
3. Women's Leadership Development;
4. Factors Inhibiting the Prosperity of Women in Leadership Positions;
5. Understanding Gender and Development (GAD) Discourse; and
6. The Role of Development Organisations in Community Development.

These literary discourses give context to the study and provide a framework on which the findings of this study will be based. It is important to note that this literature review draws moderately on international case studies and findings as some of the topics discussed have not been widely developed in the African context.

3.2   Women and Equality on the African Continent

In trying to understand the different issues affecting women in the workplace, it is important that we first reflect on the issues that are affecting women on the African continent. The subjugation of women in the workplace is representative of women's general subjugation in society. More often than not, workplaces are a microcosm of the broader society they are located, even though not all societal issues will necessarily manifest in the same way in the workplace (if at all).

Concerns over the marginalisation and invisibility of women in African policy-making has been a topic of discussion both within the continent and internationally. The concerns in this regard are likely due to restrictive laws; cultural diversities and practices; institutional barriers; and disproportionate access to quality education, healthcare and resources (Ilesanmi, 2018). There are countries on the African continent that have made tremendous progress towards gender parity in some areas, but the gap that exists in African societies between men and women, both in society and the workplace remains high (Akintayo et al, 2019). Women make up more than 50% of Africa's population, yet they only generated 33% of the continent's GDP in 2018 (Akintayo et al, 2019). The vast majority of African women work for a living, but most of them work in the informal sector. As a result, a large proportion of them have not been able to ascend into higher-paid jobs that will improve their standard of living. A case can be made that change is occurring but it is not occurring fast enough.

3.2.1 A Closer Look at South Africa

In May 2019, President Cyril Ramaphosa made history when he announced a Cabinet where half of the appointees were women.

According to the Global Gender Gap Index, when assessing women's economic participation; educational attainment, health and survival; and political empowerment, South Africa ranks 19th out of 149 countries.

Source: Dryding (2019).

The markers displayed in the box above paint a very rosy picture about South Africa's path towards gender equality. Unfortunately, the reality of the country is not quite as promising as the picture painted. Markers such as the ones above hardly ever ensure systemic progress or tangible benefits for most women in the country. While they do represent progress, they do not negate the high levels of Gender-Based Violence (GBV) in the country; the disproportionately high HIV prevalence among women; higher female unemployment; and a lack of representation of women in top management positions (Dryding, 2019). In South Africa, women face challenges that threaten their livelihoods as well as their very existence on a daily basis. While this paints a very bleak picture of what it means to live and survive as a woman in this country, these harsh realities define how women live, work and move around the country.

The Afrobarometer survey, a pan-African, non-partisan research network that conducts public attitude surveys on democracy, governance, economic conditions and other related issues, published the following key findings about South Africa from surveys conducted in the years 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2011 and 2015. These findings have been quoted from the survey verbatim (Afrobarometer, 2019).

- Large majorities of South Africans say that boys and girls have an equal chance at getting an education (83%) and that women and men have an equal chance to earn an income (77%) and to own or inherit land (76%). Men and women differ little in their assessments of these opportunities.
- About one in eight South Africans (12%) say they experienced discrimination based on their gender during the year preceding the survey. Men and women are about equally likely to report discrimination.
- Four in five South Africans (81%) say it is never justified for a man to beat his wife but the youngest respondents (aged 18-35 years) are least likely to reject domestic violence categorically.
- Fewer than half of South Africans think that equal opportunities and treatment for women have improved in recent years (46%) and that the government is doing a good job of promoting gender equality (46%).

- Three-fourths of South Africans say women should have the same chance as men to be elected to political office (76%) and the same right to own or inherit land (76%). Support for equal opportunity in the job market is considerably weaker (57%), especially among men (49%).
- A majority of both men (53%) and women (55%) say families are better off if a woman, rather than a man, has the main responsibility of taking care of the home and children.

Public surveys such as this one supplement government tracking of compliance with laws and they measure the impact of progressive gender legislation in closing the gender gap. From this survey, we can deduce that the majority of South Africans view the state of gender equality in the country as satisfactory, with men and women differing very little in their assessments. This is concerning given the obvious tells of the gender inequality that exists in this country. If as a citizenry we cannot identify the social ills that we live amongst, confronting them will be difficult when they are not perceived to exist.

According to (Moss, 2020), there are four pressing Issues South African Women are currently facing. These issues include but are not limited to:

1. **Gender-Based Violence (GBV)**

GBV has been described as the visible pandemic in South Africa for a long time (Moss, 2020). According to (Head, 2019), South Africa has the fourth highest femicide rate in world, surpassed only by Honduras, Jamaica and Lesotho. In September 2019, President Ramaphosa unveiled a R1 billion-action plan to combat GBV in the country (Moss, 2020). To date, the country is yet to know how successful this intervention has been given the rise in GBV cases during the lockdown period that commenced on the 26th of March 2020 because of the Covid-19 pandemic.

2. **The Economic and Social Impact of the Covid-19 Pandemic**

The economic impacts of Covid-19 have been catastrophic. People have and continue to lose their livelihoods amidst this global pandemic, leaving many vulnerable to poverty. Given that South Africa has a high percentage of breadwinners that are women, the impact of Covid-19 has and will continue to affect the finances of many women and their families (Moss, 2020).

3. **Female Frontline Workers at Risk**

Caregivers, nurses and teachers in this country are more likely to be women than they are to be men. This means that during the pandemic, women have had to work hard to form the frontline services that are required to keep the Covid-19 pandemic at bay (Moss, 2020).

This has made them increasingly vulnerable to contracting the virus while carrying out their work as essential service workers.

4. Period Poverty Persists

In South Africa, sanitary products are a luxury to some women and girls. A 2018 study showed that 30% of South African girls miss school due to a lack of access to menstrual products (Moss, 2020). The Covid-19 Pandemic, along with the prolonged state of Disaster that has seen our country in a nationwide lockdown, has meant that even more women and girls have not been able to afford necessities due to a loss of their incomes and livelihoods.

3.3   Power and Leadership as a Gendered Concept

The study of power and influence is very well documented in academia and has been theorised in a number of different ways. Perhaps the most popular theory of power is the one presented by Foucault. The works of Foucault are concerned with primarily understanding power relations and how mechanisms of power affect our everyday lives (Townley, 1993). According to Foucault, "Power is not something that is acquired, seized or shared, something one holds on to or allows to slip away" (Foucault, 1981:94). Power is relational and becomes apparent when it is exercised as it is not associated with any one institution, but with practices, techniques and procedures (Townley, 1993: 520). The works of Foucault rely heavily on the concept that power is a commodity that can be used for both organisational and individual purposes. A similar definition of power is presented by Singh (2009) in her study of organisational power. In very simple terms, this author defines power as "the ability to get things done in the way one wants them to be done" (Singh, 2009:166). In the context of different organisations and departments, power is used as a tool to control. The way in which power is exercised by individuals within organisations becomes the difference between success and failure and is a strong determinant of how productive the company and its individuals are and whether they are able to get things done.

In trying to look at power in relation to gender, more specifically women, it is apparent that power is primarily associated with the male and with masculinity (Hartsock, 1990). While there is legislation in South Africa that promotes gender equality, particularly as it relates to organisational leadership, women remain under-represented in corporate leadership. Research that has been conducted on gender inequality in leadership often focuses on representation, and not on how women exercise power in influencing the agendas of traditional organisations (Kinnear and Ortlepp, 2016). The discourse of women leaders and power needs to be better understood in order to approach gender transformation in a way that takes women's perspectives into account (Kinnear and Ortlepp, 2016). This is partly what this study explores.

When looking at power and the ways in which women exercise it in organisational leadership, the question of whether women and men behave in similar or different ways once put into leadership positions is a much-debated and contested topic of discussion (Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001). In her TEDx Talk, Susan Colantuono defines leadership as "using the greatness in you to achieve and sustain extraordinary outcomes by engaging the greatness in others" (TEDx Talks, 2013: 3:00). This sentiment is echoed by (Eagly et al, 2003:570) in their definition of effective leaders as those who inspire their followers and subordinates and consistently nurture their ability to contribute to their organisation. A lot has been made about the leadership styles of women, particularly in comparison to their male counterparts. This is mainly because men have always set the default style of leadership given that top leadership positions in the world have always been set aside and occupied by them.

In today's society, women are contributing new approaches to leadership and power (Jacobs, 2007). Because leadership has been connected to gender, post-heroic leadership traits such as collaboration, emotional intelligence and adaptive approaches are often regarded as feminine (Jacobs, 2007). The relevance of this categorisation is debatable in the context of contemporary women leaders. Through interviewing women executives, Jacobs (2007) has found that women do not turn away from power or leadership, and instead want and use it for purposes that extend beyond personal advantage. The first wave of women executives was more inclined to follow the rules of success as they had worked for men because they were breaking new ground and had no alternative experiences to draw from. A new wave of women leaders is making its way into top management by drawing on the skills and attitudes they have developed from their shared experiences as women, and not by adopting those styles and habits that have proved successful for men (Rosener, 1990).

Leadership style can be defined as the relatively consistent patterns of behaviour that are displayed and that characterise leaders (Eagly et al, 2003; and Nanjundeswaraswamy and Swamy, 2014). This simple definition focuses on how leadership is primarily defined by the daily practices that leaders adopt in steering teams, collectives and whole organisations. In any scenario where individuals are effecting change, forging consensus, competing for resources strengthening positions and furthering the agenda of a team, they are engaging in acts of power and influence (Jacobs, 2007). Different leadership styles are said to affect employee performance and productivity directly; and the performance and the effectiveness of organisations, nations and other social units (Nanjundeswaraswamy and Swamy, 2014). The perceived sex differences in leadership styles between women and men can unfortunately serve the purpose of providing a justification for why women should be excluded from leadership opportunities, especially those that are still dominated by men. An example of this can be seen in an article by Hymowitz (2010) for Forbes Online. Here, the author refers to how

women leaders tend to show more emotions at work and are more risk averse, traits that are commonly seen as negative in the ranks of top leadership.

In trying to assert themselves as leaders using different models of power, women often find themselves being burdened by gender stereotypes. A lot of the literature that exists on the leadership of women is based on the personal experiences of individuals within their respective organisations, or on surveys and interviews conducted with women occupying middle and top management positions. In writing about the manner in which women lead, Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt (2001:782) move away from the dichotomy between difference and similarity by highlighting why sex differences in leadership behaviours are sometimes present, appearing and disappearing depending on changes in social contexts. This perspective is underpinned by the notion that focusing on sameness versus difference ignores the myriad of causal factors that can create said differences and similarities. Other experts who have written on this topic generally maintain that the dichotomy does prevail and that differences or similarities do exist. This speaks to the contested nature of this subject matter.

Many leadership styles are outlined in literature and in research. This section of the report will only focus on defining two main types, namely: transformational and transactional leadership styles. Transformational leadership styles focus on the growth and development of employees as well as their needs, while transactional leadership styles rely on trades between the leader and his subordinate, where the subordinate is compensated for meeting set goals and performance criteria (Nanjundeswaraswamy and Swamy, 2014:58). According to the research conducted by Eagly et al (2003), women leaders were found to be more transformational in their leadership styles than their male counterparts were. Women leaders showed an overall advantage in charisma, idealised influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation and individualised consideration (Eagly et al, 2003:578). This is echoed in how Hymowitz (2010) states that women leaders are more motivated by the purpose and the meaning of their work, as opposed to their male counterparts who tend to focus more on compensation and their job titles. On transactional leadership, women leaders only scored higher than their male counterparts did on the contingent reward subscale, meaning that women leaders are more likely to provide positive reinforcement for those subordinates that meet their identified goals (Eagly et al, 2003:578).

Rightfully so, the literature that exists on this subject matter is somewhat hesitant to assign leadership capability based on sex. From what we have reviewed in this section, we can conclude that there are advantages in ensuring that women have equal access and opportunity to leadership positions. Stereotyping women while using men as the default setting in organisational leadership creates the biased view that women need to be "fixed". Contemporary women leaders do not need to burden themselves with assimilating into the

masculine leadership doctrine. The best chance at success that women have in leadership is through developing their own individual identities as leaders. Leadership is very personal and it largely reflects who you are. Denying or hiding parts of your identity is also a denial of some aspects of your individual life experience. This denial is a disservice to the insights those experiences could translate to in carrying out leadership responsibilities and driving organisations and teams forward. The research done by Eagly et al (2003) reinforces the notion that giving women the opportunity to showcase their leadership skills increases the pool of potential candidates for these roles and produces greater fairness and economic rationality within organisations.

Women leaders need to recognise the barriers and ceilings that hinder their progression into top leadership positions. They need to understand the context in which they operate in their careers, as well as the attached power dynamics (Jacobs, 2007). Women possess numerous skills that qualify them for top leadership positions and should position themselves within the domains of power in order to use their influence and authority effectively and productively.

3.4   Factors Inhibiting the Prosperity of Women in Leadership Positions

The talent management of women has become a priority for many countries, corporate companies and organisations around the world. The preceding section of this literature review has highlighted how women are largely concentrated in middle management within their organisations, with very few ascending to top management. While this report has covered some of the reasons why this is the case, this section will go into more detail about the factors that inhibit women's leadership development, focusing primarily on societal, organisational and individual level factors. Crucial to this analysis is an understanding of what determines women's professional success and career advancement. This analysis is briefly outlined below.

3.4.1   A Framework for Women's Success in Leadership

According to Kuschel and Salvaj (2018:2), academic evidence documenting women in senior management positions indicates that their success is contingent on two main actions, namely: persistence and advancement. Persistence in this context refers to an uninterrupted career. Advancement refers to the opportunity for promotion. These two factors work together. In order to be promoted, women need to be visible as leaders in their workplace, leaving little room for prolonged gaps in their careers. From this, it can already be observed that patriarchy in the workplace penalises women who take breaks in their careers to start families and spend time with their children during the period of maternity leave. Already, the factors that have been identified as key to women's success, disadvantage women who want to have a family and pursue a career as well.

Figure 2: The Components of Women's Professional Success
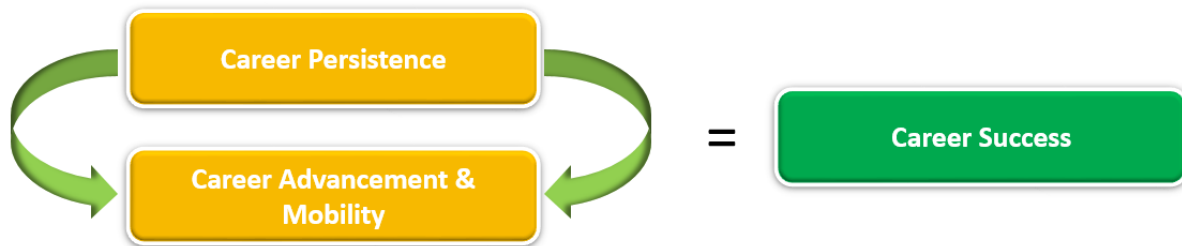
Source: Kuschel and Salvaj (2018:2)

These authors argue that women who interrupt their careers and professional activities experience difficulties returning to the positions they temporarily left behind, with many not being able to return to those positions once they return to the workforce (Kuschel and Salvaj, 2018). They further go on to suggest that women should make their careers their primary focus and priority, a suggestion that negates the role that women also play as primary care-givers in their households (Kuschel and Salvaj, 2018). While it is not impossible for women to pursue their careers as aggresively as men are afforded the opportunity to, they can often only do this when they have enough support from their partners and extened family; when they can afford to hire extra help for household chores; delegate work both at home and at work; or when they do not have children or a spouse. This already points to the manner in which success in leadership is skewed more towards men as having children and a spouse does not negatively affect their career propsepcts.

Another perspective on what makes women successful in leadership is provided by Lawrence (2019). This author highlights the importance of breaking away from the impulse to adopt masculine traits in order to be deemed as a credible and effective leader. Instead, Lawrence (2019) encourages women to lead like themselves by 1) challenging and cutting their own internalised biases against femininity; 2) not thinking of 'soft' skills such as empathy and caring as weaknesses; and 3) not thinking about femininity and strength as mutually exclusive traits that cannot co-exist within the same leadership approach.

3.4.2 Societal Level Factors

The manner in which societies are configured perpetuates numerous assumptions and stereotypes about women. These pose challenges to women's success in their given roles of leadership and responsibility. These societal factors are influenced by perceptions of traditional gender roles; the ways in which men and women have traditionally exercised their agency within society; and the different imagery that is assigned to men and women in the media.

One of the biggest societal factors affecting women in the workplace is legislation. Legislation pertaining to employment equity; reproductive rights; human rights and affordable childcare

has a notable impact on the ability of women to advance in the workplace (Bang and Shin, 2013). This legislation dictates the extent to which women can focus on their careers and how much their basic needs can be taken care of in order to achieve a work life balance. The media also perpetuates gender stereotypes using imagery that reinforces gendered notions of leadership. These largely present men as experts, while portraying women leaders as anomalies. (Bang and Shin, 2013). These images reinforce perceptions that women executives are professionally incompetent and not suitable to lead.

3.4.3   Organisational Level Factors

Women who aspire to occupy positions in senior management often have to contend with patriarchal and hostile male organisational environments; rigid office schedules that are not flexible or accommodating; and difficulties balancing work and family life (Kuschel and Salvaj, 2018). (13) A study conducted by (Adisa et al, 2019), based on Banking work environments in Nigeria, found that patriarchy shapes women's behaviour in the workplace in ways that undermine their performance and their organisational citizenship behaviour (OCB). Patriarchal attitudes and behaviours often practised at home tend to be transferred into organisational settings (Adisa et al, 2019). The transferring of these attitudes affects women's workplace behaviour and maintains the self-perceived superior status quo of men, where women are discriminated against and placed in positions that are inferior (Adisa et al, 2019). Women often find themselves in positions where they have to put in more hours or take on more work in order to prove themselves as worthy leaders in the workplace.

The conflict between work and family life; as well as the perception of this conflict, negatively impact women's chances of ascension into leadership. Hiring managers might purposely not promote a woman due to their preconceived notions of how being a mother or a spouse will keep them from effectively doing their job (Kuschel and Salvaj, 2018). When women do manage to get into top leadership, they are held to higher performance standards than their male counterparts because they are not seen to possess masculine leadership qualities, thus constantly having to prove themselves. These obstacles frequently interrupt women's career aspirations even when they have the potential for promotion into senior roles within their organisations.

Women leaders are also met with a different type of attitude by those around them. These attitudes normally serve to undercut women's attempts at being effective, influential and powerful (Farha et al, 2013). This also affects how women are listened to in the workplace, especially if they are seen to be too 'soft' or too 'aggressive'. Their successes are very much contingent on how likable they are, something that is not typically important for men in leadership positions. It also becomes hard for women to promote themselves in the workplace

and to be seen as confident in their abilities. While this builds confidence in their abilities amongst their colleagues, it comes at the expense of being likable (Farha et al, 2013).

Human resource practices related to recruitment choices and succession planning are heavily influenced by informal networks and adhering to unwritten rules (Kuschel and Salvaj, 2018). Once hired, women often do not have access to opportunities for networking and mentoring, as these spaces remain a 'boys club' of sorts. Informal networks such as meets at the golf course, sporting events or sundowners after work typically exclude women as men assume that women do not want to take part in these types of events (Andrews, 2016).

3.4.4   Individual Level Factors

A diminished sense of self-efficacy caused by internalising a rigid and sexist organisational structure makes women doubt themselves and not take ownership of their wins in the working environment (Bang and Shin, 2013). Research shows that women are more likely to credit their entire team for favourable outcomes; and themselves for the failures of the team (Bang and Shin, 2013). Women also do not pursue vice president, president, or c-level positions for reasons including socialisation pressures; risk aversion; a lack of confidence; and a desire to avoid politics (Andrews, 2016). Women's likeliness to negotiate is also much lower than their male counterparts as negotiating often makes them seem less socially attractive and less hireable. Negotiating makes women seem 'difficult' in this context, limiting the ways in which they can communicate at work.

3.4.5   Public vs. Private Sector

In South Africa, the Commission for Gender Equality's primary duty is to promote respect for gender equality and protect, develop and attain said equality (Osituyo, 2017). This has been praised by both public and private institutions who have committed themselves to the same cause. As of 2013, women in South Africa only occupy 3.6% of chief executive positions; 5.5% of chairperson positions; and 21.4% of executive managerial positions (Farmer, 2013). The table below presents the appointments of women in managerial positions as of 2016. The table also displays how much these women are excluded from the most important key decision-making positions within their respective organisations.

Table 6: Women in Management Positions in South Africa

Percentage (%)	2015 (%)		2012 (%)	2011 (%)	2010 (%)	2009 (%)	2008 (%)
Gender	Male	Female	Female	Female	Female	Female	Female
Management Position							
CEOs	97.6	2.4	3.6	4.4	4.5	3.6	3.9
Chairpersons	90.8	9.2	3.5	5.3	6.0	5.8	3.9
Directors	78.2	21.8	17.1	15.8	16.6	14.6	14.3
Executive Managers	70.7	29.3	21.4	21.6	19.3	18.6	25.3

Percentage (%)	2015 (%)		2012 (%)	2011 (%)	2010 (%)	2009 (%)	2008 (%)
Gender	Male	Female	Female	Female	Female	Female	Female
Public Service Managers	61.8	38.2	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
State-Owned Enterprise Top Managers	59.5	40.5	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

Source: Osituyo, 2017

From the table above we can observe the following:

- In state-owned enterprises, 59.9% of managers are men while 40.5% are women;
- 61.8% of public service senior managers are men, while only 38.2% are women;
- At the executive managerial level, 70.7% of managers are men, while only 29.3% are women;
- In the directorship category, 78.2% of directors are men, while only 21.8% are women;
- In the chairperson's position, 90.8% of chairpersons are men, while only 9.2% are women; and
- In the CEO position, men figure at 97.6% while their female counterparts only account for 2.4% (Osituyo, 2017).

According to this table, SOEs and the public service have a higher proportion of women leaders in their organisations as compared to the private sector. While this is progress for the public sector, the trend between 2008 and 2015 confirms that women at the management level in the public sector remain marginalised. Key top positions such as CEO and chairperson are still largely occupied by men. Women in South Africa are able to access managerial level positions, but only a few of them ever ascend to top positions.

There are two main reasons that have been cited for the increase in the number of women, particularly black women, in the South African public service. The first is that women have been actively engaged in the liberation struggle for decades before this and the second is that affirmative action policies are seemingly having a positive effect (April et al, 2007). While progress has been made thus far, it is not nearly enough. Women are still underrepresented in key decision-making positions within the public sector. According to Statistics South Africa, 44% of skilled posts were filled by women and 56% by men, even though 51% of South Africa's population is made up of women (Gysman, 2019). The provincial figures in this regard are even more disappointing. In the Western Cape, 24% of these positions were filled by women, followed by 25% in KwaZulu-Natal (Gysman, 2019). On average, only 39% of women fill posts of municipal mayoral positions throughout the entire county.

These figures are even more devastating when looking at the country's private sector. In January of 2019, after Maria Ramos retired as CEO of Absa, there were no female CEOs running any of the country's 40 largest listed companies (Thornton, 2019). Several of the companies

listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE) still have no female board members, while those that do tend to only appoint one female director at a time. Research has shown that in order to make a difference at board level, a critical mass of at least 3 women needs to be appointed (Thornton, 2019). The data that exists in South Africa regarding this subject matter suggests that women face the same barriers to entry into top positions in the public sector as they do in the private sector. What makes the public sector a place where more women are likely to ascend to the top when compared to the private sector is the enforcement of affirmative action policies and hiring practices. South African companies should be careful not to perpetuate what has been coined "golden skirts" syndrome (a term that is sexist in itself), where only a few very well connected women are selected to serve on multiple boards (Thornton, 2019). A wider net should be cast in order to attract and appoint more eligible and qualified women.

3.5 Women's Leadership Development

Leadership development can be defined as "expanding the collective capacity of organisational members to engage effectively in leadership roles and processes" (Day, 2000:582). This consistent development of people to harness their skills and become leaders in the global economy provides a competitive advantage that contributes to the success of various organisations around the world (Bilimoria et al, 2008). Contemporary research on the consistent underrepresentation of women in leadership positions has revealed that the invisible and entrenched barriers to the advancement of women that are underpinned by cultural beliefs about gender and an institutional culture that favours men are more significant in hindering women than individuals' intentional efforts to exclude women (Ely et al, 2011).

Ely et al (2011:476) considers the path individuals take to becoming leaders and how they subsequently take up these roles as a question of identity. These authors hold the view that gender dynamics in the workplace greatly affect the identity development of women and determine their ascension into top leadership within their organisations (Ely et al, 2011). Some of the powerful invisible barriers to women developing an identity in the workplace include: less social support for women in the form of role models; gendered perceptions of career paths and work; women's lack of access to networks, sponsors and mentors; and women leaders' heightened visibility and subsequent scrutiny (Ely et al, 2011). These barriers have created an environment where the leadership development of women is not focused on the aspects of leadership that will put them in top positions. This failure by women's leadership development frameworks is well documented by Susan Colantuono.

Susan Colantuono is the CEO of Leading Women, a management-consulting firm that empowers women. She is also a globally recognised authority on closing the gender gap in the workplace and works to uncover gender bias to encourage managers and executives to

think more deeply about the role gender plays in the workplace. In her 2013 TEDx Talk, Susan speaks about the gaps in leadership development that are preventing women from occupying top management positions in their organisations (TEDx, 2013). In this talk, she begs the question: "Why are so many women mired in the middle and what must be done to take them to the top?" This can be seen in the still image below taken from her TEDx talk video on YouTube.

Figure 3: Susan Colantuono: Closing the Leadership Gap TEDx BeaconStreet, 2013

Source: YouTube

During this talk, Susan reveals the three most important traits that one needs to possess in order to move into the top management of an organisation. These leadership qualities can be summarised as business, strategic and financial acumen; and apply to both men and women (TEDx, 2013). These traits are primarily concerned with understanding where the particular organisation is going, what its strategy is, what financial targets it has in place and understanding what the role of the individual is in moving the organisation forward. According to Susan, these traits represent the missing 33% of the career success equation for women (TEDX, 2013). This is not because these particular traits are missing in women's capabilities or in their career abilities, but because they are missing in the advice and leadership development that women are given in the workplace.

Women are given the conventional career advice that has characterised women's career and leadership development for decades (TEDx, 2013). This advice emphasizes personal growth in the form of building up confidence; being more assertive; and finding a mentor in the same industry. It also centres the way women interact with others (TEDx, 2013).   Business, financial and strategic acumen are the keys that will unlock leadership opportunities for

women but these are never prioritised or incorporated into women's leadership development (TEDx, 2013). The figure below graphically depicts this gap in the leadership development of women, as well as how the conventional career advice given to women will not get them into top management positions.

Figure 4: Susan Colantuono: Why the Gender Leadership Gap is not Closing
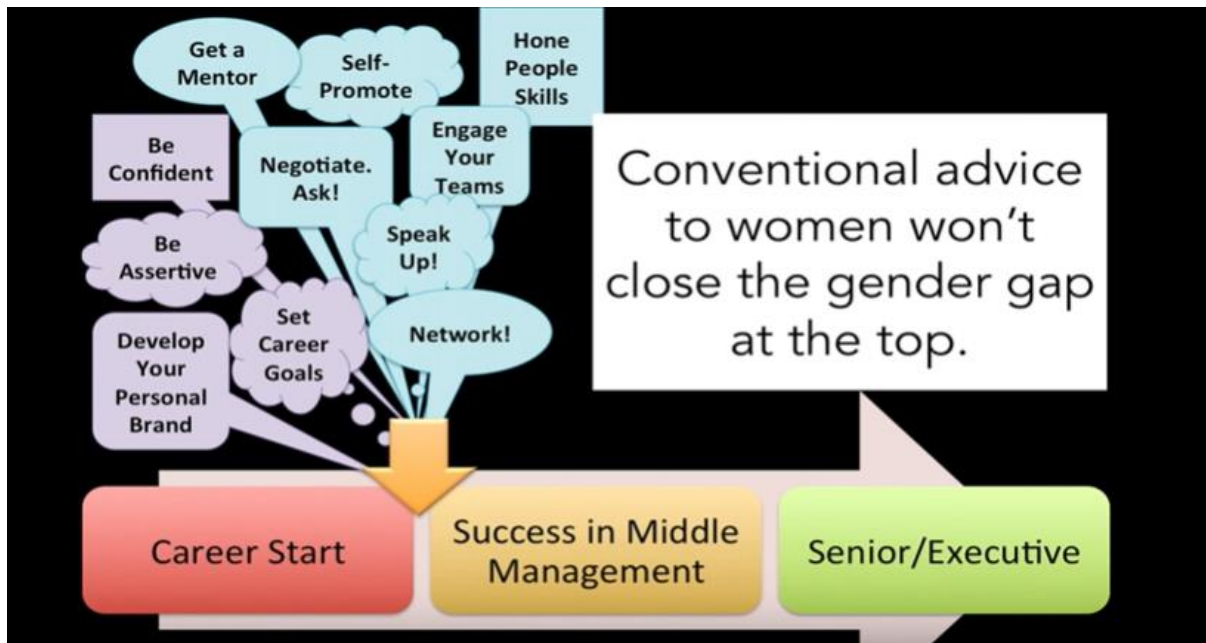
Source: *YouTube*

The literature and research on leadership development for women continues to make a case for why women need leadership development strategies that meet their specific needs within the workplace. These strategies need to counter the invisible barriers that women face. This can be achieved through:

1. Developing the ability and capacity of women to lead change;
2. Encouraging women to shed professional identities that do not suit the demands of the roles that lie ahead; and
3. Assisting women in the development of leadership networks that will expand their developmental relationships; and foster in women the ability to negotiate effectively in their everyday interactions within the workplace (Billmoria et al, 2008).

Rooting leadership development in identity allows organisations to reconsider what exactly women need to learn in order to maximise their potential to become leaders. Understanding the boundaries that threaten this identity might also lead organisations to better craft the frameworks from which they can empower women leaders within their organisations while fully acknowledging and altering their own patriarchal institutional cultures.

3.6   Understanding Gender and Development (GAD) Discourse

The use of the term 'gender-neutral' in development discourse assumes that something is not shaped by or in the interest of a particular sex, and affects both sexes equally (UN-HABITAT, 2012b). This has been the lens development has traditionally been viewed through. More often than not, what is deemed as "gender-neutral" usually has a male perspective and is in the interests of men, given that they have traditionally always been the default group, not only in development, but also in all aspects of society (UN-HABITAT, 2012b).

The gender and development (GAD) paradigm was conceived in the early 1970s as a direct response to the marginalisation of women from economic development processes and decision-making (Moser, 1989). The basic premise of GAD is that gender is a dynamic social construct that is shaped by the multiplicity of interacting influences such as culture, mode of production, and political and legal institutions; as well as by women and men's socially generated categories such as age, class and race (Moser 1993:3 in Chant, 2000:8). It also prescribes behaviours that are informed by a set of evolving and shared habits that assign roles for men and women and that structure decision-making about the actions of others (Kevane, 2014). Mukhopadhyay (2004) argues that feminist activism in the field of development is not new; both at the level of theory and practice, yet institutions still have to be reminded of the need for gender analysis in their work and in policy making. While feminists and different ally groups have done a lot for the GAD movement in the past 50 years, it seems our society and its institutions still have a long way to go in trying to ensure that gender concerns are institutionally integrated into society.

Development strategies and outcomes are more equitable when they consider the diverse needs, limitations, opportunities and priorities of both men and women (Food and Agricultural Organisation of the UN, 2003). The process of development affects men and women in different ways, particularly in developing countries such as South Africa. Issues such as the after-effects of colonialism; the peripheral position of countries of the South; and the position of countries that are in transition continues to exacerbate the effects of gender discrimination (Momsen, 2010). Organisations that work in and with communities to address development concerns and empower people, should consider the issue of gender in their daily practices. Looking at gender and development is important in trying to focus on the connections that exist between development initiatives and feminist perspectives (Abebe, 2015). This kind of discourse is important in the context of development as it focuses on issues related to healthcare and education; decision-making and leadership; economic empowerment and peace building; as well as gender-based violence and the victimisation of women the world over. Gender inequality matters in development and countries around the world have proved that the continued exclusion of women in development renders their efforts at developmental progress futile. Discrimination against women and hegemonic ideologies of their inferiority

have been used to justify gross human rights violations such as child marriage; female genital mutilation; sexual violence; unequal access to healthcare; and female infanticide (Goetz, 2014). A strong case can be made that gender inequality is developmentally inefficient (Goetz, 2014). Limiting women's access to resources and their decision-making power contributes to underdevelopment. The structural inequality this causes continues to sustain economic, social and political inequalities that stagnate the overall development goals of countries all over the world.

The literature on GAD agrees that women, minority and disadvantaged groups continue to be excluded in institutional and policy decision-making. What the discourse on GAD has struggled to do, however, is to identify effective routes to the empowerment of women (Goetz, 2014). Before the GAD movement became a part of mainstream discourse, it was referred to as the women in development (WID) movement and tended to focus on women as a separate, homogenous entity instead of focusing on the structure of unequal relations between men and women (Food and Agricultural Organisation of the UN, 2003). Opening up the GAD discourse to men has been an issue of contention in the literature and in practice as there has been a fear that the gains made by the movement would be eroded; and that the discourse would become narrow and made to accommodate underlying patriarchal structures (White, 2000). Amaya et al (2019) provides a contrasting perspective to this fear by highlighting that achieving gender equity and empowering women and girls within urban and rural areas involves engaging men as allies to the struggle of women. Since inequities are often created by unequal power dynamics between men and women, efforts that have the potential to shift these dynamics and encourage behaviour change include men.

This focus on 'gender' rather than 'women' is echoed by Moser (1993), as influenced by the perspectives of Oakley (1992) and Rubin (1975). In their writing, these authors are very concerned about the way women's issues have always been perceived. Women's issues have always been approached in terms of their sex, namely their biological differences from men, instead of in terms of their gender, which focuses on the social relationship that exists between men and women, where women have been systematically subordinated (Moser, 1993:3). This focus on gender centred the idea of looking at women in relation to men, and the way in which relations between these two groups are socially constructed (Moser, 1993:3). One of the major dilemmas in GAD related to this is women having to collude with the gendered structures that subordinate them in order to reap greater advantages through what has been termed 'patriarchal bargains' (Briggs et al, 2003). This makes it increasingly hard for women to seek approaches that will allow them to challenge the status quo and makes them increasingly reluctant to engage in empowering activities (Briggs et al, 2003).

Singh (2007:101) provides another analysis of GAD as she contends that this paradigm is mainly premised on tenets of Western feminisms and economic development, which brings into question its relevance for countries of the global south. According to this author, western feminism strives for equality between men and women, a notion that she argues could result in women losing their families in developing nations as women in those contexts largely depend on the family for survival. This analysis is useful in prompting an interrogation of the various contexts women across the globe exist within, but also does the disservice of understating how principles of inequality between men and women are also what societies in developed nations are traditionally built on.

Women in developing nations are more vulnerable to the disenfranchisement that patriarchy imposes on their lives but have made significant strides in the 13 years since this article was written. It is also useful to note that the evolution of the GAD paradigm from WID parallels the evolution of feminist thinking through time. GAD is largely informed by Marxist feminism that has a strong focus on the class-based understanding of the marginalisation of women, consequently measuring development in terms of economic outcomes (Singh, 2007). This is one of the critiques of GAD by this author as she argues that the prioritisation of economic growth is often at the expense of social and cultural concerns (Singh, 2007:104). A second critique of this paradigm by this author is how it constructs uniform realities to depict women in developing countries. Singh (2007:105) argues that the GAD paradigm sets unrealistic goals for women, which fail to take into account the individual contexts they reside within and the extent to which they are able to exercise individual agency in their given territories.

Beebeejaun (2017) locates GAD in the range of perspectives on reclaiming the city as a site of political action for urban dwellers as offered by the right to the city discourse. This perspective is more directly linked to development as it happens at a city-level and from an urban and development planning lens. From this perspective, developing understandings that are more accurate and ways to support gendered notions of everyday rights is contingent on the development of frameworks that draw more directly from women's experiences and spatial tactics (Beebeejaun, 2017:331). The subjective ways in which women experience the city and how they practice agency in the spaces that they occupy is key to understanding what will make policy and institutional reforms effective. Beebeejaun (2017) makes the case that learning from the experiences of women in cities can lead to a better understanding of how seemingly mundane activities and spaces support a sense of belonging within the city.

The GAD paradigm, while not without its shortcomings, has contributed immensely to the recognition of women in societies across the globe. GAD is ultimately about the equitable distribution of resources and power in society. Challenging power relations, particularly those that have maintained a strong hold over society for an extended period, can be threatening

to those who hold power. It is important to realise, however, that changes in power relations are positive and beneficial to all. It is important to understand that a society does not progress developmentally without an environment where everyone has the opportunity to maximise their individual potential. Shared responsibilities and equal opportunity produce favourable outcomes for countries and their citizens.

3.7 The Role of Development Organisations in Community Development

Community development has been defined in many different ways in the literature. Hassan and Silong (2008:364) define it as planned and organised community activities that raise the quality of life in the community through initiatives that encourage social, economic, cultural, spiritual and environmental development and the active participation of community members with limited outside help. Drawing from this definition, community development is a collaborative exercise that involves the coming together of various community stakeholders in the pursuit of common goals. The rise in the number and prominence of development organisations in South Africa can be linked directly to the gaps of government shortfalls where the provision of basic and social services is concerned (Nwaneri, 2020). South Africa is currently facing a number of developmental challenges in healthcare, education and poverty alleviation, many of which the government has not been able to address holistically on its own. Development organisations have thus played various roles in trying to bridge the gaps and in working with the government and other private sector stakeholders in advancing the country's shared goal of eliminating poverty and reducing inequality by the year 2030 (National Development Plan, 2012).

There has been a rapid expansion of the development sector in both the global north and the global south. It is widely accepted that development organisations are at the forefront of efforts to eradicate poverty; promote equality across all sectors of society; and create sustainable livelihoods for some of the most marginalised groups in society. In the 1980s, when neo-liberalism was at its peak, the market was seen as the defining symbol of development, with development organisations set to play an increasingly significant role in development discourse and practice, as well as in delivering development assistance (Cornwall, 2002). In certain contexts, development organisations such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs) took over social sector activities to the extent that they became an active part of a reconfigured public sector (Cornwall, 2002).

The explosion of development organisations servicing the needs of marginalised groups and advocating for them in negotiations with the state created new spaces for participation (Cornwall, 2002). This especially proved beneficial to women in disadvantaged communities as it provided them with increased access to decision-making opportunities in their communities that would greatly benefit society as a whole (Opare, 2005). For a long time,

women have been involved in the functioning of their communities and have played a significant part in the growth and development of their respective neighbourhoods. African women, in particular, play an integral role in the growth of the continent as members of both the formal and informal workforce, with a number of these women working and operating within the non-governmental and non-profit sector (EVE Webmagazine, 2017).

Development organisations provide civil society with outlets and organisations that they can mobilise in order to keep the state accountable and to ensure that their interests and agendas are advanced with the relevant policy and decision-makers. The governments of western countries such as the United States and various European countries have used civil society organisations such as these to advance their development agenda through the formation of partnerships that are premised on common goals and interests (National Development Agency, 2016). The South African government has not yet invested in such relationships with civil society. This has resulted in these new spaces of participation often becoming antagonistic as civil society and the government continue to find themselves on opposite ends of development issues. A major opportunity for collaboration exists here that would see the government working more closely with their constituents through the development organisations that are present within their communities.

3.8   Conclusion

This chapter has laid out a framework through which the research will be understood and conceptualised going forward. The primary aim of the research is to determine the ways in which women leaders in development organisations centre women in their everyday practice, if at all. In setting up the literary context for this study, this chapter has delved into the challenges that women leaders have to contend with in the professional spaces they occupy, and the various glass ceilings they are required to shatter in order to earn themselves a seat at the decision-making table. The subjugation of women and the extent to which it is institutionally embedded provides a justification for why women-centric approaches to development are necessary in the context of South Africa and the rest of the world. Furthermore, this chapter has located the plight for equality in development in the gender and development paradigm as it was constructed as a direct response to the exclusion of women from economic development processes and decision-making. This chapter of the study has started to frame the situational analysis of gender in the development space, and has been conceptualised from a review of already-existing literature. The next chapter of this report will detail the findings of the fieldwork aspect of the study.

4 WOMEN LEADERS IN DEVELOPMENT: PERSPECTIVES AND LIVED EXPERIENCES

"You want diversity in all of that talent. It is, I think, a cardinal sin to have people that look like you, who have the same qualifications as you, who are the same age as you, the same experiences as you. Really, diversity is a competitive advantage. It's actually interesting to me because in this country we tend to relegate diversity to something on a score card when it is something we come to the table naturally with. If we are going to tackle a problem, if you have very good people tackling the same problem from different perspectives, we're going to end up with a richer and more creative solution. And it's that diversity that actually sets us apart from others in our business." **– Nicky Newton-King**

4.1 Introduction

Up to this point, the study has provided context to the research question by exploring leadership as it pertains to women, as well as how gender factors into development on a broad scale. These issues were covered in the literature review section of the study and provided meaningful insights into how women leaders navigate their professional responsibilities in a patriarchal society and how this affects the people that they lead. The literature chapter was also useful in identifying the challenges women face in their professional practice and what strategies they have had to adopt to thrive in their positions. The chapter on policy and strategic frameworks provided insights into how women are written into South African policy and how this has and continues to affect the attainment of gender equality and women's empowerment in South Africa. The findings from that policy analysis highlighted gaps in the way women-centric policies and strategic frameworks conceptualise women's issues and their subsequent proposed solutions. From that chapter, it also became evident just how conservative South African legislation is about challenging the status quo and effecting meaningful change for South African women.

This chapter of the research will be documenting the lived experiences and perspectives of women leaders in the development field. These perspectives will speak to the issues covered in the literature relating to gender and development; power; leadership; and professional identity. In speaking to these issues and themes, this chapter will ascertain where the participants of this study locate themselves professionally regarding women-centric approaches to development. It will also seek to understand what strategies, if any, they employ to incorporate women-sensitive approaches into their own development practice.

The information in this chapter is based on semi-structured interviews that were conducted with four women who occupy leadership positions in four different development organisations

in South Africa. Two of these women are located in the Eastern Cape, while one is in KwaZulu-Natal and the other in Gauteng. In keeping to the ethical parameters that define this study, the identities of the women interviewed, as well as the organisations they work for, will be withheld. They will be referred to, instead, as Participant A, B, C and D throughout this chapter. The four women making up this study are all in the field of development but are involved in different kinds of work.

The table below provides a brief profile of each of the participants, detailing where they are from, where they currently live; the profile of their organisation, as well as the date their interview took place.

Table 7: Profiles of Research Participants

Interview Participant	Place of Origin	Current Place of Work	Organisation Profile	Date of Interview
Participant A	Nairobi, Kenya	Johannesburg, Gauteng	Promoting integrated human settlements, contributing to local government transformation and encouraging the formation of community based organisations (CBOs).	26 November 2019
Participant B	Vaalbank, Eastern Cape	Queenstown, Eastern Cape	Community outreach and development; and youth development.	6 December 2019
Participant C	KwaDukuza, KwaZulu-Natal	Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal	Facilitating access to land, basic services, housing and administrative justice for vulnerable communities. She also runs a foundation that focuses on the leadership development of young women and girls.	12 December 2019
Participant D	King Williams Town, Eastern Cape	East London, Eastern Cape	Social justice defence: promoting accountability in local governance.	17 December 2019

Source: Ncame, 2019

In presenting the findings of this study, only the data that speaks directly to the research questions has been included in this chapter given the extensive nature of the interviews conducted with participants. The manner in which the data has been presented relies heavily on excerpts taken from the interviews with participants. These do not represent the complete transcripts of said interviews. The excerpts are direct snippets from the conversations that were had with participants and as such, are quoted verbatim for the most part, with the exclusion of interjections such as 'ummm' and other unnecessary crutch words.

The findings from the interviews have been presented according to the major themes that emerged from the conversations with the research participants. These are:

1. Leadership and Leadership Identity;
2. Women and Development: Real-Life Perspectives; and
3. Women Leaders and Value-Adding: A Critique.

These themes also have strong links to the literature that was discussed in a previous chapter of this report.

4.2 Leadership and Leadership Identity

4.2.1 Defining the Role of a Leader

The interview guide that structured the semi-structured interviews conducted with the four research participants initially sought to determine what leadership as a concept meant to the women in question. One of the first questions that was asked in this regard was *"How would you define the role of a leader?"*[2] The engagements sparked by this question were largely similar across all four interviews. Generally, a leader was defined as an individual who is responsible for a group of people that can otherwise be referred to as followers. This individual typically has a vision, a purpose and a goal that they are actively trying to achieve through inspiring a movement behind the objective on the part of the individuals they are leading.

> *"Leadership is really about influence. It's about influencing others to see the vision first. It's about vision bearing, vision holding and influencing others to see and implement and pursue the vision. That for me is the essence of it and I see my role as that of seeing and holding to that vision of a socially just society and local government being the space where people can meaningfully participate in governance and in decision making"* (Participant D, 2019, Interview[3], 12 December).

Participant B and C had similar definitions of what they thought leaders to be. They defined a leader as someone who can influence people to carry out a specific set of interests, sometimes at the expense of their own self-interest. A leader was also described as someone who is able to harness the talents of other people and help them grow.

> *"Leaders should always leave the people they come into contact with with something meaningful they can take away from their interactions with them. Leaders have to*

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[2] This chapter in the report has relied moderately on the use of italics to indicate questions being asked by the researcher and questions being answered by the participants. This is to differentiate between direct speech and the analysis of that speech in this chapter.

[3] Semi-structured interviews are conventionally referenced as "interviews" in text.

make a difference to the people they lead, in whatever way they can" (Participant C, 2019, Interview, 17 December)

4.2.2   Leading an Organisation as a Woman

The questions that initiated the more focused engagement about women leaders asked the four women: *"What does it mean for you as a woman to be a leader and a leader in an organisation such as yours?"* The conversations these questions ignited were animated and brought forth quite a few interesting perspectives from the women. After acknowledging that the leadership positions she had found herself in throughout her career had been primarily male dominated, **Participant A** highlighted that for the longest time, being a woman in leadership did not hold any significant meaning for her. At the beginning of her career, **Participant A** started in a very technical field that was largely dominated by white men. When she made the transition into the development field, she still found herself in male dominated spaces, albeit there were more women within this field than she had encountered in her previous career. Being a woman in those spaces did not stand out in her mind given that she had generally always felt like "another" in so many other ways. At the time she was young, female, black, a foreign national and not the type of woman you would typically encounter in corporate South Africa.

> *"… I was black, I was female and I was a young person in very old spaces. I've been an immigrant in every context that I've ever worked in. I've actually never worked in my home country and so I don't think initially I reflected on my being female as being the main difference. I think that as I've grown older, I've probably become more reflective of it."* (Participant A, 2019, Interview, 26 November).

> *"…...So whether it's saying something and people kind of hear you and then another group says the same thing and it's like, 'Oh, that's a great idea!' This is a thing many women know but I think you could also say that because you're black. So with some of these intersectionalities, it isn't always easy to tell which one was the issue"* (Participant A, 2019, Interview, 26 November).

In addition to this, **Participant A** further highlighted the complexities of the intersectionalities that define her existence. There have been instances in her career where she has not felt heard and where her ideas have been better received when they were coming from somebody else. This is a common experience for many women and historically disadvantaged people in the professional space. In the case of **Participant A**, however, it becomes difficult to decipher whether her experience of this was a result of her being a woman, her being black, or her being a foreign national working in South Africa. One thing that she did pinpoint as having defined her experience as a woman leader in her career was the social element to leadership, particularly in the way men and women relate to one another. The existence and culture of a

'boys club' amongst the men within corporate structures is a real thing that continues to exclude women from participating in useful networking activities and informal decision-making platforms.

Participant B, C and D held different perspectives regarding this question because of the different experiences they have gone through in their careers and organisations. **Participant B** considers herself a feminist and is therefore very aware of what being a woman in her professional space means and what implications it has on how she carries out her work. Apart from working extensively with young people, this young woman also works in spaces that can be very political and that are male dominated. When asked what being a woman leader meant for her, she was candid in how she explained some of the challenges she often has to face in trying to drive the agenda of her organisation in a way that also incorporates her ideals and the principles she chooses to define herself by. She expressed that she constantly has to strike a balance between advocating for women through the community outreach work she does through her organisation, while also not pigeonholing herself in terms of her career. She said something that was very similar to what Hollywood director, writer and producer Ava DuVernay once said about not wanting to be known as the 'social justice girl' in the types of productions she creates. This is what **Participant B** had to say:

> *"I love women. I am passionate about women. In everything I do professionally, my instincts always want me to prioritise them. I have other passions though that are just as important to me. Young people in the townships are another group of people I enjoy working with. Primary and high school learners from poor backgrounds are neglected and I would like to change that in my community. I want to be known as more than just one thing. My interests and priorities are many and I don't want anyone to ever box me in."* (Participant B, 2019, Interview, 6 December).

Participant C is proud of how she is one of the few women who are board members in her organisation but feels like there is space for the incorporation of more women. She considers her being a woman as a defining factor in how she navigates her workplace and in the experiences she has had within professional spaces. She does not think of herself as a feminist as she feels that the title is burdensome and limiting in its labelling, but does consider herself an advocate for women and young girls. To her, being a woman leader is about bringing to the table those issues that a room full of men would otherwise not think to bring forward in the context of the work her organisation does. It is about finding your voice and your confidence and making yourself heard.

> *"As women, we are sometimes very timid and shy, especially in spaces dominated by men. I know myself. I am very confident and I say my piece everywhere I go. That's why even the chairman of the board will sometimes ask for my inputs when he sees that I am*

quiet. He knows I have a lot to say and he values my opinions" (Participant C, 2019, Interview, 12 December).

Participant D also fully owns being a woman leader in her organisation. Having worked in the development space for over 20 years, **Participant D** believes that her being a woman brings a different dynamic to the team she leads. Her leadership philosophy is to lead with love; something that she feels comes naturally to her by virtue of her being a woman. Wellness is one of her top priorities in leading her team, particularly as it relates to mental and physical health. She always wants her team to feel as though they can communicate honestly with her, and that she is an ally that is invested in their success and growth under her leadership.

> *"I constantly ask myself the extent to which I'm leading with love. I want to influence my team with love and to get people to do things joyously and not out of strife but out of wanting to do it because they believe in it and because they feel so secure in my love as a leader that they just want to give. That is my personal philosophy and I think it's easy for me to do that as a woman. I don't think it would come as naturally for a man. I am also big on creating safe spaces for all of my staff. I think carefully about what safety means and how we facilitate safe spaces in myself, both in the office, but also outside of the office when they are working in the fields of science"* (Participant D, 2019, Interview, 17 December).

4.3   Prioritising Women in Development: Real-Life Perspectives

This is the theme within the chapter where the bulk of the research questions are located. The way this section of the chapter has been organised has assigned an identity (for the purposes of this chapter) to the participants based on the information that was gleaned from them during the interviews. It was very interesting interacting with such different perspectives because it brought home the important fact that women are not a homogenous group, but a complex mix of different identities with both similar and different issues and concerns.

The questions that were focused on women and development were aimed at engaging interview participants on their perceptions of this discourse as it is applies to practising professionals such as themselves. These questions also sought to find out whether the women interviewed employed any strategies in their professional practice in this regard. Following the background and context provided by the preceding sub-section, these questions directly feed into the research sub-questions as well as the main research question. In initiating the conversation about prioritising women in development, the participants were asked:

"In your opinion, is the increasing emphasis on women in development warranted?" and *"What has been your experience of women-centric approaches to development in your career?"*

4.3.1   Participant A: The Ally to the Movement

Participant A began by acknowledging that the focus on women in development is warranted because as a group, women have been systemically excluded in all sorts of ways, whether it be in terms of career opportunities, income or social factors. She further went on to highlight how the role of development organisations in pushing this agenda is also very important when you consider how women are often on the fringes of state interventions and development in many contexts in South Africa and the rest of the continent. A critique that **Participant A** had about this pursuit, however, was that the way gender and women are brought up in conversation, practice and discourse continues to remain largely superficial. She believes that in many professional spaces, it is used as a tick-box exercise that yields no tangible results. It has become a way to fulfil mandatory key performance indicators (KPIs) instead of being a tool for change.

> *"So we know that we live in this heavily gendered world that is set up in very male terms and of course, that must be addressed. However, I sometimes get the feeling that the way gender is brought into some of the conversations seems very superficial... You don't need to be having this whole company conference, for example, where there's this whole discussion that happens and then one hand will go up and say, 'and you've got to talk about gender'. It just comes off as throwing it in as a side note."* (Participant A, 2019, Interview, 26 November).

Participant A further went on to say:

> *"Maybe that makes it even less important when you keep checking it into the mix. After the host is done with the tick box exercise of mentioning gender, it's like garnish on the plate. So I then wonder whether that does anything for the agenda or if it undermines the agenda. So maybe that's not a critique of the agenda but of the way people are carrying it out."* (Participant A, 2019, Interview, 26 November).

This critique brought forward by Participant A is similar to the one that was brought up in the policy analysis. Legislatively, not enough is being done towards meaningfully incorporating women and gender into policy discourse. From the perspective of Participant A, the same is true in practice. People are not giving gender equality and women's empowerment the due diligence it deserves.

Another critique **Participant A** had about the way the women's movement in development was being carried out was how, by virtue of being a woman, every woman was assumed to be an expert or advocate for women's issues in the spaces they occupy. **Participant A** was passionate about making this point because as someone who has not always gone out of her way to centre gender in her professional practice, she saw this as an insult to those women

and men who are strong advocates for women in the development space, whether it be in leadership or at the grassroots level. She also mentioned that in her long-standing history in the development space, she has witnessed women openly being opposed to initiatives that sought to uplift and empower women. This further emphasises the point relayed earlier that women are multifaceted and can exist within a number of identities. In some cases, women will act against the interests of one of their identities in order to preserve the others. Intersectionality is complicated and the politics of any one individual cannot be assumed. For black women, most of the categories they exist in tend to be marginalised. As a closing statement to this part of the question, **Participant A** had this to say.

> *"If we really want to mainstream gender, which I often hear these words being used, that would require a different kind of activism. To be honest, I don't even know sometimes what that is. Some of it, I suppose, might be people in the room, male or female, who really want to see gender equality or equity happening themselves, using their spaces more fundamentally"* (Participant A, 2019, Interview, 26 November).

In her own recent professional practice, **Participant A** expressed how she has become more conscious of women's issues and has become an ally in the movement, albeit she would still not call herself a "champion of women's rights". She wants to see women being represented more meaningfully and she wants to see this trickle down into the interventions that organisations carry out in communities. In driving forward the agenda of her organisation, she is deliberate in trying to ensure that disadvantaged black people and young people are beneficiaries of different programmes and initiatives. That is where her passion primarily lies. Regarding women, she fully stands behind initiatives that will benefit women in her organisation, and acknowledges that more often than not, they need to be included deliberately in order to avoid being excluded unintentionally.

4.3.2 Participant B: The Feminist

Participant B's community development work and the work she does with disadvantaged youths is strongly aimed at providing support and assistance to single mother headed households as well as girl children living in the townships of the Eastern Cape. She also runs a media company that does a lot of work for emerging businesses run by young people, in particular young women. In establishing her small community-based programme, she translated her passion for women and children into initiatives that prioritise and uplift them. It is no wonder then that the emphasis on women in development is something that she strongly advocates for and that she believes is warranted, particularly in the areas of the Eastern Cape that are most hit by poverty, violence and inequality.

> *"When we don't give special attention to women, they are not considered and are likely not to benefit from the things we do in our communities. It could be something*

simple like organising food packs for people who are struggling to get by. When you approach that initiative with women in mind, you will know that it's also necessary to include sanitary towels in those packs and other things for them to use. Small things like that make all the difference." (Participant B, 2019, Interview, 6 December).

Participant B also highlighted the importance of programmes and initiatives that are spearheaded by women in the community development work she engages in. While acknowledging that being aware of women's issues is not necessarily something that only women can do, **Participant B** was strongly of the opinion that those organisations that are well represented by women do a better job of understanding how to reach out to women. She does caution, however, that the different socio-economic realities of the women who practise in the development space and those they assist and collaborate with at the grassroots level might create issues of relatability. It thus becomes important to work with and engage women on the ground to understand better what they need. This is also important in building collaborations and partnerships that work in the interests of women and that are sustainable.

"I grew up in the township and my family was quite poor. When brainstorming projects and trying to get funding, I always try to think of my experiences growing up and what the best thing to do for my community is. I also have friends and other contacts who live in the communities I am involved in. I try not to act like I know what they need and what they want. I go in with a listening ear and see what I can do and how I can help based on what they tell me. This is something I learned over time. I am not a saviour. I do not pretend to know better. I am just someone who wants to help" (Participant B, 2019, Interview, 6 December).

In her professional practice, **Participant B** has carried out a number of programmes and initiatives in trying to support women and young people in her community. Some of these include:

- Organising career workshops at under-resourced township schools;
- Assisting young people with their applications to tertiary institutions;
- Mentoring and sponsoring young women in business to join her region's Chamber of Commerce;
- Working with local government officials to create opportunities for collaboration with small, medium and micro enterprises (SMME's);
- Collecting food items and toiletries for disadvantaged communities; and
- Facilitating sports mentorship by children from privileged schools in disadvantaged township schools.

4.3.3 Participant C: The Women's Rights Warrior

Participant C has extensive experience in local, provincial and national government structures. She has thrived in the public sector for the bulk of her career and has been in the development and NGO space for a period of five years to date. One of the boards she sits on is of an organisation that facilitates access to land, basic services, housing and administrative justice for vulnerable communities. In the context of this organisation and development as a whole, she believes that the increased focus on women is both warranted and necessary. Having sat on many boards within many organisations and departments, she notes that in her experience, men primarily focus on the issues that are central to them. As one of the few women serving on the board of her organisation, she believes that it is her responsibility to bring forward those issues that are important to women, that would otherwise not be tabled. She is very particular about only aligning herself with organisations that share similar values to her. This way, she is able to carry out her work with passion and meet her organisation's objectives.

> *"... being a woman in my kind of organisation, it's like a must that I bring women's issues to the discussion. Not because someone told me to, but because I feel like it's my duty. If I don't do that, nobody else will. I feel obligated to do it and I am also happy to do it."* (Participant C, 2019, Interview, 12 December).

This response prompted the question of how her particular interest in women's issues is received by other people in her organisation's leadership. To this, she responded:

> *"I fully own being the poster child for women's issues. I am proud of it. Women should be given the same platform to succeed as men. I am very invested in women who are trying to do better for themselves, especially those from the rural areas. It is easy to get behind those women and assist them because they have so much potential. I am happy to try and include them in the work my organisation does and in the programmes I conduct in my personal capacity. My organisation values my inputs. They know what I stand for and they support me."* (Participant C, 2019, Interview, 12 December).

Outside of the organisation she works for, **Participant C** runs a foundation that focuses on the leadership development and mentorship of young women and girls. To this end, she organises workshops that focus on leadership and that give young women the tools to succeed in all aspects of their lives. The foundation also has a strong focus on education. It has helped many young women obtain their tertiary qualifications by assisting them both financially and academically, and has provided them with networking opportunities in their respective fields. The work that the foundation does is work that **Participant C** would like to do full-time eventually. This is where her passion lies and she is happy to be an example and an advocate for young women, given that she is young herself.

4.3.4   Participant D: The Intersectional Feminist

When asked about the emphasis on women in development, **Participant D** thought it was absolutely warranted. Her thoughts on this are captured in an excerpt from her interview.

> *"Well yes, there's a need for it right? Particularly with the growing issue of gender-based violence. We definitely should be having the conversation but not only the conversation. I think now, we should be having funded strategies that we are able to implement, assess, and monitor collectively in society. I do think that the approach is a bit washed. I'm not convinced of the approach and obviously, I voice this on the platforms where I serve. I think that one, South Africa is a violent country. Our violence is historical and it's embedded in the way that we think and do things. When we reject anything, we want to topple it down by violence. And so that violence, because it's gone unchecked for so long, is now spiralling into other aspects of society that we didn't think it would.*
>
> *So we've seen xenophobic attacks, gender-based violence, the destruction of property, taxi wars and violence at every turn in society. I think that the response to the gender based violence in particular is not holistic enough. The second thing is for a very long time, whenever we thought about gender and gender parity, we thought of it in quotas. We thought of the 50/50 motion. We thought the 50/50 motion is going to deliver for us an equally just society. This fails because we now have women who are as exclusionary and as patriarchal as most men. I don't think that we're having that conversation or are dealing with that at all in our gender quota conversation. I don't think the 50/50 is going to deliver the change we want to see at all. And that's why I think that the conversations that we're having and the strategies that people have put in place are absolutely flawed to deal with the challenges that we have in this country"* (Participant C, 2019, Interview, 12 December).

Participant D identifies as a feminist and continuously pushes the emphasis on women in development within her organisation and the professional spaces she finds herself. She justifies the need for this by making the point that equality in development has to be sensitive to women because the status quo already favours men. When asked what she thought women-sensitive approaches to development were looking to achieve, she had this to say:

> *"The first step, when I think logically, is that they're trying to bring women into the room because women have been left behind in development. If we're going to use the example that I'm using now of just public toilets in the city or in any town. The mere fact that you have women's toilets that look exactly the same as toilets for men because it hasn't been taken into consideration that women sometimes shop with their babies on their back, while carrying bags of shopping and somehow she needs to get into that*

tiny cubicle. A gender centric developmental approach views men and women as different as they are and says both of them have a right to development that is equal. It appreciates that men and women use time differently and embraces that difference and plans for that difference.

So I think that's the first approach and that first step is very important, but it doesn't just end there and that's my problem with these gender centric developmental approaches. We end at just opening the door and we don't realize that sometimes the women that we let through the door are often the women that will keep others out. It has to go beyond that. There is a next step after opening the door and letting women in. it's about making sure that the women we've let in are the women that keep the door open and push the boundary. It can't be that in 2019, in metropolitan areas for example, things like public toilets haven't changed. Things like where public meetings are held have not changed when we know that men and women use spaces differently. It's about those things. It's about, yes, we opened the door, but how are we keeping check of the women we've let in and the women in leadership positions and are we asking the right questions of them to make sure that they keep the door open for other women to come in and to thrive?

I do believe that it's good that we have, for the last couple of years, thought about what a gendered developmental approach ought to be and have tried to implement it as best as we can globally. But I do think that there are countries that have moved beyond, right? There are countries that have asked, 'what will a feminist government look like and how do we ask for this feminist government?' What will feminist organisations look like in the corporate sector? There are countries where women have asked what a feminist corporate company looks like and that have asked critical questions. We are yet to do that" (Participant D, 2019, Interview, 17 December).

In her own career and organisation, **Participant D** actively rallies the support of women who do not identify as feminists or activists for women's issues towards common goals and objectives that benefit the broader women's movement in development.

"I'm a feminist at heart, right? I'm aware that feminism means different things to different people. In my work and in my life, as I mature, I'm realising that women's rights issues are not necessarily feminist issues. I am currently preoccupied with figuring out how you walk the journey with women who aren't necessarily feminists, enough for them to embrace difference. How do you do that when you also appreciate the challenges, the influences and the impact in these women's lives that have led them to think and be the way that they are? Being aligned to the societal influence, to their background, to how they've grown, how they were raised, their social networks

currently and all the things that hold them back. How do you walk with women from different backgrounds while also initiating a feminist consciousness within them that will be sustained and that will stay? This is important because in our work, we have to work with women of all kinds" (Participant D, 2019, Interview, 17 December).

Building this consciousness in the women she encounters professionally is very important to **Participant D.** She believes very strongly that when women are conscientised about their rights, they are more inclined to want to challenge the status quo. She acknowledges that this is difficult for many women, however, because challenging the status quo also starts in their homes and in their families. It involves challenging entrenched beliefs and practices that are sometimes very hard to unlearn. **Participant D** also pushes the focus on women in her organisation through her staff and the team that she works in. In the past three years, she has been trying to align her staff with her vision and the ideals that she has for the work they are carrying out. She has held various workshops internally to ensure that the people she works with have an understanding of the reasoning behind her vision and the goals she is trying to achieve. She has received some pushback from some of the members on her team because of her politics, but has always approached the criticism as an opportunity to foster meaningful engagement with an open mind.

"…and I've been driving my staff nuts because every other day, we had one feminist workshop after the other because it has to start with us understanding why we do this and why we must do this and how do we do this because it's not easy. This is about changing behaviour and mind-sets and that's difficult" (Participant D, 2019, Interview, 17 December).

When asked exactly how she handles the criticism from her team, this was her response:

"… That is why we are doing these workshops and constantly investing time in them. First, I have to walk with my own team, that's the youth and they need to understand why this must happen. Even with them, it's challenging the same things, right? It's grappling with how we were raised, the stuff that we hold dear to our hearts and the stuff that makes us who we are. It's saying that this is not necessarily the way things need to be. This is not helping society and it's not going to help us be the people that we should. So we've invested resources to it for the last couple of years and now it's literally part of strategic reviews and strategic conversations within the organization. I must say that we've seen results, right? We've seen results in the way people think, in the way they act and in the decisions they make" (Participant D, 2019, Interview, 17 December).

4.3.5   In Summary

While the four participants of this study have different personal philosophies for how they navigate their professional spaces, they were all in agreement that the focus on women in

development is warranted, necessary and needs to be carried out in a more meaningful and effective way. While the perspective on women-centric development was not as passionate for The Ally as it was for the Feminist, the Women's Rights Warrior and the Intersectional Feminist, there were similarities in the critiques they had of the movement and in how they thought these could be addressed.

The question of how each participant centres women in their development planning practice was answered differently. The variation in answers was caused by differences in the nature of work participants do and whether they actively prioritise women in their professional endeavours. Apart from **Participant A**, all the participants interviewed were very much inclined to advocate for women in the work carried out by their respective organisations, as well as in their personal capacities. In all of the engagements with participants, **Participant D** emerged as the most progressive leader in this regard, as she is not only concerned with achieving favourable outcomes for ordinary South African women but is also concerned with conscientising women of their rights and what they deserve beyond the scope of her work. **Participants B and C** also share similar philosophies in the approach they take in their advocacy for women. Both women emphasised the importance of humility and empathy in prioritising women within development objectives and the importance of listening to the voices at the grassroots level.

4.4   Women Leaders and Value Adding: A Critique

The opportunities that the presence of women leaders creates for development organisations and the constituents they serve has been discussed throughout this chapter in the responses given by the four women in this study. There seems to be a consensus amongst participants that it is imperative for women to enter these organisations and to ascend to the top if there is any chance for favourable outcomes to be achieved for women at the grassroots level. There has also been consensus regarding the critiques of this emphasis on women centric development as all the participants have agreed that not enough is being done to effect meaningful change. When asked the question *"Does the presence of women leaders in development organisations further women's issues in those spaces?"* the participants had this to say:

> *"I think our presence in these spaces is necessary but not at all sufficient. It's difficult to imagine the possibility that if there were no women in this space, that it would happen on its own. I know men who are feminists, so I'm not saying it's impossible, but I think I struggle to imagine a room full of men achieving that. I've also been in rooms where there are women and it doesn't achieve anything either, so there's also that unfortunately. So I would say that women's presence is necessary, but that alone just*

isn't enough. It's not automatically going to translate into getting the attention or the outcomes we want" (Participant A, 2019, Interview, 26 November).

When elaborating on this critique, **Participant A** further went on to say:

> *"It's possible to have women around the table and claim we're doing gender specific stuff and then just have the same old outcomes. I've seen a lot of that. A lot of the planning we do is not what I would really say is gender equitable as it still kind of feeds into the status quo. Unfortunately, you can still have women being the heads of HR (Human Resources), but not the actual technical areas, which is an area that I think we also need to see women. Then you could also have women be the head of the technical areas, but still not part of the most physical projects that have an impact. So you can still find many ways to undermine people in spite of letting them in. Luckily, I think there's definitely an element of letting them into the door. I think that's part of what the agenda has been about. I guess there's a part of the agenda that genuinely is about a changed outcome, like a society where things aren't defined by a male lens. I guess that's meant to be the case, but that's a much more difficult thing because it's a transformation and I don't know whether we always know what that looks like"* (Participant A, 2019, Interview, 26 November).

Participant D shared a similar perspective and critique to the one provided by **Participant A**.

> *"The optimist in me would like to think that many women in leadership think like I do. I like to think that we are concerned about issues that affect women generally and that not only do we want to open the door for women coming into the room and be seen and be heard and contribute, but that we want to keep that door open. The optimist in me would like to think that women led organisations think in this way. But like I've said, I've also realized that women can often be the most patriarchal. It's also quite possible that you can have a woman leader that's still very threatened by powerful women in that space. They may be paranoid that they are coming for her or coming for her position. It's also possible that you might have women led organisations, but that doesn't necessarily translate in any meaningful change for women. It's also quite by possible"* (Participant D, 2019, Interview, 17 December).

Participant B and C shared similar perspectives, albeit their critiques were not as pronounced as those of **Participant A and D**. **Participant C**, as expressed in a previously quoted excerpt, does not believe that women's issues would be furthered in development organisations without the voices and the participation of women. She believes that having women in leadership positions within organisations such as hers gives women at the grassroots level the opportunity to be harnessed and given opportunities to help better themselves.

"Women have a lot to offer, you know? They just need to be given a chance. Having people like me on the boards of these organisations can help because men do not fully understand what women want and need. I think it also helps for women in communities to feel represented and seen. They find it easier to connect with me because they feel I am just like them. Underneath the fancy clothes, I am still that girl from rural KZN who wants to help them. I also like to present myself in a way that makes them open up to me and trust me. I think one of the worst things to do when dealing with poor people is to make yourself seem better than them. You are not. You must always be humble and respectful. That is what growing up poor has taught me." (Participant C, 2019, Interview, 12 December).

Participant B relayed that the presence of women leaders in the development space was advantageous because:

"Having women leaders allows the conversation and the processes around women's issues to be designed in a way that considers the ends of planning and the means of planning. In the outcome, we often do begin to see gender equity being one of the consequences of the interventions we're making. For me, that is a decent move towards equality and that's something I enjoy getting behind" (Participant B, 2019, Interview, 6 December).

4.5   Conclusion

The data collection process of this study, as well as the chosen form of engaging with participants, was key in providing the insights that would frame the aptly titled findings chapter of this research report. "Women Leaders in Development: Perspectives and Lived Experiences" has explored a number of the themes that have defined the study both in the literature review as well as in the policy and strategic frameworks analysis. This chapter has explored aspects of power and influence within the professional space; it has explored the factors that sometimes hinder women from driving certain agendas within their respective organisations; and it has explored the reality of what women-centric approaches to development entail and how they are not easy to carry out in real-time. From the insights gleaned from research participants, this chapter has also uncovered the complexities that come with how women define themselves as well as how they are defined by the rest of the world when they are in professional spaces. The concept of being 'another' in ways that go beyond your gender is another aspect of the discussion that provides an additional layer to the discussion of difference, identity and intersectionality.

In looking at how women leaders locate themselves in the practical application of women-sensitive approaches to development, it is evident from the findings that this is relative and can

be tied back to the issues of identity and the social justice causes that women most identify with. The women in this study, for the most part, made it a point to centre women in the development initiatives and programmes they championed in their professional spaces. One of the biggest takeaways from this chapter is that there is no set or defined outcome when you incorporate more women into the leadership structure of an organisation. There are no guarantees that certain issues will be prioritised and that favourable outcomes will be achieved for women on a larger scale. The social justice imperatives that women choose to align themselves with professionally are contingent on a larger set of variables that are not necessarily defined by gender. With this being said, all of the participants in the study expressed that opening the door for women to occupy these spaces does at least open up the space for those types of dialogues and engagements to take place. As women leaders, they could not imagine women's issues coming to the forefront in a room where men were the only ones making the decisions. While it is not guaranteed that women leaders will necessarily opt for women-centric developmental approaches, their presence within decision-making structures is vital. Perhaps a meaningful step in the fight for gender equality will also be allowing women to exist without the burden of being made to feel as if they represent and must advocate for all women.

5 SO WHAT? CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

"Your purpose becomes your passion. Whatever it is – children, community, family – it is what gets you out of bed every morning and keeps you moving forward, through good times and bad." -- Peggy Sue Khumalo

5.1 Introduction

Development initiatives in South Africa are increasingly demanding the participation of women. From the policy perspective, there is no definitive indication whether this is a result of there being more women leading development organisations and institutions (Department of Women, 2015a). In this regard, the research outlined by this study has made notable steps in trying to decipher whether the presence of women leaders in development organisations has led to the prioritisation of women's issues within those organisations. In instances where this is the case, the study has gone into detail about the underlying factors that cause women leaders to adopt women-centric approaches in their development planning practice, as well as outlining the ways in which they do this in trying to maximise the beneficial outcomes for women on the ground. Through women-centric development initiatives, women are encouraged to engage in income-generating activities in order to improve the state of their livelihoods (Department of Women, 2015a).

This conclusion and recommendations chapter will briefly reflect on the policy chapter of this study and what lessons the government and other policy-makers can learn in trying to create policies for women that are substantive, implementable and detailed. It will also reflect on the insights gleaned from interview participants, specifically as they relate to the research questions framing this study. Lastly, this chapter will make recommendations for how women leaders can be better equipped to succeed in the workplace, as well as how this study can be carried forward in future research endeavours.

5.2 Reflections and Recommendations: South African Policy and Strategic Frameworks

While South Africa has made commendable strides in trying to mainstream gender into policies and strategic legislative frameworks, policy makers still have a massive task ahead of them in trying to construct policies that are pointed and direct in prescribing the different ways gender equality can be embedded in both the public and private institutional DNA of the country. As it stands, South African policies on gender equality and women's empowerment read more like broad and idealistic visions for the future, instead of coming across as implementable strategies. This makes it difficult to implement them practically and to track the progress of their implementation through key indicators and tangible deliverables.

In creating policies that are targeted at women, South African policy makers continue to duplicate pre-existing frameworks that cannot be enforced and that do not have a clear implementation plan or strategic approach. This results in the cries of women going largely unanswered as the country continues to function as though it is business as usual. Women continue to endure the most of the patriarchal culture that has become embedded in the fabric of this country and poor policy responses only serve to diminish any positive future prospects for South African women concerning gender equality.

The policy analysis conducted in chapter two highlighted some key issues that the government needs to take heed of in trying to effectively and strategically write women into South African policies and strategic frameworks. Some of these issues are highlighted below:

1. The absence of a national coordinating structure on issues such as gender-based violence has a ripple effect on the outcomes the government is trying to achieve in mainstreaming gender into policy-making across the different sectors of government.
2. The government's efforts to promote gender equality through policy-making are futile if the policies do not directly respond to the true realities of South African society.
3. Policies that exclusively propose interventions for women working in the formal sector are exclusionary and reject the vast majority of South African women who exist outside the purview of state and economic institutions.
4. Policies that are drafted without the input of key organisations and stakeholders such as women's rights groups and the CGE will present gaps in the way they define gender equality and the interventions they propose.

In trying to create policies and strategic frameworks that act as an effective vehicle to drive meaningful change, government and policy makers could consider adopting the following recommendations:

- Drafting legislative frameworks that are premised on implementable deliverables and strategies instead of broad ideals and visions;
- Recognising that women, particularly in the context of South Africa, are not a homogenous group where blanket interventions will serve everyone equally;
- Enforcing existing affirmative action policies and ensuring compliance by both the public and private sector;
- Instituting harsh penalties for sectors and stakeholders who do not comply with affirmative action as it relates to gender and racial equality, as well as any other measures put in place to address inequalities;
- Directly target the economic disparities that continue to subjugate women, i.e. the gender pay gap, access to education for the girl child, skills development, etc.;

- Catalyse targeted interventions that will mobilise community based and social justice organisations that have a vested interest in women's issues and rights; and
- Appoint qualified women who are passionate about women empowerment and gender equality into the departments that deal directly with women, youth and children.

5.3 Reflections on Development Practitioners: Women in Leadership

Throughout the study, a concerted effort has been made to create a focus on women that speaks to the major themes of leadership and power; gender and development, gender considerations in policy and strategic frameworks; and the practical application of women-centric development approaches within prescribed organisational structures.

The preceding four chapters of this study have made a case for why and how women need to be centred and prioritised in development. They have also outlined the discriminatory and sexist hiring practices that prevent women from occupying key senior management positions in their respective organisations. The analysis of the gendered nature of power has given context to the adversities that woman leaders have to contend with in advancing their careers in their chosen professions and organisations.

The interviews conducted with Participants A, B, C and D provided some meaningful insights into how women-centric approaches to development are translated in practice. The table below presents a brief summary matrix of how the participants in the study responded to the research questions of the study.

Table 8: Summary of Responses to the Research Sub-Questions

	How do women leaders perceive women-sensitive approaches to development planning?	What strategies do women leaders employ to centre women in their everyday practice?	To what extent do women leaders recognise the value in women-sensitive approaches to development planning?
Participant A	Necessary. The approaches need to move away from being a tick-box exercise in order to create meaningful and beneficial outcomes for women.	Participant A identifies more as an ally than a pioneer. She wants to see more women taking up space in their respective career paths, particularly in the more technical fields. She is highly critical of the strategies that are currently being employed in furthering this cause and thinks more should be done to push it forward in a meaningful way.	There is value in these approaches. The way they are being carried out in practice is not doing them any justice, unfortunately.

	How do women leaders perceive women-sensitive approaches to development planning?	What strategies do women leaders employ to centre women in their everyday practice?	To what extent do women leaders recognise the value in women-sensitive approaches to development planning?
Participant B	Necessary. When development does not prioritise women, it inadvertently excludes them.	Empowers young women through business mentoring and professional sponsorship for their SMMEs. Centres women and young girls in her organisation's community development and outreach programmes.	There is value in these approaches. Women need to be prioritised.
Participant C	Necessary. Women need to drive this mandate using the professional platforms they have access to and the spaces they frequent professionally.	Lobbies for initiatives and programmes within her organisation that facilitate access to land, basic services, housing and administrative justice for women and other vulnerable groups. Mentors young women and girls as part of her own private foundation. Provides educational and networking support to aspiring graduates.	There is value in these approaches. If women do not take ownership of this movement, it will remain stagnant and ineffective.
Participant D	Necessary. Women need to get as many allies as possible on board in trying to realise the objectives of these approaches in order to highlight their importance to a wider audience.	Transfers her vision of social justice and gender equality onto her team and the people she works with. Uses professional platforms to drive the prioritisation of women in development. Prioritises women in her organisation's agenda.	There is value in these approaches. As a county, we need to dig deeper and do more to advance them in a meaningful way.

Source: Ncame, S (2019)

What opportunities does the presence of women leaders present for development organisations?

- There is consensus amongst all research participants that the presence of women leaders in development organisations increases the likelihood that women-centric approaches to development programmes and initiatives will be tabled in the decision-making process.
- The manner in which women approach leadership and how they interact with their staff creates safe spaces within these organisations and allows for greater information sharing and vulnerability in the workplace.

5.4 Recommendations for Women Leaders in the Workplace: How can they Better Succeed?

While there are policy initiatives that make provision for women in the workplace, there needs to be a more concerted effort on the part of organisations themselves to advance the gender equality movement within their respective organisations and ensure that women in the workplace are better equipped to succeed. Recommendations in this regard are listed below:

1. Leadership within development organisations needs to better recognise talented women and provide opportunities for them to excel and advance.

2. There needs to be less of a focus on mentoring women and more of a focus on allowing them to prove themselves and their competency in top leadership positions. Mentorship is great when it is accompanied by the genuine desire to mould competent women leaders. It becomes redundant when it is used as a tool to pacify women into staying in middle management positions.

3. South African women remain one of the most educated groups in the population. They should be given opportunities to advance past middle management in the organisations they serve should they have the capacity and desire to do so.

4. The popular discourse in management and leadership literature that suggests that women need to develop stronger interpersonal and team-building skills in order to succeed as leaders has strong undertones of misogynoir. Women in the workplace, for the most part, already possess these skills. Organisations need to refrain from expecting these skills to be packaged in traditional leadership styles that are modelled after men. Allow women to lead in their own way.

5. Affirmative action initiatives targeted at gender equality need to be better enforced, particularly in the private sector. While these policies are better enforced by the public sector, women cannot be restricted to holding leadership positions solely in this realm. In a mixed economy such as South Africa, the private sector plays a key role in the socio-economic health and functioning of the country. Women need to be reserved seat at this table well.

5.5 Recommendations for Future Research: What is the Way Forward?

The subject matter of this study is an interesting one that has the potential to contribute meaningfully to the discourse on women in leadership and the relationships they hold with their presumed constituency. During the process of conducting the initial desktop research that was going to guide which direction this study would eventually take, it became apparent that the literature on this subject matter is limited. Studies of this nature that are located within Africa are even more difficult to find, as this aspect of planning and development has not yet been

explored in detail in the African context. Exploring the different ways South African women craft their professional identities and how this translates into their professional practice would be a fantastic starting point in eventually researching which social justice imperatives are important to them and why. The focus of this study on women-sensitive approaches to development was born out of a personal interest and passion in women's issues and their general livelihoods. It has been interesting to observe how the centring of women in development is not necessarily a priority for all women in the development field. When things are important to us as individuals, we tend to take it for granted that not everyone shares the same passion and sentiments.

If this study were to be picked up and explored further in subsequent research endeavours, the following considerations would assist in mitigating some of the factors that limited the study and its subsequent findings:

1. **Expanding the scope and duration of the study**

Increasing the number of research participants in the study could provide for a larger, more robust research sample. This sample would be inclusive of women from different cultural and religious backgrounds, races, class brackets, nationalities, etc. This would result in a varied sample that has the potential to yield results that are more interesting for the purposes of analysis and discussion.

2. **Sourcing research participants in good time and extending the time period of fieldwork**

This recommendation is linked to expanding the study and including more research participants. Extending the period researchers have to conduct fieldwork would allow for more interviews to be conducted and more flexibility in the interview schedule.

3. **Ethical Clearance Process**

A longer period in which to conduct the research would make provision for the time spent waiting for the Wits Ethics Committee to grant clearance without compromising the idea of expanding the scope of the study.

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7   ANNEXURES

Annexure 1: Semi-Structured Interview Guide

For Us, By Us? Investigating How Women Leaders Centre Gender in their Development Planning Practice

MSc Development Planning

Interview Guide for Semi-Structured Interviews

Establishing the Institutional Position of the Participant

1. Please briefly describe your position, roles and responsibilities within your given organisation.
2. How long have you been in the development space/worked for your organisation?
3. Just as a short background, what type of work does your organisation do and how do you contribute to it on a daily basis?

A Woman Leader

1. How would you define what a leader is and what the role of a leader should be?
2. What does it mean for you to be a leader in an organisation such as yours?
3. More specifically, what does it mean for you to be a woman leader in your organisation?
4. What challenges do you often face given the position you occupy?
5. What kinds of expectations do people have of you given the position that you hold?
6. Do you think your gender affects any aspect relating to how you do your job or how effective you are at it?
7. How would you describe your leadership style? What kind of a leader are you?

Development Planning

1. How would you describe what development is to someone who does not have a clear understanding of it?
2. In your opinion, what is the main function or primary objective of development or development planning?
3. How does your organisation contribute to the overall idea of development and what is your role in that?

4. Which interests do you prioritise in your everyday practice as a women leader in a development organisation? Which causes/groups/struggles are near and dear to you?

5. Do you, in any way, incorporate these interests in the agenda of your organisation? If so, how? If not, why?

Gender and Development Planning

1. In your opinion, do you think the increasing emphasis on women in development and development planning is warranted? I.e. do you think there is a need for it?

2. What is your understanding of women-sensitive approaches to development planning? I.e. what do you understand the significance of considering women in development practice to be?

3. What do you think women-sensitive approaches to development and development planning are trying to achieve? Do you think these objectives are valid?

4. What are your general thoughts on this approach to development planning?

5. Do you think that women are prioritised in development planning by the state and development organisations such as yours? Why do you think this is the case?

6. Do you think that women should be singled out as a priority group in development and development planning? If so, how and why? If not, why?

7. As a leader in your organisation, how do you position yourself when it comes to issues of gender equality within development planning? I.e. where do you stand?

8. Would you describe yourself as an advocate for women's rights and issues in your professional capacity? If so, how and why? If not, why?

9. Have you been a part of any initiatives or programmes that were specifically targeted at women in your professional capacity? If so, what was your experience? If not, why?

10. What strategies (if any) do you employ in your professional capacity and practice to centre those issues that are important to women?

11. In your opinion, what opportunities does the presence of women leaders present for development organisations? Are there any disadvantages?