Participation of Women in Development Projects in the SADC Region

A Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of a Degree of Master of Philosophy

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Abstract

The key to the empowerment of women is their participation at all the stages and all levels of the development project cycle. This thesis examines participation of women in development projects in the Southern African Development Community region. Its main objective is to analyse evaluations of New Zealand's Voluntary Agency Support Scheme funded projects in Africa between 1988 and 1991.

There was unequal gender participation in all the projects. Despite lack of empowerment of women in the projects, important development needs of women were met. This could be linked to the nature of traditional societies in this region.

The recommendations focus on the need for equal participation of women and men in development projects at the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation stages as well as equal distribution of project benefits. Furthermore, attention is focused on World Bank and International Monetary Fund Structural Adjustment Programmes, the debt crisis, Southern and Northern NGO partnerships and the adoption of analytical framework to analyse projects.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The reason for this research on participation of women in development projects in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries is that:

Women constitute half the population; perform two thirds of the hours worked; are registered as only performing one third of these hours; receive one tenth of the world's income and have one hundredth of the world's property registered in their name (UNDP, 1989).

Other reasons for this research is that in developing countries women play a pivotal role in agriculture. In Sub-Saharan Africa women account for at least 70 percent of food production but they still face constraints such as lack of access to land, credit and other important resources. It is also difficult for women to participate in development projects because they have difficulty in gaining access to improved technology not only because of their position in society but because of inadvertent aspects of development which favour men's access to land, credit, extension and other inputs (Boserup, 1986; Wider, 1990; Saito, 1991; Moser, 1993; United Nations, 1995).

The role of women has however changed tremendously since the formation of the United Nations 50 years ago. International efforts, such as the 1967 United Nations' Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, saw the rights of women recognised worldwide. The United Nations Decade for Women (1976-1985) promoted women's equal participation in the economic, social,

political and cultural areas of society. This awareness of equality of rights has had a positive impact on national governments all over the world (United Nations, 1995). There have been attempts to change ideas from those which see women as subordinate to men to those which see that women should participate on an equal footing with their male counterparts. However, the United Nations (1995) states that in many countries in the world women continue to be regarded as playing no important role at all in society. Many of these countries fall within those that are categorised as developing, in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Women's position worldwide could improve if more women had decision-making power and control of resources. According to the 1994 World Survey (United Nations, 1995), there are many reasons why women should be fully integrated in economic decision-making. Firstly, women have equal rights to such participation. With the Universal Declaration of Human Rights codified in the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women, women should have access to obtaining skills, assets and careers to advance to decision-making levels. Secondly, failure to integrate women into the development process and utilise their potential is a waste of human resources. Lastly, women's skills are particularly appropriate for modern management, in the sense that many of these skills are developed by managing scarce time and resources in their triple roles (reproductive, productive and community roles) in the household. Other obstacles facing women in development are the shortcomings both with the adequacy of the legislation and its implementation as well as the absence of an adequate analytical framework for integrating women into project analysis (Overholt et al. 1991; United Nations, 1995; Moser, 1993). It is also evident that aid that has been channeled to developing countries by international organisations has consequently had little impact on improving the position of women in the economy (Sachs, 1992).

Furthermore, it is suggested by the United Nations (1995) Boserup (1986), Moser (1989;1993) Overholt et al. (1991) and other development writers that the development strategies and programmes, as well as incentive programmes and projects in the field of food and agriculture, need to be designed in a manner that fully integrates women at all levels of planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation and in all stages of the development process of a project cycle, so as to facilitate and enhance this key role of women to ensure that women receive proper benefits and remuneration commensurate with their important contribution in this field.

From the discussion above it is recognised by development literature that women comprise a major (actual and potential) grouping in any country and the benefits accruing from their involvement in national development are correlated with their participation in development projects. Development projects that incorporate women invariably benefit their families and the society at large.

The situation of women in the SADC region is the subject of this research. The SADC is one of the African regional self-reliant cooperatives and consists of Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. With the exception of Tanzania in East Africa, all SADC countries are in Southern Africa. Although few of these countries have officially ratified the Convention for the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women, all show a serious recognition of issues involved by making legislation to include women in the development process.[1] The Nairobi

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[1] This decision to include the needs and concerns of women in the development process was taken by the Council of Ministers in Gaborone, Botswana in 1990 (WID SAAP, 1995).

Forward-Looking Strategies have been accepted by these governments and their role now is to implement them amidst the many obstacles that are the legacy of colonialism as well as cultural factors. These obstacles stand in the way of women in terms of equal participation in the development process.

In view of the discussion above, the purpose of this study is to analyse participation of women in development projects in the SADC region and to see if women benefit from their participation.

The main objectives of this research are:

To critically analyse evaluations of New Zealand Voluntary Agency Support Scheme (VASS) funded projects in Africa between1988 and 1991. These include considering gender participation in the project cycle. It also includes analysis of project benefits.

To formulate a general statement of recommendations to the international community, national governments, Northern and Southern NGO's about the importance of full participation of women in development projects.

Now that the purpose and the objectives of this thesis have been stated, it is necessary to outline how the rest of the thesis will be structured.

Chapter 2 reviews literature on development and participation concepts and practice. A gendered perspective will be gained by discussing participation approaches to development.

Chapter 3 discusses the constraints that women face in the effort to participate in the development process in the SADC region. The last part of the chapter will

discuss the efforts that were made at international, national and local levels to encourage greater integration of women in the development process in this region.

Chapter 4 deals with the methods that were used to do the research.

In Chapter 5 the selected projects will be analysed in order to bring out project objectives, organisation and benefits.

Chapter 6 will then undertake a detailed analysis of the gender participation in decision-making levels of the projects.

Finally, Chapter 7 formulates a general statement of recommendations to governments, donors and other sponsors as well as development workers about the need for full participation of women in development projects.

CHAPTER 2

DEVELOPMENT AND PARTICIPATION: CONCEPTS AND PRACTICES

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Development theory has made a significant contribution to the understanding of development of societies in the sense that, since the end of the Second World War, it has produced a lot of material regarding development as a major concern for governments, international agencies, social scientists and others. However, not all development theories have been universally accepted and different theories have been put forward at different times and places to explain similar situations.

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the concept of development as seen by various writers as well as the concept of participation as my preferred approach to development. Conventional development theories and approaches have, until recently, mostly ignored the concept of participation. Such theories tend to provide pre-determined strategies which are imposed on people with little consultation. The participatory approach, however, focuses on people-centred development which encourages participation of people in matters that are self-empowering, and enable people to take control of their own lives.

The conventional development approach used in the past imposed 'top-down' (development from above) strategies developed by interventions from outside the target area. These organisations identify the 'problem' as well as design the

'solution' (project). They only began to involve the 'recipients' at the implementation stage where their labour and maintenance of the project were needed. Such development strategies failed to bring the expected outcomes because recipients were not motivated to participate. In such circumstances, recipients' judgments of the success of a project often differed from that of the donors.

Such failure caused development planners and practitioners to look for more effective development strategies. The participatory approach involves smaller and low-cost projects, it also involves target group as primary participants in the project. This 'bottom-up' (development from below) strategy involves the target people throughout the project cycle (from the initial stage of identifying their own needs to that of evaluating the project) and this way people do not feel alienated from the project. Instead they feel motivated and empowered, with a sense of ownership and responsibility. They have a major interest in the success of the project.

The first part of this chapter is divided into three main sections, reviewing theories of development relevant to this study. Firstly, the meaning of development is examined in order to bring out the different ways development has been understood. Secondly, we discuss the concept of participation, its origins, obstacles and solutions. Thirdly, the rise of gender issues in development theories is analysed.

The second part of the chapter focuses on development practice, in particular the way projects are designed and what their objectives are. This will show to what extent the theories described in part one have been put into practice.

2.2 DEVELOPMENT THEORIES

For the purposes of this chapter, it is important to clarify the concept 'development' before it can be used because it may mean one thing to a developed country and another to a developing country. It may also mean one thing to a particular group in a country and another thing to another group within the same country. Various authors (Webster, 1984; Rostow, 1961; Smelser, 1966; McClelland, 1970) have explained 'development' in different ways. These are described below.

2.2.1 Concepts of Development

Scientists in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries used 'development' in relation to the biological growth of plants and animals. They believed that development meant a transformation from a lower state to a higher state (Sachs, 1992). Later, Tonnies' evolutionary theory held that societies evolve from lower to higher stages; they move from undifferentiated to more complex societies (Preston, 1986). One of the foremost development theorists of the post-war era, Rostow (1961), believed that self-sustaining economic growth is the main economic characteristic of modern society and to achieve this characteristic the society had to go through the five stages of economic growth: the 'traditional society', 'the pre-condition for take-off', 'the take-off', 'the drive to maturity' and 'the age of high mass consumption' (Preston, 1986).

Many others, in contrast, believed that 'development' means the alleviation of poverty. This meaning brought together the social and the economic development of societies to provide a meaning that is relevant to actual development. The Economic and Social Council of the United Nations (ECOSOC) (United Nations, 1962) believed that 'development' was growth plus social, cultural and economic

change, which is qualitative as well as quantitative. This concept means that the process of growth should bring about the fulfillment of basic needs, self-reliance and economic, social and political change (Rahnema, 1992).

All these explanations lead to a change in society, although these are different explanations for societal change. The early scientists, Tonnies, Rostow and others, did not include the human factor in explaining development. They concentrated on economic growth rather than both economic and social development. More recent theorists, in contrast, realised the importance of both.

2.2.1.1 Economic Development Paradigms

Other commonly held views of development can be seen in the application of strategies which originated from the West to explain development in the West.

2.2.1.1.1 Modernisation paradigm

Development theorists in the 1950s, echoing Rostow (1961), talked about modernisation which stressed the 'trickle-down' model of development which would result in a stage of 'take-off' and eventually the stage of 'mass consumption'. Newly independent governments would be helped through the evolutionary stages of economic growth already followed by developed countries. This would lead to the establishment of prosperous capitalist economies (Rostow, 1961; Preston, 1986; Frank, 1971; Rahnema, 1992).

Modernisation theory emphasised infrastructure and institution building to facilitate this economic growth. Unfortunately participation was neglected as a major resource for the process of development. Even though people needed to be mobilised through mass education and community development programmes to

reach the 'take-off' stage into growth, development projects and programmes were designed for them. This was a 'top-down' strategy of development (Preston, 1986; Furtado, 1970; Rahnema, 1992).

2.2.1.1.2 Dependency paradigm

Dependency theory arose partly in response to the inadequacies of modernisation theory. Dependency theory evolved from marxism which stressed the socialist ideal society and equality. It was harshly critical of the way capitalist societies were imposed on traditional societies which had different modes of production. Capitalism became the dominant mode of production and created dominant social groups, leading to the exploitation of the 'underprivileged' or the 'marginalised'. International agencies, elites and national governments are seen as agents of capitalism, not as neutral actors in the process of development (Rahnema, 1992).

2.3 CONCEPT OF PARTICIPATION

Due to the perceived failures of conventional development and dependency theories, some development practitioners began to look more closely at development in practice and at the issue of participation.

Social activists and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) criticised the 'top-down' strategies of development because these strategies failed to bring about the expected outcome of development. They encouraged the practice of participation as an essential method of development and "its presence is now effectively obligatory in all policy documents and projects proposals" (Dudley, 1993).

Alternative strategies were explored in the 1970s to find a universal understanding of participation. Authors like Freire (1972) and Oakley (1984, 1991) advocated participation as an alternative 'bottom up' strategy of development. Self-reliance was seen as a critical element within a participatory democracy in which the 'consciousness-gap' between leaders of a society and the masses is closed and in which every person is seen as the subject of her or his own world rather than the object of other people's worlds (Oakley, 1984). A process of empowerment emerges whereby people build their own material assets to be self-reliant. This philosophy of people-centred development places participation as central to development strategies.

According to Friedman (1992) this alternative development model is centred on people and their environment rather than production and profits. It is based on the life of people and it addresses the question of an improvement in the conditions of their livelihood from the perspective of the household. Alternative development seeks the empowerment of households and their individual members through their involvement in socially and politically relevant actions. It originates from below and within social formations such as a village.

In the process of development of a society from one stage to another, participation of the people of that particular society is essential. The Random House Webster's Dictionary (1993: 481-482) defines participation as "to take part or have a share, as with others". The Oxford English Dictionary (1989: 268) defines participation as "the action or fact of partaking, having or forming a part of". This could mean that one participates without the aim of trying to achieve a particular objective. It could also mean that people can be mobilised into taking part in activities that they do

not understand (Rahnema, 1992). Thus participation can be a problematic term and it is essential that it is defined carefully herein.

According to Oakley (1984), the concept of 'participation' has been seen as a kind of injection which can be applied to a particular project to affect a perceived outcome. This injection could be in the form of capital inputs from outside which could result in economic growth and the eventual distribution of benefits in the society. In most cases it is viewed as a government intervention in development. This can be recognised in terms such as 'mobilisation' and 'coercion'. Intervention is seen as a process involving mechanisms, objectives, budgets and control. This interpretation of participation stresses the assistance of developing societies by developed societies. It is a 'top-down' strategy of development and not a strategy which this thesis supports.

Most writers now see participation as a 'bottom-up' process focusing on distribution. This participation emphasises education and building up organisations through which certain groups in society might achieve their participation. It also raises consciousness and preparation of the actual participation (Oakley, 1984).

Several authors have argued that it is difficult to establish a universal definition of participation. Even with a working definition an United Nations Research Institute for Social research (UNRISD) study points out that it is impossible to identity 'participation' as an actual social reality (Oakley, 1984). According to Rahman (1992), it can be explored but not contained in a formal definition.

2.3.1 Obstacles to Participation

There are operational, social, cultural and structural obstacles confronting most rural development projects, thereby causing difficulties for participation. These obstacles are over-centralised planning, inadequate delivery mechanisms, lack of local co-ordination, inappropriateness of project technology, irrelevant project contents, lack of local structures. Lack of participation has created an attitude of resistance to change. The mentality of dependence which is historically rooted in the minds of people often following top-down projects, makes it hard for them to change. Hand-outs encourage people to do nothing about their plight. They are passive and they do not have a say in their own development. These are all obstacles which must be overcome if people are to participate fully in determining their future development paths and in working towards achieving their own goals.

2.3.2 Solutions

The solutions that are suggested are that people need to be motivated, encouraged and assisted to be involved in the development process and to ensure that this process works in their own interests. Change agents can help them with this. The change agent in the participatory process aims to create the conditions that will enable people to get involved in and have influence on development issues which affect them. As a facilitator, educator, catalyst or arbiter, the change agent is supposed to work with participants rather than work for them. She or he supports their activities and encourages them to take active responsibility for their development. There may be some cases, though, where the change agents will impose their own ideologies and definitions of the aims of participation (Freire, 1972; Oakley et al. 1972).

Participation is part of an education process which is important in project design. People should be informed about accessibility to their involvement in projects. Freire (1972) and Oakley et al. (1991) say people should be made aware of access to participation so as to break their mental isolation as caused by years of domination. The feeling of inferiority should be removed to prepare them to reflect, speak out, analyse, plan and implement development. This is a mental liberation, a form of empowerment that is needed to provide for involvement in one's own development. Utilisation of local people's knowledge is an appropriate strategy for development. Local knowledge is being incorporated in project design planning through organisations (Oakley et al. 1991). Organisations are a mechanism whereby people can gain access to development resources and participate in their development. These organisations include co-operatives, unions, farmers' associations, credit and savings associations, and others (Oakley et al., 1991).

Development projects become effective when available resources are efficiently utilised and the misunderstanding of benefits of projects minimised. If people have a say in determining their objectives, supporting project administration and making their knowledge available, the project will more likely be successful. Participation promotes self-awareness and confidence among people actively involved in development. They tend to think positively about their problems and solutions and they are able to take control of issues confronting them. Thus participation can be a very good development strategy.

Although the above discussion on development from below ('bottom-up') does not represent a formally constructed theory of development, the ideas have been constructed in a way that provides a set of principles for development practice.

Historically, Western conventional development theories offered largely inappropriate and unattainable development models for development practice.

Having discussed concepts of development from below and development from above, we next explore whether women can benefit from a participatory approach.

2.4 GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

Problems concerning the role of women in development have been observed by researchers such as Boserup (1970), Moser, (1989, 1993), Overholt, (1991) and others. These problems include barriers to full participation of women in the development process. These barriers are discussed below a discussion on policies which attempt to address them.

Issues regarding participation of women in national development processes have been on the agenda of national and international development agencies since the 1980s. During this time many countries and international agencies had incorporated women's issues into development plans and special bureaus for women, offices and ministries had been set up. Researchers such as Boserup (1970, 1975) had already begun to produce literature in this regard. Although by 1981 there was much activity, development planning efforts still failed to recognise fully the women's actual and potential contribution to the development process or the effect of the development process on women (Overholt et al. 1991; Moser, 1993; Anolui, 1994).

The problems of low-income women in developing countries have been identified as a concern for governments since the colonial and post-colonial period. Interventions have, therefore, been designed and applied to help them.

Subsequently, the role that they play in society is now recognised but the concept of equal participation in development has not been put into practice. One of the problems that have been encountered by researchers is that there was no adequate operational frameworks for project analysis (Moser, 1993; Overholt et al. 1991).

The triple role women play in society (reproductive, productive[1] and community managing work) is not recognised. Policy-makers mostly ignore the fact that women, unlike men, are constrained by the burden of balancing these three roles simultaneously. Only productive work is recognised as work by virtue of its exchange value. Reproductive and community managing work are not valued because they are seen as 'natural' and 'non-productive'. Implications are that the majority of the work they do, if not all work, is made invisible and is not recognised as work. The majority of men's work is valued, either through paid remuneration, or through status and political power. The tendency is to see women's and men's needs as similar. However, the reality of their lives shows a very different situation (Moser, 1993).

Women-headed households are increasing in numbers and their economic conditions vary considerably. These conditions depend on factors such as the woman's marital status, the social context of female leadership, her access to productive resources and income, and the composition of the household. Quite frequently, women-headed households fall below the poverty line and are disproportionately represented amongst the poorest. The problem of the triple role

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[1] Reproductive roles include the childbearing and rearing responsibilities. Productive roles include income-earning activities (Moser, 1989).

of women who head households is made worse and may have specific policy implications (Moser, 1993; White et al. 1986). This discussion of the problems facing women in developing countries prompts us to highlight the policy approaches which were applied to assist them.

2.4.1 Development Policy Approaches

The purpose of this part of the chapter is to highlight the links between the women in development (WID), women and development (WAD) and gender and development (GAD) theories and practice and to illustrate the different types of projects and the extent to which these theories are associated with these theoretical perspectives. This part will begin with the discussion of the different theories and ends with the discussion of the practice of these theories.

2.4.1.1 WID, WAD, GAD theories

The women in development (WID) approach began with the popularity of Esther Boserup's *Women's Role in Economic Development* (1970). In this book she analysed the changes in traditional practices and describes the sexual division of labour that exists in the agrarian economies. WID approach was subsequently articulated by Western liberal feminists (in the early 1970s) who advocated legal and administrative changes to ensure that women are integrated into economic systems (Moser, 1993; Rathgeber, 1990).

WID is closely linked to the modernisation paradigm and ignores the radical or critical perspectives of the dependency theory or Marxist or neo-Marxist analysis. Focusing on how women can better be integrated into development initiatives, the WID approach avoids the question of the source of women's subordination and

oppression and tends to focus instead on advocacy for more equal participation in education, employment and other spheres of society (Rathegeber, 1990).

It is clear that WID focuses on productive roles of women and ignores their reproductive roles as well as the historical context of society and the impact and influence of class, race and culture. Thus, WID projects are income-generating and women are taught particular skills. In this approach successful projects become appropriated by men and do not address the basic relations of gender.

Women and development (WAD) approach was articulated by neo-Marxist feminism in the late 1970s. The WAD approach uses some of the dependency paradigm ideas. In contrast to WID, it takes a more critical view of women's position. However, it groups women together and addresses class, race and ethnicity. Unfortunately it does not address the issue of patriarchy, different modes of production, women's subordination and oppression. Like WID, it concentrates on income-generating activities without taking into account the time burdens that strategies place on women. It is more concerned with the productive work while reproductive work is assigned no economic value. Therefore, this approach focuses on the relationship between women and development processes rather than on strategies for the integration of women into development.

Recently policy strategies have shifted from implementing small-scale, income-generating projects (WID and WAD) with the objective of mainstreaming women into all policies. What is new now is that women's issues are formulated in terms of gender. This shifts the whole paradigm that sees women as a homogenous group.

Gender and development (GAD) approach was articulated by radical feminism in the 1980s and it links relations of production to relations of reproduction and takes

into account all aspects of women's lives (relations of gender, class, race and development) (Rathgeber, 1990; United Nations, 1995). GAD identified the social construction of production and reproduction as the basis of women's oppression. Patriarchy, in particular, is seen as oppressing women. It is not concerned with women *per se* but with the whole social construction and the assignment of specific roles, responsibilities and expectations to both women and to men.

Unlike the WID approach it gives special attention to the oppression of women in the family as well as in the community. It sees women as agents of change not passive recipients of development assistance. Because GAD looks at all aspects of women's lives, it strengthens women's legal rights, including the reform of inheritance and land laws. The confusions created by the coexistence of customary and statutory legal systems and the tendency for these to have been manipulated by men to the disadvantage of women are being addressed. Furthermore, GAD does not blindly accept its integration into ongoing development strategies and programmes but demands a degree of commitment to structural change and power shifts in national or in international agencies (Rathgeber, 1990).

Failure to recognise the value of these activities is an obstacle to empowerment at both the microeconomic and social level. This failure restricts women to family duties, limits their life choices, hampers their chances of success in other areas of endeavour through direct burden of the work, the time and energy constraints entailed and the negative attitudes of the society (United Nations, 1995).

Therefore, productive and reproductive activities should be integrated in the design, planning, implementation and evaluation of policies and programmes. Women's burden can be reduced by public provision of the inputs required to

perform human reproduction activities in developing countries. These inputs include clean water, electricity, transport and healthcare.

Integrating human reproductive activities and income-earning activities (productive) is possible if changes are introduced and rules governing employment of women and men, for example, adapting work conditions to take childcare responsibilities into account and counting time spent raising children or collecting water and fuelwood as economically valuable. Integrating work and family responsibilities has operational consequences for programmes and projects in developing countries.

2.4.1.2 WID, WAD, GAD practice

Because of the 'invisibility' of the triple role of women in economic and social development processes in developing countries, policy approaches were applied to help women. These interventions coincided with the modernisation theories which contend that development has a 'trickle-down' effect to developing countries. These policy approaches also influenced the introduction of the United Nations Decade for Women (1976-1985) and the women in development (WID) approach to development. The discussion of these approaches is important because of the impact they had on changing the international ideas about the importance of the role of women in society and ultimately on participation of women in the development process.

The **welfare** approach (1950-1970) was implemented during the later years of colonial rule in many developing countries. This approach followed the modernisation or the accelerated economic development model. Its purpose was to bring women into the development process as better mothers and this was seen as the most important role of women in development. This reproductive role of

women related particularly to food aid, malnutrition and family planning. In the welfare approach women are seen as passive beneficiaries of development with the focus on their reproductive role. This approach is still popular with governments and traditional NGOs (Moser, 1989).

The *equity* approach to women introduced the United Nations Women's Decade (1976-1985). Its purpose was to gain equity for women in the development process and, in contrast to the welfare approach, women were seen as active participants in development (Moser, 1983).

The women in development (WID) approach originates from the equity approach. Although WID tends to be political in approach, it is also more concerned with welfare and incorporates women in the development process. It identifies the subordinate position of women in terms of their relationship to men. The equity approach focuses on reducing inequality between women and men in the gender division of labour. In this approach there must be greater equality with an accompanying increase in economic growth (Buvinic, 1983). Boserup (1970) believes that although this approach emphasised top-down, legislative and other measures as the means to ensure equity, gender consultative and participatory planning procedures were implicitly assumed. The main obstacle that was encountered in this approach was that it was criticised by governments as being a western feminist approach. Furthermore, it was criticised because it challenged male dominance.

The *anti-poverty* approach to women (1970s onward) can be identified as the second WID approach. It focuses mainly on ensuring that poor women's productivity is increased. The economic inequality between women and men is

linked to poverty, not to subordination. That is why the emphasis was not on reducing inequality between women and men, but to reducing income inequality. The tendency in this approach is to focus on the productive role of women and ignore reproductive role of women in development (Moser, 1989). This approach tends to shift towards welfare-oriented projects.

The *efficiency* approach to women development in the 1980s is the third WID approach. Moser (1989) believes that its emphasis has shifted from women to development, on the assumption that increased economic participation for Third World women is automatically linked with equity (Moser, 1983). Its introduction is linked to the deterioration in world economy. Therefore, policies of economic stabilisation and adjustment rely on women's economic contribution to development. The purpose of this approach was, therefore, to ensure that development is more efficient and more effective. This approach has met practical gender needs in the context of declining social services by relying on all three roles of women and the elasticity of their time (Moser 1989).

The *empowerment* approach to women (1970s and especially during the 1980s) was articulated by Third World feminists and grassroots organisations. This approach sees women's subordination as originating not only from patriarchal attitudes, but also from colonialism and neo-colonial oppression. It recognises that women experience oppression differently, according to race, class, colonial history and current position in the international economic order. An examination of colonial history of the SADC countries in Chapter 3 will show how women have been left behind in development (Moser, 1989). The purpose of this approach, therefore, is to empower women through greater self-reliance. It recognises women's triple role, and seeks to meet strategic gender needs indirectly through 'bottom-up'

mobilisation around practical gender needs as a means of confronting oppression (Moser, 1993).

Moser (1989) contends that although the empowerment approach acknowledges the importance for women to increase their power, it seeks to identify power less in terms of domination over others because of its implicit assumption that women's gain is men's loss. It rather seeks to encourage women in terms of their own capacity to increase their own self-reliance. This means that they have the right to determine their own choices in life and to influence the direction of change through the ability to gain control over material and non-material resources. It seeks to empower women through the redistribution of power within as well as between societies.

Empowerment of women is linked to identifying practical and strategic gender needs. Strategic gender needs, according to Molyneux (1985:233) are those needs which are formulated from the analysis of women's subordination to men. These needs may include:

> the abolition of the sexual division of labour; the alleviation of the burden of domestic labour and childcare; the removal of institutionalized forms of discrimination such as rights to own land and property, or access to credit; the establishment of political equality; freedom of choice over childbearing; and the adoption of adequate measures against male violence and control over women (1985:233).

Molyneux (1985: 232-233) further contends that the ability to confront gender inequality and women's empowerment can only be fulfilled by development from below type of strategy. Although the strategic gender needs are criticised as being feminist, they are women's real interests (Moser, 1989:1803).

Practical gender needs, in contrast,

> *are those needs which are formulated from the conditions women*
> *experience in their engendered position within the sexual division of*
> *labour, and deriving out of this their practical gender interests for*
> *human survival (Moser, 1989:1803).*

These needs are formulated directly by women in these positions, rather than through external interventions. They are usually a response to an immediate perceived necessity which is identified by women within a specific context. Therefore, policies intending to meet practical gender needs have to focus on reproductive, productive and community level requirements of housing and basic services.

Prior to the 1985 Conference of Women in Nairobi, the Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN)[2] was formed with the aim of articulating the empowerment approach. They subsequently formulated a vision of an alternative society. This vision is identified as follows:

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[2] DAWN is a formation of individual women and women's group established to articulate the empowerment approach (Moser, 1983)

We want a world where inequality based on class, gender and race is absent from every country and from the relationships among countries. We want a world where basic needs become basic rights and where poverty and all forms of violence are eliminated. Each person will have the opportunity to develop her or his full potential and creativity, and women's values of nurturance and solidarity will characterise human relationships. In such a world women's reproductive role will be redefined: childcare will be shared by men, women and society as a whole ...... only by sharpening the links between equality, development and peace, can we show that the 'basic rights' of the poor and the transformations of the institutions that subordinate women are inextricably linked. They can be achieved together through the self-empowerment of women (Moser, 1989:1815).

DAWN has not only looked at the problems of the women worldwide and formulated a vision, they have also presented strategies to achieve that vision for everyone in society (Moser, 1989). It is clear that no one will be left behind in this new order. What they have presented include long-term and short-term strategies. Long-term strategies seek to break down the structures of inequality between genders, classes and nations. This requires national liberation from colonial and neo-colonial domination. It also requires shifts from export-led strategies in agriculture, and greater control over the activities of the multinationals. These long-term strategies correspond to practical gender needs. Short-term strategies, in contrast, seek to provide ways of responding to current crises (for example, drought), with the aim of assisting women both in food production through the promotion of a diversified base, as well as formal and informal sector employment.

In this approach, however, DAWN (Moser, 1989) does not identify the means to ensure that once national liberation has been achieved, women's liberation will

automatically follow. The second section of Chapter 3 will analyse the situation after independence in the SADC countries to see whether independence was followed by women's automatic liberation.

In Moser (1989) DAWN also requires the transformation of the structures of subordination to women. This transformation includes change in law, political mobilisation, consciousness raising and popular education.

This discussion of participation approaches has highlighted the importance of the role these approache have played towards the recognition of women worldwide. These approaches initiated a lot of research, national and international debates and strategies regarding the role of women in society, especially, the plight of low-income women in developing countries. It is clear that the empowerment approach played a greater role in this regard and its vision is a basis for forward-looking strategies for women in development.

2.5 DEVELOPMENT PRACTICE

Since independence of colonies the use of development projects has grown tremendously. According to Rondinelli (1983), the World Bank Group approved in 1983 more than 3000 development loans worth more than $92 billion, of which over 90 percent were for education, agriculture, infrastructure and fertiliser production. Bilateral and multilateral aid organisations provide the bulk of their financial and technical assistance to the rural poor, including to women, through projects.

From statements made by Rondinelli (1983) and McNamara (Rahnema, 1992), it is clear that aid that has been channeled to most developing countries by

improving the status of women as an economic force. It is now recognised that women comprise a major, actual or potential, economic grouping in any country and the benefits accruing from their involvement in national development must be measured by the level of participation in development projects.

It is again clear that the growth of international aid coincided with the popularity of modernisation theory in the 1950s and 1960s. Since then groups of actors in international development cooperation have played a significant role in women in development. Some such groups are bilateral organisations, multilateral organisations and non-governmental organisations (NGO). Bilateral organisations are run by national countries, multilateral organisations are supported by member countries or they may be run by development banks. NGOs are supported by groups of people, individuals, charity organisations and national governments.

2.5.1 International Aid Perspectives

The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)[3] is a multilateral organisation with basic principles which promotes policies designed, among others, to contribute to sound economic expansion in member as well as non-member countries in the process of economic development.

The bilateral aid organisations of OECD members are represented in the in Development Assistance Committee (DAC)[4] of which New Zealand is a member.

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[3] Member countries of OECD are:

[4] Members of DAC are: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, the United States and the Commission of the European communities.

DAC has agreed to secure an expansion of the aggregate volume of resources made available to developing countries and to improve effectiveness. The members periodically review together both the amount and nature of their contributions to aid programmes, bilateral and multilateral, and consult with each other on all relevant aspects of their development assistance (OECD, 1991). Adoption, in the 1980s, of the Guiding Principles underlined the DAC's recognition of the advancement of women as a major, distinct and imperative issue in the development process. DAC reported in 1992 that all members acknowledged the importance of involving women fully in the development process and have stated this in official aid policy documents concerning women in development.

The 1994 DAC Report (OECD, 1995) focused on gender matters in development. The members have pursued a range of initiatives to promote women's participation in development cooperation, ranging from the formulated of new conceptual approaches to revision of project planning and management criteria and procedures, and the adaptation of institutional capacity and structures. The DAC Expert Group on Women in Development recommends action to DAC member aid agencies in two major areas: the development of mandates, policy guidelines and plans of action for women in development; and the adoption of administrative measures for systematic implementation of policies at all stages of project cycles. In addition a special WID Fund was established in 1991 in order to establish a special 'Facilitation Initiative', among others, as a mechanism to prepare for the Beijing conference on women, and to ensure that women from the South participate actively in the Conference preparations.

2.5.2 New Zealand Donor Organisations

New Zealand has recognised that successful and sustainable development needs the full participation of all members of society. As a member of DAC, New Zealand has undertaken the set guidelines for projects in order to integrate women into the project cycle. The New Zealand government, therefore, adopted a Women in Development policy in 1992:

> *The policy is designed to ensure women participate fully from the activities of the New Zealand Overseas Development Assistance (NZODA) programme (NZODA, 1995:11).*

This was achieved by increasing the involvement of women in all NZODA activities and at each stage of the project cycle. This policy targets women as the prime actors and beneficiaries in projects and programmes (NZODA, 1995).

New Zealand NGOs receive support from NZODA programme for small scale projects overseas. The two main programmes under this support for NGOs are VASS and Voluntary Service Abroad (VSA)[4].

VASS was established in 1974 and it recognises the expertise of non-government organisations (NGOs) have in working at the grassroots level with the poorest people and fostering self-reliance by helping communities to help themselves (NZODA VASS Handbook, 1991:A-2). Under this scheme the WID fund was established in 1988 to increase the level of support for WID activity in the South Pacific and to encourage partnerships between New Zealand NGOs and the South Pacific women's organisations. In 1994, the fund started to include WID activities

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[4] VSA is an organisation which sends skilled personnel overseas to assist in development efforts.

Asia, Africa, the Americas and the Middle East. The WID project/programmes in Africa, among others, are the Zimbabwe Projects and Tanzania projects which will be used as case studies for the purpose of this research. Among other criteria of the fund, is that the project/programme should be targeted to women's groups in communities and women must be the direct beneficiaries of the project/programme. Beneficiaries should also participate in all the stages of the project/programme cycle.

Projects need to be analysed to ensure that theory and/or policy planning do get translated into practice.

2.6 GENDER ANALYSIS OF PROJECTS

A development project is an investment-oriented set of actions based on planning by deploying material and human resources towards raising the living standard of societies (Meister, 1994). Overholt et al. (1991:10) put it differently: "Projects are among the primary vehicles used by governments and international agencies to channel resources in the development process".

The purpose of this section is to highlight the analytical framework to enable the translation of policy planning into planning practice. This framework was presented by Overholt et al. (1991) and Moser (1993) and their presentations will be used interchangeably in this discussion.

The analytical framework that is used below has four interrelated components: activity profile, access and control profile, analysis of factors influencing activities, access and control, and project cycle analysis.

2.6.1 Activity Profile

The activity profile is based on the concept of a gender based division of labour. This profile includes two categories: production of goods and services, and reproduction and maintenance of human resources.

In the category of production of goods and services, specific activities carried out for all goods and services by both women and men should be identified because the relationship can affect or be affected by the project.

In the category of reproduction and maintenance of human resources, activities that are carried out to produce and care for the family members need to be specified according to who does what. These activities include to produce and care for the family members and they might include, but are not limited to, fuel and water collection, food preparation, birthing, child care, education, health care, and laundry. In project analysis, if a major activity is not noticed it can lead to defective project design. Women's participation in a project can depend on whether or how a project affects reproduction and maintenance activities, the production of goods and services, and/or the interrelationship between these activities. It has been observed that the scarcest resource for most low-income women is time. The design of projects that increase time requirements for particular activities must take into account requirements in relation to the time required for other necessary activities (Overholt et al. 1991).

2.6.2 Access and Control Profile

The flow of resources and benefits is a fundamental concept in the analysis of how project will affect or be affected by women. What is particularly important is the access that individuals have over benefits that accrue from these activities

(Overholt et al. 1991). In this thesis, this profile will be related to Chapter 5 and 6 which deal with projects' and gender analyses.

2.6.3 Analysis of Factors Influencing Activities, Access and Control

The factors that influence activities, access and control can be categorised as follows (Overholt et al. 1991): general economic conditions, institutional structures including the nature of government bureaucracies, demographic factors, sociocultural factors, community norms, education and training, and political events. Some of these factors will be identified in the discussion of women and development in the SADC region in Chapter 3.

The reason for identifying these factors is to see if they can facilitate or constrain a project although some factors will not be amenable to change by project. The task for project design and implementation is to assess these factors in terms of whether and how they will affect or be affected by the project.

2.6.4 Project Cycle Analysis

The project *identification* stage is concerned with relating development goals and priorities to appropriate projects. It involves defining project objectives in terms of gender, and identifying the opportunities and/or constraints for women's project participation and possible negative effects on women. Chapter 5 of this thesis will identify the presence of the definition of project objectives, the opportunities/or constraints for women's project participation and other relevant issues.

The project *design* stage questions not only what is designed but also who designs, and how it is designed, all of which is related to gender issues. The

impact on women's activities and access and control of resources and benefits need to be raised in the questions.

The project *implementation* stage is the most important stage of a project cycle because no matter how well the project has been identified, designed and appraised its development benefits can only be realised if it is properly executed (Moser, 1993). This stage addresses questions about the relationship of women in the project area to project personnel, organisational structures, operations, logistics and so on, need to be taken into account. At this stage it is important to ensure that gender objectives are carried out in practice (Overholt et al. 1991; Moser 1993). It has been observed that when implementation involves the target population, women's participation varies with project type. Projects with labour components increasingly use women to provide free and cheap labour. These projects can be the provision of infrastructure, allocation of food handouts or provision of services such as health. In this stage, recognition of the triple role of women is essential.

In the project *evaluation* stage data requirements for evaluating the projects' effects on women must be addressed. A project should establish an ongoing data collection system for monitoring purposes. It is essential to ensure that the indicators developed are adequate and relevant to the evaluation of gender. Projects are evaluated against their original objectives. If the objectives were not gender aware then the project can ensure that the second phase of the project includes gender. Evaluations are not generally undertaken by the operational agency but by outside consultants or a separate department set up for this purpose to ensure objectivity and independence. It is also important that the

evaluation team includes a host national, gender specialist, and an accepted professional.

It is important to realise that no standard project design is possible, each country's situation is unique and will require specific responses (Overholt et al. 1991).

2.7 SUMMARY

Reviewing literature in the first part of the chapter showed us the significant contrasts between the concepts of development and participation. Participation as a strategy of development from below stresses the importance of involvement of the targeted people while the development from above strategy tends to provide pre-determined strategies on people.

Furthermore, the discussion on the rise of gender issues in development highlighted the links between policy approaches and practice. It further illustrated the different types of projects and the extent to which these projects are associated with the theoretical perspectives.

The final part of the chapter focused on development practice and the way projects are designed and what their objectives are. It also illustrated to what extent theories covered in part one have been put into practice.

CHAPTER 3

PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN THE SADC REGION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

There have been efforts in Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries to recognise the actual and potential contribution of women in the development process. Policy planning is in place in most of these countries but it is still difficult to put it into practice. Apart from the lack of analytical framework to analyse projects, the process is slow because of the inequalities that were entrenched during the colonial era in the SADC region. For instance, although women represent 51 percent of the population (WID SAAP, 1995) and are key contributors in the economy, they were neglected during development planning, and therefore, are still at the bottom of the ladder in the areas of politics and law, income, education and training, health and nutrition and land ownership. Failure of development planning to include women in the development process and redress these inequalities has resulted in failure of many development efforts.

Participation of women in development projects is important because it assures them benefits that accrue from these projects. The purpose of this chapter is to review literature on participation of women in development programmes and projects in the SADC countries. Women's participation in development projects in this region is examined in Chapters 5 and 6.

This chapter covers a number of issues relating to women's participation in development in the SADC countries. It begins with the introduction and categorisation of the SADC countries to enable us to see what impact the different forms of government, economic conditions, political power, religion and culture and colonisation, education and training, legal systems, health and nutrition[1], and media, have on women's access to participation. Section 3 will outline the factors that have constrained participation of women in development programmes and projects. In section 4 efforts towards greater recognition of the role of women in society will be documented with special emphasis on the regional arena.

3.2 THE SADC REGION

Africa has established a number of regional organisations for co-operative self-reliance such as Southern African Development Community (SADC), Preferential Trade Area for Southern Africa (PTA), and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). However, these organisations have not yet significantly addressed the majority's problems in terms of fully involving the poor in the democratic process (Suliman, 1991).

The SADC region comprises Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe (see Figure 3.1). The majority of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries have now recognised the importance of the role of women in the development process and are attempting to incorporate women in development (WID SAAP, 1995).

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[1] These factors were suggested by Overholt et al. (1991) in the presentation of the analytical framework proposed to analyse projects.

Figure 3.1. SADC countries

The objective of SADC is to promote economic cooperation on the basis of equity and mutual benefit. It was established with a view of achieving common economic, political, social values and systems, enhancing enterprise competitiveness, democracy and good governance, respect for the rule of law and the guarantee of human rights, popular participation and the alleviation of poverty (WID SAAP, 1995).

3.2.1   Categorisation of SADC Countries

As development differs in the various SADC countries, the emancipation of women and the recognition of the importance of their role in society also differs. Therefore, it is important to investigate women's role in these societies according to the different development of their countries. For the purpose of this study I have categorised SADC countries in three ways: firstly, according to the coloniser, because different colonial regimes imposed different development strategies (post-colonial governments also imposed different development strategies); secondly, according to the year of change of government, because some countries have been independent for nearly thirty years and others have become so only recently; and thirdly, according to the form of government, because there are differences in systems of government.

All these aspects have implications for the type of development programmes and projects carried out and the recognition of women. Table 3.1 shows categorisation of the SADC countries. The purpose of this categorisation is to enable an examination of post independence development efforts of individual SADC countries as their development efforts may differ from each. Furthermore, the

Table 3.1. Categories of SADC countries

Category	Country	Coloniser	Change of government	Form of government
1	Botswana	Britain	1966	Democracy
	Lesotho	Britain	1966	Democracy
			1986	Military
			1990	Democracy
	Malawi	Britain	1966	One-party
			1994	Democracy
	Swaziland	Britain	1968	Kingdom
	Tanzania	Britain	1961	One-party
			1994	Democracy
	Zambia	Britain	1964	Democracy
2	Angola	Portugal	1975	One-party
			1992	Democracy
	Mozambique	Portugal	1975	One-party
			1995	Democracy
3	Zimbabwe	Britain	1980	Democracy
4	Namibia	Germany/South Africa	1990	Democracy
	South Africa	Britain/ Netherlands	1994	Democracy

Source: WID SAAP, 1995.[2]

study of their development efforts will show their impact on the role of women in society as well as their full participation in the development process.

3.3 CONSTRAINTS ON PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN THE SADC REGION

Development projects are used by international agencies and national governments to channel resources in the development process and to allow women to participate equally in the development process. Unfortunately, the resources are not usually equally channelled among different groups in society. Thus, there are factors that still constrain women from participating fully in, and, benefiting from, these projects.

The purpose of this section is to identify the factors that constrain participation of women in development projects in the SADC region. When designing and implementing projects, factors such as government and administration, general economic conditions, religion and culture, education and training, law, health and nutrition (Overholt et al. 1991) and media have to be specified in order to identify which can facilitate or constrain a project. These factors have to be assessed because projects do not take place in a static environment. Female labour force participation rates have increased rapidly. At the same time other factors affecting the role of women have been changing including patterns of fertility, education opportunities for women and girls, marriage and family organisation (the migration of men to cities leave women with no option but to assume responsibilities as heads of households) (Overholt et al. 1991; OECD, 1985; WID SAAP, 1995). As differences between women's and men's participation in development projects are

still found in the SADC countries we, therefore, need to explore the reasons why this is so.

3.3.1 Government and Administration

The form of a government plays a big role in the generation and dissemination of knowledge, technology and skills. The following discussion highlights the type of government and its administration which have an impact on women's issues as will be shown as the chapter progresses.

Category 1

Countries in this category are former British colonies. Their independence dates range between 1961 and 1968. Botswana, Lesotho and Zambia became democracies at independence while Malawi and Tanzania started as one-party states and in 1994 became multi-party democracies. Lesotho, is a kingdom that went through political instability and in 1986 came under a military regime before reverting to democracy in 1990. Swaziland is also a kingdom with the king ruling the country with the queen mother. The king rules in consultation with both the cabinet and the bicameral parliament and this system combines a traditional and western concept of government. There are no women in the Swazi National Council except the queen mother (WID SAAP, 1995). Countries in this category are aware of the important role of women in society but we need to see whether they are doing something about it.

Category 2

This category includes war-torn Angola and Mozambique which were colonised by the Portuguese, and attained their independence in 1975. At independence they both became one-party states but later (1994) became democracies. According to WID SAAP (1995), in Angola there are no official traces of gender role awareness and needs. Statistics in that regard are not available. This is despite the fact that women participated in all facets of the war and they influenced the drafting of laws and policies. In contrast, Mozambique's achievement of a democracy gave rise to several new women's organisations focusing on issues such as agriculture, legal rights and income-generating projects.

Category 3

Zimbabwe was also British ruled until 1964 and the unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) by a white regime led by Ian Smith. This government was resisted by the black majority of Zimbabwe and boycotted by most of the international community. After a protracted war, independence was attained in 1980 and Zimbabwe became a democratic state. The majority of the Zimbabwe population experienced improvements in the services which had been denied under the previous governments. Such services included improved education, health, water and sanitation. The government enacted several important pieces of legislation in favour of women, such as establishing the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs. Unfortunately, with the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), and long periods of drought and general global recession in the 1990s, these services declined. Government social spending also decreased and the cost of living increased with rising prices of food

and basic commodities. All this impacted negatively on women and children especially (WID SAAP, 1995).

Category 4

South Africa was colonised by British and Dutch settlers. As in Zimbabwe, a white minority government ruled and imposed a racially-biased constitution, notably after 1948 with the apartheid policies of strict racial separation. In South Africa women had to deal with inequalities on the basis of race and gender. Little research exists on the situation of women in South Africa and available statistics by census during apartheid show mainly white, 'coloured' and Indian communities. Universal suffrage was extended South Africans in 1994.

Namibia was initially a German colony but became a South African trust territory after the First World War and during colonial rule discrimination was on the basis of race and gender. The war of independence impacted negatively on women especially rural women as they were left to struggle for survival and to hold families together under difficult conditions. Independence was granted in 1990 (WID SAAP, 1995).

3.3.2 General Economic Conditions

It is generally observed that all countries under colonial rule have had inequalities in terms of access to resources available. Access to factors of production such as land, capital and labour were unequally distributed. Economic development of the colonies of the SADC region was characterised by the system of migrant labour centred around mining areas, for example, the copper mines in Zambia and the diamond mines in South Africa and Botswana, as well as other commercial centres

Table 3. 2. Debt crisis in SADC countries

Category	Country	Foreign Debt ($ million)	Debt service
1	Botswana	674	19%
	Lesotho	512	43%
	Malawi	1,700	22%
	Swaziland	240	NA
	Tanzania	6,700	32%
	Zambia	6,900	33%
2	Angola	13,500	NA
	Mozambique	4,900	20%
3	Zimbabwe	4,000	31%
4	Namibia	370	15%
	South Africa	16,700	NA

Source: WID SAAP, 1995.

in the urban areas. This system still impacts on women's lives in the 1990s. When men migrate to urban areas women are left to cope with the problems related to small-scale agricultural production in the rural areas as well as families' survival.

Women are left with no option but to take over as heads of households. A United Nations' (1985) study reports that in Botswana, for instance, 42 percent of heads of households are women.

The global debt crisis (see Table 3.2) has affected the SADC region and this has resulted in the implementation of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) in some of these countries to boost their economies so that they are able to pay back foreign debt (WID SAAP, 1995).

In recent times SAPs have impacted heavily on the economies of SADC countries. It has been noted by the African Training and Research Centre for Women (ECA/ATRCW, 1990) and the International Labour Organisation (ILO) that SAPs in many African countries have focused on agricultural development, including agricultural research, extension services strategies and marketing. Despite the acknowledged predominance of women in agriculture, women continue to be left out of agricultural strategies and experience severe problems including lack of access to land, credit, and appropriate technology to reduce the drudgery associated with household work.

Category 1

The majority of women in countries in this category are involved in agricultural food production primarily for household consumption. The commercial sector employ women as casual or seasonal workers for little or no pay. When the economic situation worsens (Table 3.2 and 3.3), women and children suffer more. This is perpetuated by the legacy of colonialism with its structural inequalities which lead to severe unequal access to, and distribution of, productive assets.

Category 2

In Mozambique women are important producers in subsistence agriculture and, therefore, national food security. It has been observed that 90 percent of 'economically active' women work in the agricultural sector and they make up 60 percent of this workforce. Ninety eight percent are in the production for home consumption, one percent in cooperatives and one percent are wage labourers. Currently, women predominate in the agricultural sector and the constitution allows women and men access to land to although women are not aware of this land legislation and they also do not have the capital to purchase land. On top of this, the war and the economic decline has had a devastating effect on women. Massive defence expenditures and associated debt (see Table 3.2) crippled government social spending, and services such as education, health and other social services declined. Usually women are hit hard because they are the most disadvantaged in society.

Table 3.3. Economic situation of SADC countries

Category	Country	GNP per capita	GDP	Growth rate
1	Botswana	2,790	3,813	6.20%
	Lesotho	650	609	
	Malawi	230	NA	
	Swaziland	1,090	NA	1%
	Tanzania	100	2,100	
	Zambia	370	3,800	
2	Angola	720	9,000	1.90%
	Mozambique	90	1,367	- 2.60%
3	Zimbabwe	520	5,000	-0.30
4	Namibia	1,820	2,109	
	South Africa	2,380	109,700	2%

Source: WID SAAP, 1995.

Category 3

In the 1980s after independence Zimbabwe made progress in extending services to its people. The government spent on public services such as education, health, sanitation and water, and legislation improved the status of women in society. The 1990s saw economic decline. The debt crisis became very serious (Table 3.2) at $4,000 million and the servicing thereof at 31 percent of the total exports. Table

3.3 shows that Zimbabwe's growth rate is at -0.30 percent with the per capita GNP at only $520. SAPs, drought and global recession had a negative effect on the economy and on women. During these situations, cuts in subsidies on basic foodstuffs result in malnutrition of women and girls.

Category 4

The economies of colonial Namibia and South Africa were structured the black labour resource in industry and on colonial farms owned by whites. The first choice of labour were indigenous men, not women. Labour legislation was made such that exploitation of men's labour was by migration to areas of work, away from their homes, thus leaving women in rural areas to survive on subsistence farming and alternative strategies, such as production of artifacts to supplement earnings that may be available. As the majority of strong and able men migrated to the towns women in the rural areas, became heads of households.

3.3.3 Political Decision-making

Politics affects the life of everyone in society. It controls access to knowledge, technology, and skills, and affects access to factors of production, such as land, capital and labour. It determines what economic ventures should be undertaken,

by whom, for whom, when and how. The SADC governments during the colonial rule made it almost impossible for indigenous people and especially women to have access to political power. After independence the legacy of colonialism continued and women still stay at the bottom of political-decision making process.

Category 1

Although Botswana has a liberal democratic government which would allow equal participation in politics, Botswana women have very little, if any, participation in decision-making and power in practice. For instance, in 1994 only four women were elected out of a 47 member parliament: two of the four are presidential electives and the other two are in Cabinet. Women in Botswana are not included in the diplomatic services.

Participation of women in decision-making in Lesotho is gender discriminatory. Lesotho is primarily composed of small closely-knit villages that are headed by chiefs who are responsible to ward chiefs and principal chiefs respectively. The positions are hereditary and patrilenial. According to statistics only five out of 21 principal chiefs are women and 30 out of 85 are area chiefs. Women do become *de facto* chiefs if their husbands are away working or incapacitated, in most cases due to alcoholism.

In Swaziland the role of women in political decision-making is severely limited. Apart from the queen mother who participates in the dual monarchy, and the two ambassadors, the political system is male dominated. Tanzania law stipulates that women's representation in Parliament must be 15 percent but there is only 12 percent representation currently in Parliament. Malawi has allowed only three women in the cabinet and there are only 10 women Members of Parliament out of

176. This brief discussion thus has shown that women still make up the lowest numbers in political structures of countries falling in this category (WID SAAP, 1995).

Category 2

Angolan women's active contribution in the 1992 campaign for multi-party elections, gained them seven percent representation in Parliament and four female Cabinet Ministers. Mozambique has the highest number of women Members of Parliament in the SADC region and also ranks among the top in the world with 24.4 percent (WID SAAP, 1995).

Category 3

Although Zimbabwe has ratified the Convention of the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1991, compliance with it is not significant. Only 22 out of 150 Members of Parliament and two out of 24 Cabinet Ministers are women.

Category 4

In South Africa, during the apartheid system of government, no indigenous people had the right to vote for their government. The social structure of the apartheid system was based on the system which defined the status of the country's inhabitants on racial lines, and which allowed full civic rights only to the country's whites who constituted 13 percent of the population. Under these circumstances women, in particular, were discriminated against on the basis of race, class and gender. Racism, which was institutionalised in the South African apartheid system, denied both women and men political power. Even during apartheid when policy-makers (who are usually men) formulated legislation they ignored the important

role women play in society. Since the end of apartheid, change has occured but has been quite slow. There has been recognotion of women, but women are still poorly represented in the newly elected government structures or planning systems. They constitute 101 out of 400 (25 percent) representatives in Parliament.

3.3.4 Education and Training

Education and training are among the major factors to promote national development and, therefore, a key to empowerment. Although technology and science have been viewed as accelerating the quality of life of people, the women who play an important role in shaping the quality of life have been denied access to technology for a long time (ECA/ATRCW and ILO, 1990). The following discussion on education and training will show how women were left behind in this sector.

Category 1

With regard to education and training Botswana and Lesotho are unique in the SADC region. In Botswana girls slightly outnumber boys at both the primary and secondary levels due to boys being likely to be at the cattle posts. It is believed that male enrolment has been catching up and there has been a shift towards boys at tertiary level. This does not mean that equitable gender participation in work related activities is experienced. At tertiary level the lowest numbers of women are found in technical and vocational training (33.4 percent in 1992). Lesotho is unique in that more women are educated than men despite the fact that more boys enrol at primary school and tend to continue to secondary levels when

girls drop out due to early pregnancies, marriage and to take more household responsibilities.

Technical training in SADC countries is gender stereotyped with few women in subjects like mechanical engineering, plumbing, bricklaying and few men in home economics or dressmaking. Tanzania's adult literacy rate stands at 68 percent. Although education is now compulsory, total enrolment was estimated at 48.6 percent in 1992. There is also gender discrimination in the teaching profession in that although there are more qualified female teachers than male, there is rarely a female school principal or head of department.

Category 2

Independence brought increases in the primary school enrolment rates of both Angola and Mozambique although the wars in both countries destroyed schools. Like other developing countries in the region more boys than girls are educated in these two countries. More girls drop out of school than boys, also due to early pregnancies, early marriage and scant resources. Literacy rate in Angola is only 20% in the rural areas, and in Mozambique it is only 11 percent in the rural areas.

Category 3

Immediately following independence (1980) the education sector in Zimbabwe experienced growth. Primary school enrolments reached nearly 100 percent although there have been more boys enrolled than girls. Adult literacy programmes are benefiting women more than men (71 percent). However, in the 1980s introduction of SAP's adversely affected education and led to the cancellation of

Figure 3.2 The percentage literacy rate in SADC countries
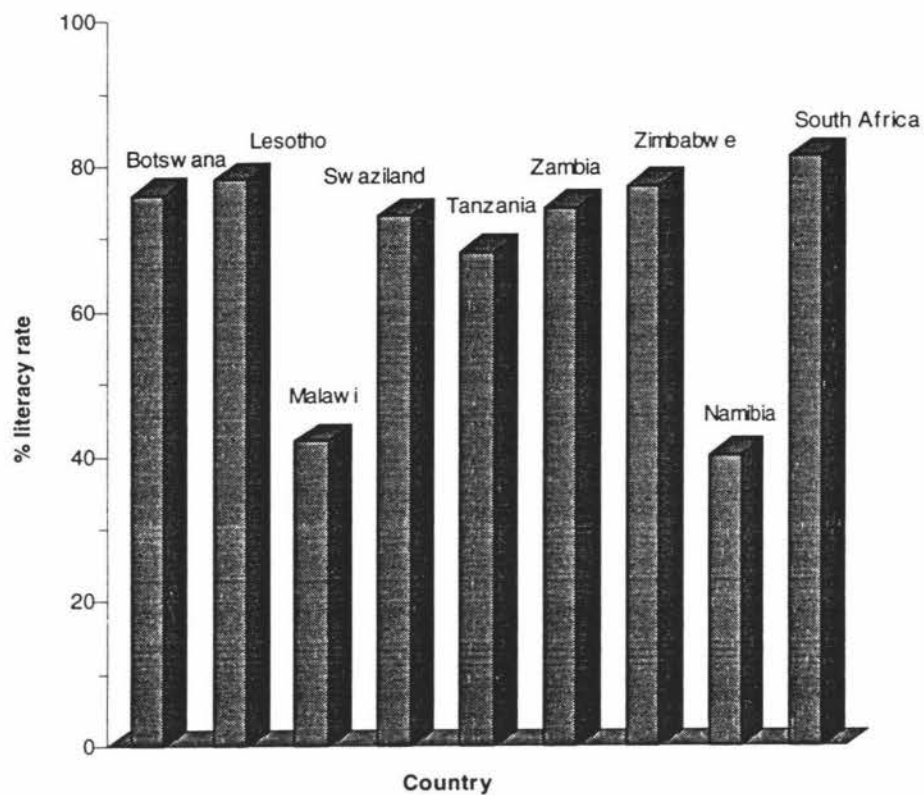
Source: WID SAAP, 1995.

free primary education. Scant resources to pay school fees leads families to choose educating boys in favour of girls.

In summary, from the discussion above it is clear that in the SADC region priority in education was traditionally given to boys. Access to education and training opportunities for women and girls were denied because they were female, or, the opportunities were very narrow in approach (education and training to fulfill roles such as sewing, cookery, typing, teaching, nursing, and domestic work). This type of education severely hampered the potential for emancipation of women. Thus, women were not educated for economic empowerment and independence.

Category 4

The overall literacy rate for black South Africans stands at 81 percent compared to 100 percent for whites. It has been observed that in South Africa the racial disparities in education are much greater than the gender disparities due to the system of separate education during the apartheid era. At university more women than men are found in the in the fields such as health care, visual arts, communications, industrial arts and home economics.

Sex-stereotyping, cultural and educational constraints also have had a negative impact on women's access and use of appropriate technology. It is further noted by development writers that appropriate technology does not look into factors such as appropriate skills, access to credit and other resources, training facilities and marketing support. Nothing has been done to improve women's participation in agriculture in relation to labour and time saving devices to cater for all agricultural activities such as weeding, harvesting, transporting, preserving and processing

agricultural products. Provision of farm implements, fertilizer, high quality seeds and agricultural extension services are still often denied to women, thus preventing women's participation in agricultural production (Boserup, 1970; ECA/ATRCW and ILO, 1990; WID SAAP, 1995; Schmidt, 1992).

The following discussions on law, health and nutrition and media in the SADC countries will not be done in the form of categories because virtually all these countries have exactly the same experiences under these factors.

3.3.5 Religion, Culture and Colonisation

This part of the section will not use categories to describe individual situations of countries in this region in regard to women issues because I believe that the impact of religion and culture combined with colonisation made exactly the same impact on women in all the SADC countries.

Schmidt (1992) contends that in Zimbabwe missionaries fostered the ideal of patriarchal, patrilineal, male-headed households, with wives playing an uncharacteristically subordinate role. The 'civilising mission' of the missionaries was in line with the colonial needs of labour to exploit where men had to go and work while women stayed home and were kept under the men's total control. This way women's opportunities for participation in the society became limited. Religion and colonialism are the fathers of patriarchy.

European structures of patriarchal control as well as indigenous structures reinforced and transformed one another and evolved into new structures of domination. Patriarchy promotes control of women's economic, political and social

status in society. It also controls the resources and benefits that may accrue to women (Schmidt, 1992; Cockerton, 1995).

Culturally women are still considered minors. The patrilineal pattern in Southern Africa deprives women of land ownership or rights to land, inheritance rights to land and other major valuable resources and full legal status to make it easy for women to participate in development programmes. In most countries in the region full participation of women in development is hampered by patriarchal and male-dominated institutions and automatic privilege of men. Constitutional provisions are challenged by discriminatory cultural beliefs. For example, in Botswana the culturally-based, patrilineal citizenship law violated the constitutional right of women as they could not pass on their citizenship to children born of foreign husbands (SARDC, 1995).

3.3.6 Law.

A dual legal system exists with Common Law and Customary Law in the majority of the SADC countries. Under customary law women are considered minors, therefore posing serious constraints to women's participation in economic and social life because under this law women have few property, inheritance and other rights. The majority of the national constitutions in the region have, nonetheless, guaranteed equality or forbidden discrimination on the basis of sex.

But the reality is that women have little access to land, credit, technical assistance, decision-making positions in local community organisations, cooperatives, unions, national development programmes, development projects, national government and planning structures. Programmes or projects, when designed, do not consider

the legal status of women to enable them to participate fully in the programmes (United Nations, 1985).

3.3.7 Health and Nutrition

It has been generally observed that women's health is closely linked to women's role in society. Women's health is also linked to the economic and social development of society. Due to the multiple roles women play in society, they do not have the time and the resources to take care of their health. Despite all this, women's health has been given superficial attention with an emphasis on women's reproductive roles and insufficient attention to other health needs (ECA/ATRCW and ILO, 1990). Zimbabwe, however, expanded the health-care sector after independence, which resulted in significant improvements in the health of women and children. Presently 96 percent of urban and 80 percent of rural households in Zimbabwe have access to health care.

Most rural areas in the region have very limited infrastructure for family planning, child birth, pre-natal and post-natal services. Provision of education in the line of health-care has been very limited too. Lack of access to health care affects the production of rural women's labour power, their physical capability to use the available resources, and maternal mortality rates (ECA/ATRCW and ILO, 1990).

Access to clean water supplies, energy supplies and sanitation, would improve family health in the SADC countries. In the rural areas the carrying of water and firewood takes up a lot of women's and girls' time. The distance traveled by rural women and girls to collect water and/or fuelwood is too long, the time spent is also too long. It is also suggested that many of the incidents of disablement and broken backs are due to falls from carrying heavy head-loads. Transport facilities do not

usually look into the issues of the distance that will be traveled when projects are designed (United Nations, 1983). Women, despite being the targeted people, are not involved in the planning and the maintenance or control of these factors. Decision-making has always been dominated by men. Men have been agricultural extension officers, trainers, heads of cooperatives and farmers' unions, planners, and policy-makers.

Health status is closely associated with the level of nutrition. Studies have shown that women and girls in many rural areas are the most malnourished in society. Usually when food shortages increase, for instance during drought, women's work increases, but their food intake decreases. The debt crisis and the structural adjustment programmes adopted to reduce subsidies on food products have resulted in increased food prices and falling standards of living and the decline of the general level of nutrition in a number of countries. It is ironic that the food producers are the most malnourished. Nutrition educators have discovered that it is impossible to deal with nutrition without attacking the complex series of socio-economic and political phenomena (United Nations, 1985; ECA/ATRCW and ILO, 1990).

3.3.8 Media

The media is one of the best methods of disseminating information to people. The role of the media is crucial in the development of attitudes and in the perpetuation of social attitudes. During the colonial era, information was selected to suit the colonisers. Information that could empower people and allow them to voice their views was restricted. Very little media coverage was given to women's achievements, needs, work or participation in society. The media used to cover issues such as women as housewives and sex objects that would perpetuate sex-

role stereotypes. Important dissemination of information for empowerment of women has been left out (United Nations, 1985; SARDC, 1993).

The above discussion has made us aware of why women in the SADC region are disadvantaged. It is observed that at independence the change of governments attempted to redress the problems facing women in this region but these efforts are proving to be very slow as women are more and more excluded in the development process because of these issues. The following discussion, however, shows us exactly what efforts are made by the region, as well as national governments in the region, to recognise these roles as well as the importance of women's participation in development programmes and projects.

3.4 EFFORTS TO FACILITATE WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES IN SADC COUNTRIES

Chapter 2 showed that international efforts provide continued support to development programmes and projects and activities which encourage and promote participation of women in national and regional activities. These efforts promote opportunities for women to participate in programmes/projects on an equal footing with men. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), OECD and several other agencies have issued guidelines for development programmes and projects to ensure that women's needs are not overlooked when these programmes/projects are formulated. The objective is to obtain maximum participation of women in all the stages of the programme/project cycle (UNDP, n.d. OECD, 1995).

Furthermore, the international recognition of women has been intensified with research, publications, conferences, seminars, dialogues and media attention at

international, national and local levels. The triple roles women perform in society are gaining wider recognition even when still ignored in national accounts.

The following brief discussion tells us about the efforts that regional and local organisations have made to help SADC women.

3.4.1 Regional Recognition of Women's Rights

SADC region is now independent from colonial rule. Some of its national governments have ratified the CEDAW although all have recognised the role of women in society and their contribution during the historical struggles for democratic change. The region has recognised that during the liberation struggle women participated alongside men in political activities, women have campaigned for equality in society. Rural women, in particular have participated in campaigns for their own rights.

In South Africa, for instance, rural women threatened not to vote in the first all-race elections in 1994 if they were not going to be included in the Bill of Rights (SARDC, 1993). Earlier, in South Africa a Charter for Women's Rights was drawn up and so before elections workshops were held to find ways of building the Charter into the post-Apartheid constitution. The media also focused on women's issues by reporting on progress made during that time, thereby encouraging national unity in women's issues. Meetings with urban and rural community civil bodies were called to address women's rights in relation to the customary laws and apartheid laws. This was important because the new South Africa is labelled a democratic and non-sexist country. But women insisted that traditional rule, which is patriarchal, should conform to human rights standards, which include women rights.

Women's organisations have been established throughout the region to help mobilize the women and integrate them into the modernisation process. The Angolan Women's Organisation (OMA), which was formed in 1962, was meant for the promotion and emancipation of women. Unfortunately poor stability of Angola due to war, lack of funds and dissemination of information on women has weakened it. Unlike Angola, Namibia Review Magazine says that the Namibia National Women's Organisation (NANAWO) has been targeting patriarchal structures at national and regional level to demand full participation in decision-making. They have also encouraged self-help projects, and self-empowerment in politics and society (SARDC, 1995).

Following the ratification of the CEDAW and approval of the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women, full participation of women in economic, social, political and cultural development of SADC countries has become an important objective of most of the national governments including Zimbabwe's Ministry of Community and Women's Affairs, South Africa's RDP, Tanzania's Ministry of Community Development, Women's Affairs and Children and others (WID SAAP, 1995). To ensure achievement of its objective, the Zimbabwe's ministry for women, in particular, examines discriminatory laws against women and advises the government to protect the legal and economic rights of women. The Ministry has initiated legislation and implemented different projects which influence the daily lives of women (United Nations, 1985).

The RDP (ANC, 1994) in South Africa also focuses on the full and equal role of women in every aspect of the economy and society. One of the issues is that, under the education and training programmes, special attention must be given to women and girls and that adult basic education and training programmes should

give special emphasis to women in the rural areas of South Africa. The RDP also states that women and girls should be encouraged to pursue subjects such as mathematics and science.

Giving full recognition and value to the role of women in society is, therefore, given special attention in South Africa. For example, the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry has made it legislation, in the Water Supply and Sanitation Policy, that women should have a minimum of 30 percent representation in all the statutory bodies in the water sector, including local water committees. Legislation states that this participation should apply at all levels, particularly in management, and should be successfully instituted within five years (South Africa Department of Water Affairs and Forestry, 1994)

Under the issue of media, the RDP insists that campaigns and information should open up a wider range of learning opportunities and choices for women, which in turn should lead to a wider range of income-generating forms of employment (ANC, 1994). WID SAAP was launched for the documentation and dissemination of information on regional issues at the time when efforts were made at regional and national level to advance the status of women in the region. Research and analysis had been done locally and internationally but it had been scattered and difficult to access and disseminate (SARDC, Dec 1994).

Women are increasingly entering occupations such as electrical engineering that were previously male dominated. Therefore, it has become necessary for women to be trained accordingly. They are entering technical colleges and universities to be trained in all fields of work.

SADC governments have made positive efforts to include women in adult literacy programmes such as the Rural Education Centres which have been established in Zambia, for example, to increase adult literacy in the country.

In South Africa, a Forum for the Advancement of Adult Education has been established to foster adult education as part of the social change leading to the creation of equitable education in a non-racial, non-sexist democratic South Africa. Rural women are part of the target group of this forum.

Disabled women are the worst victims of ignorance, poverty, disease, discrimination and prejudice in both rural and urban areas, although the number in rural areas are higher. The Southern African Federation of the Disabled (SAFOD) recognises the necessity for disabled people to unite in a common struggle for full participation and equality with other people. SAFOD's Women's Regional Development Programme (WRDP) was, therefore set up to address the double discrimination faced by women (Commonwealth, 1995:7).

The Disabled People of South Africa (DPSA) was set up to empower all disabled people, especially women and children and the mentally disabled group, and to achieve full participation, development and equity. Under the Disabled Women's Development Programme, Rural Disability Action Group initiatives and the Business Development Initiative, women are provided the opportunity to discuss their situation and options and promote self-help initiatives, and facilitates access to participation of disabled people in small business development support services and financial institutions (Prodder, 1993: 6).

Land is an important issue for rural women in the region because they rely on land for their subsistence agriculture, for grazing livestock, for erecting houses, schools

and health centres. The National Land Committee in South Africa, for example, facilitates at the community level the development of social initiatives which will promote the ability of disadvantaged and marginalised people such as the poor, women and farm workers, to influence processes and ensure access to land and security (Land Report, 1995).

The discussion above highlighted the efforts made by the region with regard to recognition of the important role of women as well as the attempt to include them in the development process. It appears that these efforts are positive but I believe that there is still a lot to be done to redress the inequalities that exist between women and men in the SADC communities. The structures of domination harbour these inequalities and are the greatest limitation for women to fully participate in the development process.

3.4.2 New Zealand Assistance in the SADC Region

Although New Zealand is a very small aid donor in the SADC region, the donations make significant changes in the lives of people targeted, especially women (see Chapters 6 and 7). In 1987/1988 NZODA distributed 0.7 percent through New Zealand NGOs. This compares to Australia at six percent, Switzerland at 13.5 percent and the United States of America at 11.9 percent (Kelly, 1994). This aid is delivered to SADC mainly through VASS and VSA because NGOs have a wider network and grassroot level contact than the New Zealand government in the SADC region.

3.5 SUMMARY

From the literature review in this chapter, it is clear that women in the SADC region have insurmountable problems despite the fact that their governments try their best to assist them.

Despite major differences in their colonial histories and the differing recency of their independences, there is little difference between the countries that were British colonies and which achieved their independence in the 1960s and newly independent countries (except Zimbabwe) in their development problems and issues regarding women. In Zimbabwe, however, independence brought significant changes to education (almost 100 percent primary school enrolment) and health care for women and children both in the rural and urban areas (80 and 96 percent, respectively).

It is further observed that independence and equal rights status are not automatically followed by women's equal participation in the development programmes and/or projects. The burden of the triple role of women is still facing women in this region. The cultural norms are also still in place and are limiting participation of women in the project planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. However, regional as well as international efforts are rigorously attempting to fully include women in the development process.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

For the purpose of this research I had originally planned to go to Southern Africa to do field research. Unfortunately research funding was not available. Following failure to receive assistance, I approached the Voluntary Agency Support Scheme (VASS) of New Zealand and assistance was promptly offered. This development agency offered evaluation reports of VASS funded projects in Africa between 1988 and 1991. However, this method of doing research by looking at reports, imposed constraints (discussed on 3.7 below).

The structure of this chapter begins with the second section which looks at two broad research approaches that were identified for the purpose of a social research activity. The third section discusses the research purpose, objectives and procedures followed.

4.2 RESEARCH APPROACHES

Research is important in social development issues because it reflects the different views of those involved with the issues. It reflects the changes in opinions within the field of development. Essentially, it offers opportunities for the re-appraisal of practice and re-design of objectives at both micro- and macro-levels of development activities (Marsden and Oakley, 1991: 315). On this basis social

research requires social research methods that are objective and participatory in approach. For the purpose of this research two broad approaches were identified: the instrumental /technocratic and the interpretative approaches.

For purposes of this research it is important to identify and clarify the research methods that the development literature recommends for development issues. On this basis, the instrumental/technocratic approach is used for the purpose of knowing how effective the interventions in development have actually been. It:

> *perceives the management task as the development of rationally designed and operational tools for the realisation of predominantly instrumental objectives (Marsden and Oakley, 1991:315).*

Therefore, this value-central western scientific method is primarily a management tool used to attempt to gain increased control for the effective implementation of policies. It excludes political and historical contexts in which such control is exercised and it reduces research to static and mechanical operation designed to expose irrationalities, inconsistencies and corruption. That is why evaluators or evaluations are seen in a negative light and regarded with suspicion when this approach is used in an attempt to measure the impact of social development programmes and/or projects (Marsden and Oakley, 1991: 315).

In contrast, an interpretative approach might be called a practical research methodology. It focuses on the issues of participation, sustainability and empowerment as central to more appropriate development strategies (Marsden and Oakley, 1991: 315-318). Such issues (participation and empowerment) are the basis of this research.

4.3 THIS RESEARCH

4.3.1 Purpose of Research

The purpose of this research is to examine participation of women in development projects in the SADC region. Furthermore, it is important to see whether women benefit from this participation.

4.3.2 Research Objectives

To critically analyse evaluations of VASS funded projects in Africa between 1988 and 1991. These include considering gender participation in decision-making. It also analyses project benefits.

To formulate a general statement of recommendations to governments, donors and other sponsors about the importance of participation of women in development projects.

4.3.3 Research Procedure

This research uses both instrumental/technocratic as well as interpretative methods as both are important for specific situations. It appears that the evaluations made by the donors (VASS Funded Project in Africa, 1993) in this research used the instrumental/technocratic method to see whether the policies (objectives) were implemented and funds were effectively used. Simultaneously, they used the interpretative methods in order to see whether there was equal participation in the planning and the implementation of the projects as well as whether the project benefits accrued to women. My research methods included secondary data review of literature as well as review of the evaluations made by the donors.

The information and statistics used in the study of women in the SADC region (Chapter 3) were extracted from profiles written and produced by the Women in Development (WID) Southern Africa Awareness Project which was developed in cooperation with the Royal Netherlands Embassy, Lusaka, Zambia and the Southern African Research And Documentation Center (SARDC), with support from the Netherlands Government Directorate of the International Cooperation (DGIS) for the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in September 1995. No obstacles were met in requesting information from Southern African Research Documentation Centre (SARDC) in Zimbabwe. I received assistance promptly.

4.3.4 Countries Analysed

Because the SADC region is vast, it was not possible to analyse projects from all countries of the region. Only two countries were chosen for analysis: Tanzania and Zimbabwe. The procedure followed to choose these two countries was prompted by the observation made from the discussion in Chapter 3.

From the discussion of the disadvantages facing women in the SADC countries, it was observed that there were more similarities than differences in their situations.

It was realised that the majority of these countries are former British colonies and they achieved independence in the 1960s. The development efforts of the countries falling within this category (Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Swaziland, Tanzania and Zambia) were observed in the post-independence era. These efforts include, among others, to eliminate forms of discrimination against women.

In contrast, Zimbabwe also a former British colony achieved independence in 1980 and it immediately went through rigorous development programmes/projects and

achieved set objectives significantly. Zimbabwe ratified the CEDAW in 1991 (WID SAAP, 1995).

Tanzania is in East Africa while the other SADC countries lie in Southern Africa.

The implementation of the selected projects occurred within the same time frame.

The former Portuguese colonies, Angola and Mozambique, achieved independence in 1975 but this was followed by war. Namibia and South Africa (Dutch settler colonies) achieved their democracies in the 1990s. These four countries were not selected because they have just started to embark on their post-independence development efforts.

The other reason why these two countries were chosen, is that they will learn from their own experiences (failures and/or successes). Furthermore, this study will provide lessons for the newly elected democracies such as Angola, Mozambique, Namibia and South Africa.

In view of this, Tanzania and Zimbabwe were selected from the two categories of countries which had already undergone post-independence development and which have official policies that attempt to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women.

4.3.5 Aid Organisations Analysed

This research of participation of women in development projects included the intention to do a comprehensive survey of development projects that were sponsored by different types of organisations and in different countries within the SADC group of countries. Due to the inability to travel to Africa to do this fieldwork

I communicated with organisations in Africa for assistance, usually to no avail. It appears that it is difficult for development organisations to release their project documents for analysis by outsiders who are even overseas. Voluntary Agency Support Scheme (VASS) of New Zealand responded to my request with the offer of project evaluation reports for assessment.

The projects that were analysed were selected from the evaluations of New Zealand VASS funded projects in Africa (VASS Funded Projects in Africa, 1993). The VASS evaluation team, during their evaluations of the VASS funded projects in Africa in 1993, found that the New Zealand NGO donors' objectives in terms of their VASS subsidy applications were reasonably achieved in four of the seven projects evaluated.

4.3.6 Projects Analysed

From the four projects that reasonably achieved their objectives only two were chosen (Bumbuta Village Water Supply Pump Rehabilitation project and the Zimbabwe Project) and the other two projects were chosen from the remaining three which were only partially successful. These were the Chimbwembwe and the Iselamagazi projects.

Other basis for choosing to analyse these particular projects were their similarities and differences in terms of country and project type. Bumbuta and Chimbwembwe projects were similar because they were both water projects. The difference between these projects was the recipient countries. Bumbuta project was implemented in Tanzania while the Chimbwembwe project was implemented in Zimbabwe.

The Iselamagazi project and Zimbabwe Project were similar in character because they were both multi-faceted projects. The difference between these projects was the recipient country. The Iselamagazi project was implemented in Tanzania while the Zimbabwe Project was implemented in Zimbabwe (see Table 5.1).

The interviews which were planned for this research included a questionnaire. Failure to go to Africa to do research shifted this plan from interviews of beneficiaries involved in the projects to interviews with members of evaluation process (VASS evaluation team). The evaluation team in New Zealand were not involved in the actual implementation of the projects. Therefore, the information on the evaluation report was used for the purpose of this research, excluding the questionnaire information. The questionnaire which would have been used is produced in Appendix 4.1. The questionnaire covers questions in relation to gender participation in the project cycle.

4.3.7 General Constraints

In an attempt to do a quantitative analysis of projects I met with obstacles mainly due to lack of relevant data.

In attempting to calculate present values of livestock, there was lack of data on breeching rates, market prices for different types of animals and/or animal products in both 'with' or 'without' project situations.

In an attempt to convert time saved to the equivalent money terms, lack of information also was a constraint. The only information available for this attempt was the GNP per capita for the countries studied. But the GNP per capita could not be accepted in this situation because GNP per capita only includes marketed

goods and services, not goods and services produced and consumed by households.

Furthermore, to calculate the opportunity cost of women's time, a more useful approach would have been to ascertain the average rural wage for unskilled women labour, that is, the opportunity cost for women's time. If there are few work opportunities, the opportunity-cost could be close to zero. Even this approach would only capture the potential quantifiable economic benefits, and not other types of benefits, for example, more time with family, or fewer health problems.

4.4 SUMMARY

Despite the constraints encountered during this research, I was still able to learn from the donor evaluation reports. The research approaches were identified and clarified, although I was unable to use them appropriately in this thesis because of limited data.

The procedure to select the countries and projects studied was explained in this chapter. It was observed that choosing these was based on their similarities and differences and that they have already undergone post-independence development efforts.

It is also clear that the donor organisation (VASS) offered assistance to facilitate the research when the original plan failed.

CHAPTER 5

PROJECTS EVALUATIONS BY DONORS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to describe selected projects (see Chapter 4) in order to analyse their objectives, organization and the benefits accrued. This description of projects is important because it sets the scene for the gender analysis that is undertaken in Chapter 6.

The structure of this chapter will look at each of the four projects, first to explain the context of the project geographically and socially, and the action taken to facilitate the expected change.

Following this, project inputs in order to facilitate the establishment, maintenance and sustainability of each project will be highlighted. In the next sections, project objectives and organisation will be discussed showing the gender composition of the members of the project. Project evaluations by the donors will be described in order to point out projects' constraints and benefits.

Table 5.1 below shows the project profiles including the project name, beneficiary country, and donor organisation type. This table serve as the basis of the discussion on projects.

Table 5.1. Project profiles

Project	Country	Donor	Type	Budget (NZ$)
Bumbuta	Tanzania	WFS VASS	Water	$12,000
Chimbwembwe	Zimbabwe	JPD VASS	Water	$35,000
Iselamagazi	Tanzania	World Vision	Multifaceted	$139,842
Zimbabwe Project	Zimbabwe	Corso	Multifaceted	$6,000

Source: VASS, 1993.

5.2 THE BUMBUTA PROJECT

5.2.1 Project Profile

The Bumbuta project in Tanzania emerged from a project initially proposed at Leganga village. We need to examine this Leganga case first by way of background.

The source of information used in this section is VASS Funded Projects in Africa: an Evaluation of Seven Projects Approved for Subsidy 1988-1991 (1993).

Before the project, Leganga villagers, mainly women and girls, walked seven to ten kilometers each way everyday to collect reliable water, and the incidence of water-borne diseases was great. The Leganga village lies in the Dodoma region of Tanzania which forms part of Central Tanzania (see Figure 5.1, source: VASS, 1993). This region is semi-arid and the community depend on pastoral farming. Water for Survival requested a VASS subsidy to rehabilitate the water supply in the Leganga village. WaterAid, a British NGO, had been operating village water supply rehabilitation programmes in the region since 1990. The WaterAid engineers showed that the Leganga borehole had collapsed it was beyond the capability of their existing project.

Figure 5.1. Tanzania projects
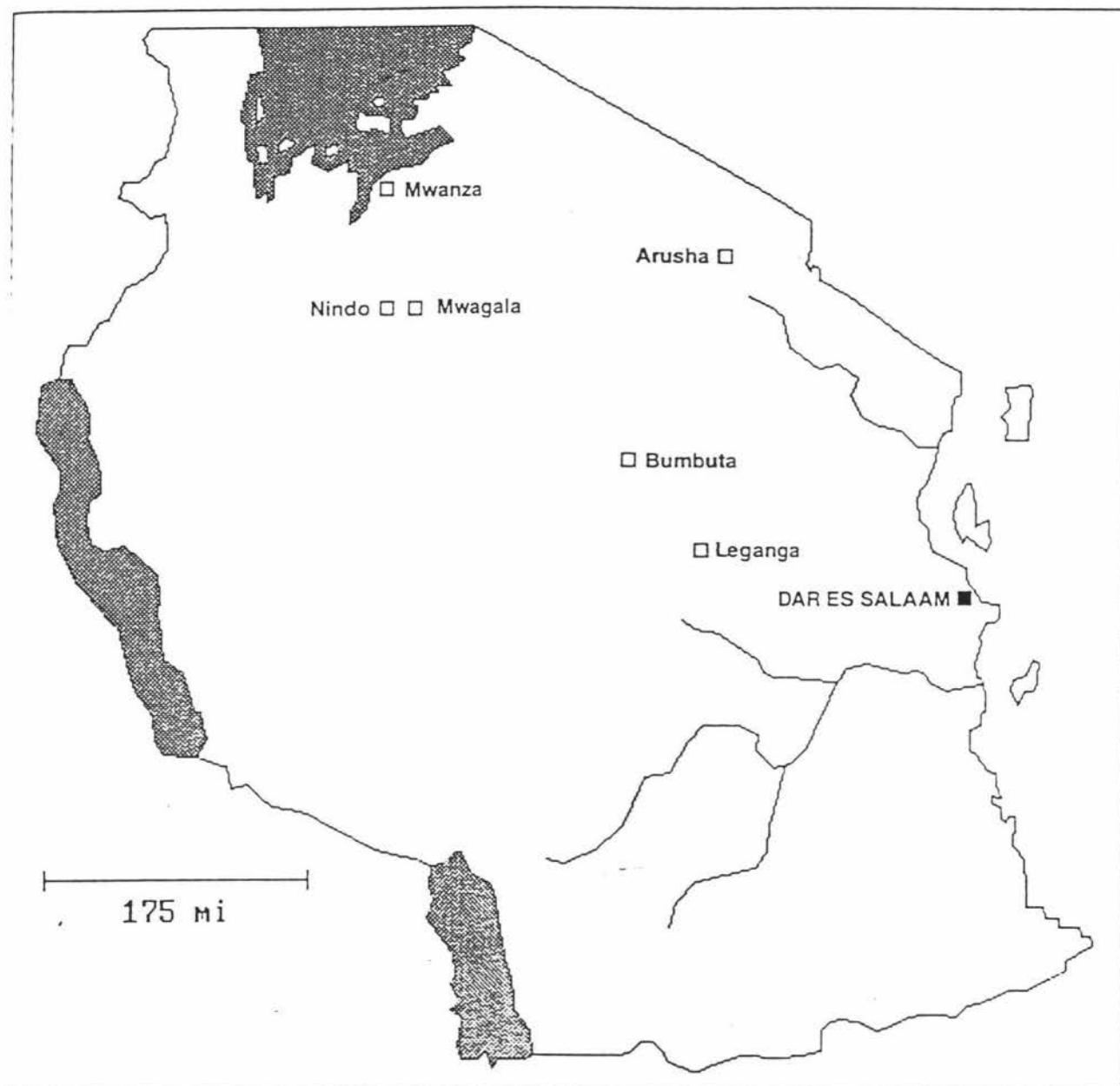
Table 5.2. Bumbuta project profile

Year:	1991
Input:	$12,000
	Labour, time, expertise
Objective:	Clean water
Method:	Rehabilitation of water scheme (supply diesel engine and build a new water distribution tank with four taps)
	Reconnect a renovated cattle water trough
	Train village pump attendant on basic preventative maintenance
	Health education
Organisation	Female: 25%
	Male: 75%

Source: VASS, 1993.

Table 5.3. Bumbuta project funding profile

Year	Donor	Contributions
1991	WFS	$6,000
1991	VASS	$6,000
Total NZ contributions		$12,000

Source: VASS, 1993.

Because of this WaterAid team decided to substitute the Bumbuta village water rehabilitation as the recipient of the New Zealand funding. The Bumbuta village is in the Kondoa district (see Figure 5.2). In 1991, this project was funded and the New Zealand contribution was $12,000. WFS and VASS donated $6,000 each ($12,000). (See Table 5.1 and 5.2). Table 5.2 shows the profile of the Bumbuta project.

5.2.2 Project Inputs

WaterAid is a British agency that administers projects in Africa on behalf of Water for Survival (WFS), a New Zealand donor. WaterAid receives a 1:1 subsidy for a third of their projects from the United Kingdom Overseas Development Assistance (UK ODA). This agency provided money and the transport to the project for the provision of water in the Bumbuta village. The project enjoyed the expertise of the WaterAid engineer.

Total contributions of WFS and VASS amounted to NZ$ 12,000 (see Table 5.3).

The Tanzania Ministry of Water Affairs, within the Ministry of Water, Energy and Minerals, supported WaterAid work in the region by importing of equipment, by acting for WaterAid in transactions relating to customs and other civil service transactions.

The district government contributed the expertise of the Tanzanian district engineer who headed a team of government development workers. The team

adopted an integrated approach to community development, provision of water and health education.

The villagers contributed labour, time, skills and some materials for the construction of the watchman's living quarters adjacent to the pump and motor to ensure security against theft. It was believed that once the rehabilitation of the water supply was completed the villagers would be responsible for the project and its further development. They, therefore, organised a system of user-pays for each bucket of water collected and for livestock. The reason for this user-pays system was to build up a fund for the maintenance of the water supply system and to meet the diesel costs.

5.2.3 Project Objectives

The objective of the project was to provide an ongoing source of clean and safe water to the Bumbuta village. The aim of the project was to supply a renovated Lister diesel engine to replace an unserviceable one, build a new water distribution tank with four taps, connect this to the pump outlet, tap into the line to reconnect to a renovated existing cattle trough, undertake basic preventative maintenance training for the village pump attendant, and promote health education.

5.2.4 Project Organisation

Tanzanian government guidelines for projects state that there must be equal participation of women and men in water committees. However, in the Bumbuta project an imbalance in the composition of the committee was observed by the

evaluation team. The eight member committee of the project included two women and six men.

The Water Committee of the Bumbuta project planned the day to day activities and laid down the guidelines for the water project. It was also observed that in the Muslim dominated culture in the village it is difficult for women to participate because women are not supposed to appear and speak out in public, especially in front of men. This situation was observed by the evaluation team when during a meeting of thirty villagers, only three were women. These three women kept silent throughout the meeting.

5.2.5 Project Constraints

In this project the water committee and the village government met three times before determining pricing and other policy matters relating to the administration of the borehole. WaterAid mentioned to the evaluation team that in every village where water was charged, the village government had, with varying degrees, interfered with water committee funds. The sustainability of the project, therefore, depended upon the ability of the water committees to safeguard its funds.

It was significant to the villagers that the Government would not be in a position to pay borehole maintenance costs. The user-pays was a method used by the villagers to maintain the project even during high inflationary times. This required the water committees to accurately forecast and calculate ongoing costs.

5.2.6 Project Benefits

The project achieved its objective of providing access to a reliable supply of clean and safe water. On completion of the project, approximately 2,500 people, 1,500 cattle, 1,000 goats, 500 sheep, and 400 donkeys had access to clean and safe water. A reduction in the distance and time taken to collect water was significant because the water pump is within 500 metres of most houses. A reduction in the frequency of illnesses related to waterborne diseases was realised by the community because of the clean and safe water and because of the health education programme which was conducted at Bumbuta village explaing water related public health and hygiene issues. This then partly relieved women from the burden of taking care of sick family members.

5.2.7 Summary of Project Evaluation by Donors

The original VASS objective of assisting the people of the Leganga village was not achieved for technical reasons. But the VASS evaluation team believed that the alternative project (Bumbuta) met the VASS criteria and that the VASS funding was effectively used (VASS, 1993). The main objective of providing clean and safe water was achieved. Water is being pumped successfully and is being bucketed from an open storage tank for village supply. Although it was difficult to quantify the safety of water, WaterAid's view was that water-borne diseases such as trachoma, bilharzia and diarrhea had reduced.

The evaluation team believed that there was a need for the extension team in the village to conduct sensitisation meetings and seminars with the villagers in order to

create awareness on the importance of women's participation in the project. It would also be helpful for women to contribute in the village discussions. The team believe that it would empower women to take part in matters that concern them.

5.3 THE CHIMBWEMBWE PROJECT

5.3.1 Project Profile

The source of this information is VASS Funded projects in Africa: an Evaluation of Seven Projects Approved for Subsidy 1988-1991 (1993).

Before the Chimbwembwe water project in Zimbabwe the incidence of water-borne diseases (trachoma, bilharzia and diarrhoea) was high and the educational needs of the local community were not satisfactorily met because women and children walked long distances to collect water. The Chimbwembwe area is located in the south-eastern part of Zimbabwe (See Figure 5.2, source: VASS, 1993). Table 5.4 illustrates the Chimbwembwe project profile.

A volunteer teacher at Chimbwembwe Secondary School approached the Catholic Commission for Justice, Peace and Development (JPD) for financial assistance to sink a borehole and provide a pump, engine, storage tank and reticulation to four taps at the school. A water project committee was established comprising school staff and community members. The following year another volunteer teacher approached JPD stating that an opportunity existed to connect the school to the District Council piped-water scheme from Jerera Township, seven kilometers away. It was later learned that this proposal was not possible because of

Figure 5.2. Zimbabwe Projects

Table 5.4. Chimbwembwe project profile

Year:	1988
Input:	1. $35,000
	2. Labour, cement, sand
Objective:	Clean water
Method:	1. To combat water-borne diseases by provision of accessible and safe water
	2. Assist the educational needs of local community
Organisation	Female: 25%
	Male: 75%

Source: VASS, 1993.

Table 5.5. Chimbwembwe project funding profile (NZ$)

Donor	Year	Contributions
JPD	1988	$10,500
	1991	$7,000
VASS	1988	$10,00
	1991	$7,000
Total NZ contributions		$35,000

Source: VASS, 1993.

inadequate pumping capacity at the water source. The school then decided to revert to the original borehole proposal.

On July, 1991, the sinking of the borehole in the Chimbwembwe Secondary School was undertaken and completed. A handpump loaned by the Ministry of Water Affairs was fitted to the borehole and it started to provide the only source of potable water to the community. At the time of the evaluation of this project the provision of the engine, storage tank and reticulation to four taps was still to be done.

5.3.2 Project Inputs

JPD offered financial assistance to sink a borehole and provide a pump, engine, storage tank and reticulation to four taps at the Chimbwembwe Secondary School. It donated NZ$17,500 and VASS donated an amount of NZ$17, 500 (Table 5.5 refers). The Ministry of Water Affairs loaned a handpump to be fitted to the borehole. The villagers contributed labour, cement, sand and other materials.

5.3.3 Project Objectives

The project aimed to combat waterborne diseases by providing accessible and safe water to the students and the community surrounding the Chimbwembwe Secondary School and Mushungwa Primary School. It was also aimed at assisting the educational needs of the local community.

5.3.4 Project Organisation

Although women are collectors and users of water the evaluation team observed that there was almost very little involvement of women in the project's planning and implementation. The water project committee of eight members comprised two women and six men. One woman member was a staff member and another a community member but during the discussions at the school neither of these two women were present. Also during the inspection of the pump and the visit to the primary school to meet with the staff involved with the project, only one women committee member was present. The evaluation team believed that non-involvement of women in projects of this type is a cultural norm in Zimbabwe.

5.3.5 Project Constraints

The project suffered a lot of setbacks because it lacked control. It was volunteer initiated the volunteers did not follow the well established protocol system within local and central government in Zimbabwe. Adequate involvement of the local District Council, the District Water Engineer and the Provincial Water Engineer could have assisted speedy implementation. There was no partner who could realistically inform or advise JPD because there was no one who was in effective

control of the project. Even the involvement of the Water Project Committee in the planning process was minimal. Contact between the donor and project committee was through successive volunteers and a succession of different headmasters of the school (five in six years). JPD relied on Catholic structures within Zimbabwe to evaluate the project, and on CATORUZI to act as banker. It was let down by both. Subsequently CATORUZI requested CADEC for assistance to evaluate the project in 1987. 1n 1989, two years later, the evaluation received from CADEC was also inadequate. CATORUZI's support was insufficient in keeping JPD adequately informed of developments. CATORUZI, therefore, did not act in the best interests of the beneficiaries.

The inflation rate during the life of the project was very high and had seriously eroded the purchasing power of money. During this period available interest rates of money deposited in Zimbabwe banks ranged from 20 percent to 40 percent (VASS Funded Projects in Africa, 1993).

5.3.6 Project Benefits

Since mid-1991 the two schools and the surrounding community had been provided with access to one borehole with a hand operated pump. The source of water is situated 500 metres from each of the two schools and approximately 800 metres from each of the teacher housing locations. They have access to clean and safe water. The source supplies 350 pupils of the Chimbwembwe Secondary School, 630 pupils of the Mashungwa Primary School, 32 teachers' households and community members.

5.3.7 Summary of Project Evaluation by Donors

The objectives of the project were only partially achieved mainly because there was lack of ongoing commitment and leadership from those involved. The project suffered from inadequate assessment, from failure to seek appropriate guidance and assistance from relevant authorities, from poor financial investment and from inadequate liaison between New Zealand donors and its Zimbabwean agents.

5.4 THE NINDO PROJECT

5.4.1 Project Profile

The discussion of the Nindo project in this section is important because the Iselamagazi (to be discussed shortly) is a ward of Nindo. Therefore, the Iselamagazi project was a substitute of Nindo when Nindo failed.

The source of information in this section is VASS Funded Projects in Africa: an Evaluation of Seven Projects Approved for Subsidy 1988-1991 (1993).

The Nindo Development Assistance Centre project was established in 1988 in the Shinyanga region in the northern part of Tanzania (see Figure 5.2). The economy of this area needed to be improved and World Vision intended to have a cluster of individual development projects located around a development assistance centre through which development could 'radiate'. World Vision believed that through the pooling of ideas, resources and mutual encouragement, the development impact would be greater.

Table 5.6. Nindo project profile

Year:	1988
Input:	$139,842
Objective:	To improve the standard of living of people by initiating a series of interventions at the rural community level
Method:	Construct 4 Development Assistance Centre (DAC) classrooms
	Select assistant programme coordinator
	Train 10 village development workers
Organisation:	Female: 0%
	Male: 100%

Source: VASS, 1993.

Table 5.7. Nindo project funding profile (NZ$)

Donor	Year	Contributions
World Vision	1988/1989	$29,166
	1989/1990	$40,755
VASS	1988/1990	$29,166
	1989/1990	$40,755
Total NZ contributions		$139,842

Source: VASS, 1993.

5.4.2 Project Inputs

In 1988/1989 World Vision and VASS contributed an amount of $69,921 each ($139,842) (see Table 5.7). World Vision (Tanzania) received the funds and gave them to the local Anglican Church authorities who administered the project on behalf of World Vision.

5.4.3 Project Objectives

The aim of the Nindo project was to improve the standard of living of the people of the Sukuma in the Shinyanga region by initiating a series of interventions at the community level. World Vision hoped that this region would improve the economy of a district more readily than working with scattered villages. This project was also meant to coordinate, encourage, train and facilitate the village development workers by holding short courses in health, literacy and intrepreneurship. VASS' specific objectives were to construct four DAC classrooms, select an assistant programme coordinator and conduct courses for ten village development workers.

5.4.4 Project Organisation

The evaluation team of this project reported that there was no attempt by World Vision to look at specific needs of women. There was no attempt to integrate women in the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation stages of the projects. World Vision (Tanzania) regarded participation of women as peripheral when compared to other development aspects of the programme. Although government guidelines specify women should have representation of three for every twelve (25%) men in village committees, very little effort has been made to

include women. During meetings with village governments the evaluation team noted a complete absence of women in all but two villages where there were only two women. The team noted that the Wa Sakuma culture does not permit women to appear or speak out in public, especially in front of men.

5.4.5 Project Benefits

Accommodation for the Nindo DAC coordinator was completed although it now houses the Iselamagazi Area Development Programme (ADP) offices.

5.4.6 Summary of Project Evaluation by Donors

According to the World Vision Lake Zone Coordinator, the DAC approach was entirely faulty. It was not community based and was not sustainable. Community needs were not properly identified and the coodinator believed to an extent that World Vision had 'thrown a dollar'. According to the VASS evaluators, the Nindo DAC project was never likely to succeed. The World Vision 'area concept' was developmentally unsound and World Vision structures were weak. There was no World Vision structure in the Shinyanga region and, therefore, the programme was administered from Arusha, at least two days travel away. Therefore, there was no effective coordination and financial control achievable from this distance. There was no consultation with the community and development plans were unmet. Village development workers were recruited according to the Church's own agenda. Development committee members were exclusively Christian and the activities of the project were meant to benefit members only. People even changed denominations to join a church where they could benefit.

The Nindo DAC project met few of the VASS objectives, was discontinued in the early 1990s and was regarded as an ineffective use of VASS funds. In 1988, 1989, 1990 the evaluation team of VASS believe that the benefits accrued from the programme were enjoyed chiefly by the Anglican Church and its followers (VASS Funded Projects in Africa, 1993). However, the Nindo DAC approach did provide valuable lessons for World Vision and has given rise to an integrated approach involving community participation in the programme, use of government expertise, clearer specifications of goals, so that impact can be better assessed and to use the indigenous people working for World Vision to manage the programme.

5.5 THE ISELAMAGAZI PROJECT

5.5.1 Project Profile

By 1990 World Vision had realised that the geographic focus of their Nindo DAC approach intervention needed to be narrower. Subsequently, World Vision commissioned an independent agency to conduct a survey of Iselamagazi ward of Nindo Division. In 1992 World Vision launched the Iselamagazi Area Development Programme.

Iselamagazi is a ward of Nindo Division consisting of eleven villages with a total population of 22,973 people, 17,941 cattle, 15,006 goats and 955 sheep (VASS, 1993).

This development approach of this division of Nindo was different from the DAC approach in terms of concept and organising. An office was established and

housed in the building that was built for the DAC coordinator. New and satisfactory relationships were established with the local and regional government.

5.5.2 Project Objective

The Area Development Programme sought to promote community based sustainable development through the provision of clean and safe water, the construction of primary school classrooms, training farmers in crop and livestock production and management, destocking of livestock and raising tree seedlings.

Priorities were set and specific activities were carried out. These included: in all villages in the Iselamagazi ADP programme, education and training was a priority. In ten villages the priority was agricultural training. In four villages water supply was a priority. In three villages training in afforestation was a priority.

5.5.3 Project Benefits

Twelve village development workers were trained in agriculture, health, sanitation, horticulture, water supply and afforestation. The house intended to accommodate the DAC project coordinator was completed although it houses Iselamagazi Area Development Programme offices. Two shallow wells with pumps were established (eight pumps were unused but available). Clean water was supplied.

5.5.4 Summary of Project Evaluation by Donors

The VASS evaluation team was impressed with the principles of development expressed in the new approach although they were not in agreement with the priorities set or the way the specific activities were carried out.

5.6 THE ZIMBABWE PROJECT

5.6.1 Project Profile

The source of information in this section is VASS Funded Projects in Africa: an Evaluation of Seven Projects Approved for Subsidy 1988-1991 (1993).

The Zimbabwe Projects was an established, multifaceted project which dealt in a number of diverse aspects of Zimbabwe society. This project was formed by the Jesuit priests in 1978 with the aim of assisting refugees of the liberation struggle. After independence the project assisted the former combatants with training, grants and loans. Table 5.8 shows the Zimbabwe Project profile.

5.6.2 Project Inputs

In 1989 Corso and VASS contributed $3,000 and $2,000 respectively to Zimbabwe Projects towards assisting with training, loans and grants. In 1991 Corso and VASS again contributed $500 each. See Table 5.3. During the evaluation of the project Corso gave a further $5,000 to the Zimbabwe project. The total VASS contribution of $NZ 2,500 represents less than 0.05 percent of the total funds employed and less than 0.1 percent of the grants and donations received by Zimbabwe projects in 1992.

Table 5.8. Zimbabwe Projects profile

Year	1989
Inputs	$ 11,000
Objective	Provision of access to credit
Method	Through a revolving loan fund and grants, literacy and technical training
Organisation	Female: 0%
	Male: 100%

Source: VASS, 1993.

Table 5.9. Zimbabwe Projects funding profile (NZ$)

Donor	Year	Contribution
Corso	1989	$3,000
	1991	$500
	1993	5,000
VASS	1989	$2,000
	1991	$500
Total NZ contributions		$6,000

Source: VASS, 1993.

5.6.3 Project Objectives

The aim of the project was to provide access to credit through a revolving loan fund and a limited number of grants to support cooperatives, adult literacy and technical training. These cooperatives would normally have difficulties in gaining credit from commercial banks. The Zimbabwe Project provided training in book keeping, financial management skills, carpentry, welding, bricklaying and agriculture as well as provision of literacy training.

5.6.4 Project Organisation

Beneficiaries were involved in decision-making by initiating requests for assistance to the Zimbabwe Project which then selects those applicants the local cooperatives were willing to support. The VASS evaluators of the project observed that women were included in the membership of *some* cooperatives. One training course ran by Zimbabwe project involved only male participants. However, *some* courses included women.

5.6.5 Project Constraints

The activities supported by the Zimbabwe Project were so diverse that the staff expertise was spread very thinly. Drought was a drain on resources because during drought grants were doubled. Feeding programmes were introduced for children attending pre-schools that were supported by the project because of the drought. The project also had to provide food aid to members of cooperatives already supported by the project. The project was criticised for slowness of service and insufficiency of training.

5.6.6 Project Benefits

Women who were not members of cooperatives benefited through the provision of pre-school centres, health clinics and paid employment. Zimbabwe Project had a permanent staff of twenty two plus temporary staff for specific projects. The activities of the project included 32 positions for pre-schools teacher training, nutrition programmes, exchange visits and workshops. The overall impression of the project from the evaluation team was that women were relieved of some of their childcare duties and that children had better opportunities to participate in early childhood development activities. The Zimbabwe Project had added components of gender awareness, human rights, education of children, drought relief, housing and unemployment relief.

5.6.7 Summary Project Evaluation by Donor

In 1992 two major donors NOVIB and OXFAM (UK) funded a comprehensive evaluation of the project. Beneficiaries were reported to be very appreciative of close involvement of project staff, of activities and the services provided. Nevertheless, some criticisms were made about the slowness of service, insufficiency of training and declining frequency of field visits. Although, the contract for the evaluation did not include widespread beneficiary feedback the team believed that the Zimbabwe Project provided a worthwhile and helpful service to its beneficiaries. They believed that VASS contribution played a small but positive part in the overall result.

Zimbabwe project met 75-100 percent of the VASS criteria. The revolving fund was reported to have achieved a consistent repayment rate of greater than 80 percent from the beneficiaries.

5.7 SUMMARY

In the description of the selected projects in this chapter, it is clear that the donor evaluations were undertaken with the purpose of knowing whether the intervention was effective and the funds were used effectively. It also appears that they looked into gender participation in the projects because when they found that it was unequal they recommended that it should be changed in the projects in future. The evaluators also looked into the benefits and have pointed out that benefits of clean and safe water accrued to people. The multi-faceted projects also benefited people in the area of literacy, health care, pre-schools and others.

Now that we have learned from the donor evaluators that there was unequal gender participation as well as benefits accrued, we need to undertake a detailed analysis of gender participation in the described projects. We also need to see whether women benefited from their participation.

CHAPTER 6

GENDER ANALYSIS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Current implementation of gender planning practice often discriminates against women because, very often, correctly formulated policy fails to be translated into practice. International, national and local debates on women, gender and development have provided conceptual rationale for key principles of gender planning, these include gender needs and roles, access and control of resources, involvement in decision-making as well as policy approaches to women in development (Moser, 1993; Overholt, 1991). According to Moser (1993) these key principles are translated into methodological procedures, tools and techniques that are integrated into a gender planning.

Unfortunately, in this analysis these procedures, tools and techniques will not be used due to lack of relevant information. However, the best way possible will be used to analyse gender participation in these four projects.

The objectives of the selected projects discussed in Chapter 5 ranged from the supply of clean water, health education, loans and grants, to education and training for the targeted groups. This chapter aims to see how women benefited from participation in the four chosen projects and see whether they faced any constraints.

The second section of the chapter begins with the introduction of each project. In order to arrive at estimates in the cases of time to walk to collect water, population serviced and the present value of livestock serviced, assumptions are made. The second section will be a detailed analysis of gender roles in each project in terms of organisation as well as benefits accrued to women.

In the fourth section, all the projects will be compared with one another to highlight the differences and/or similarities of the outcomes in order to prepare for the discussions of results and recommendations in the following chapter.

6.2 THE BUMBUTA PROJECT

The Bumbuta project was a water project with the objective of providing a source of clean water for the community of Bumbuta village in Tanzania. This project received $12,000 from the New Zealand donors. Table 6.1 shows statistics for the project including organisation. Table 6.2 shows the benefits accrued from project. In order to arrive at estimates in the time taken to collect water, the following assumptions were made:

Assumptions:

Time it takes to walk 1 km

It takes one and a half steps to move a distance of 1 metre

Therefore, it takes 1500 steps to walk a distance of 1000 metres (1 km).

Now, the average time it takes to move 10 steps is 5 seconds.

Therefore, 1500 steps (i.e. 1 km) take

$$1500/10 \times 5/10 = 12.5 \text{ minutes}$$

to walk.

6.2.1 Gender Analysis of the Bumbuta Project

Table 6.1 shows the gender participation in the decision-making of the Bumbuta project. The Bumbuta project had an unequal percentage representation by gender at the decision-making level (committee).

There were significant distance and time savings in the project (16 km and 200 minutes per day). Because women and girls walk lesser distances and lesser time, they have more time to rest and/or do other things.

The Bumbuta project brought significant improvements in health standards in the community because availability of clean water led to a reduction in the number of cases affected by water-borne diseases.

The community became more knowledgeable about health matters because of the promotion of health education in the project.

Economically, the Bumbuta project brought great benefits to the community because of the livestock that was serviced. The health and the survival of livestock was assured.

Table 6.1. Bumbuta project organisation

Gender participation	Bumbuta (Tanzania)
Committee: Female	25%
Male	75%

Source: VASS, 1993.

Table 6.2. Benefits accrued from the Bumbuta project

Benefits	Before project	After project	Saving benefits
Distance to fetch water (roundtrip)	17km (average)	1km	16 km (average)
Time spent to collect water	212.5 min	12.5 min	200 min
Availability of water to:		2,500people 3,400 livestock	
Health	Waterborne diseases	Less waterborne diseases	Healthier community
Health education	No	Educated on health matters	Knowledge and skills on health
Leisure	Little rest	More rest	Ability to do other things
	Long distances	Short distances	

Source: VASS, 1993.

6.3 THE CHIMBWEMBWE PROJECT

The Chimbwembwe project was a water project with the objective of providing a source of clean water for the communtiy around the Chimbwembwe Secondary School and the Mushungwa Primary School in Zimbabwe. This project received $35,000 from the New Zealand donors. Table 6.3 shows statistics for the project including organisation. In order to arrive at estimates in the size of the targeted population, the following assumptions were made:

Assumptions:

Population serviced by Chimbwembwe project

Number of pupils attending the Chimbwembwe schools is given as 980. Assume that all the pupils at both schools were from the local community and that each family unit had an average of two children attending school.

Therefore, the number of families (households) comprising the local community was:

$980/2 = 490$

The average household in Zimbabwe is 5.

Adding the number of teacher households, the total number of households was

$490 + 32 = 522$

The total number of persons in the local community, including the pupils, was

$490 \times 32 = 2,450$

Therefore, adding the teacher population, the total number of persons serviced is

2,450 + 32 = 2,482

6.3.1 Gender Analysis of the Chimbwembwe Project

Table 6.3 shows the gender participation in the decision-making of the Chimbwembwe project. The Chimbwembwe project had an unequal gender representation by percentage at the decision-making level (committee).

The population serviced in the Chimbwembwe water project was calculated by making assumptions about family size in Zimbabwe. Therefore, the total number of persons serviced by the project was is estimated as 2,482. No livestock was mentioned in the Chimbwembwe project.

The results show that there was significant distance and time savings achieved by this project and this benefits women and girls in particular. In addition there were significant improvements in health standards because availability of clean water led to a reduction in the number of cases affected by water-borne diseases.

Table 6.3. Chimbwembwe project organisation

Gender participation	Chimbwembwe (Zimbabwe)
Committee: Female	25%
Male	75%

Source: VASS, 1993.

6.4. Benefits accrued from the Chimbwembwe project

Benefits	Before project	After project	Saving benefits
Distance to fetch water (round trip)	14 km (from Jerera township)	1 km	13 km
Time spent to fetch water	165 min.	12.5 min.	152.5 min
Availability of water	NA	962 pupils local community	NA
Health	Water-borne diseases	Less waterborne diseases	Healthier community
Leisure	Little rest	More rest	Ability to do other things

Source: VASS, 1993.

6.4 THE ISELAMAGAZI PROJECT

The Iselamagazi project was a multi-faceted project which included a water supply project. The entire project received $139,842 from the New Zealand donors. Table 6.9 shows the statistics for project including structure and benefits accrued.

Assumptions

Population serviced by the Iselamagazi project.

The population of the 11 villages serviced by the Iselamagazi project was 22,973.

Water supply by this project was provided for only four villages.

If villages are approximately the same size in population, then, population of four villages is:

22,973/11 x 4 = 8,354

Livestock serviced by the Iselamagazi project

The number of livestock of 11 villages serviced by the project was 33,902.

Water supply was provided by the project to only four villages.

Therefore, livestock of four villages is:

Cattle: 17,941/11 x 4 = 6,524

Goats: 15,006/11 x 4 = 5,457

Sheep: 955/11 x 4 =   347

Total: = 12,328

6.4.1 Gender Analysis of the Iselamagazi Project

Table 6.5 shows the gender participation in the decision-making of the Iselamagazi project. The Iselamagazi project had an unequal gender representation in the decision-making level (committee). There was a complete absence of women in the planning level of the project.

It was observed that four villages out of 11 were provided with clean water. Assumptions have been made about the population of the four villages serviced (see page 6). It was found that approximately 8,354 people and 12,328 livestock were serviced by the project.

There was an improvement in the health standards in both projects because availability of water led to a reduction in water-borne diseases. There was also improvements in health education. Economically, the Iselamagazi project brought great benefits to the community because of the livestock that has been serviced. The health and the survival of the animals was assured.

Table 6.5. Iselamagazi projects organisation

Gender participation	Iselamagazi (Tanzania)
Committee: Female	0%
Male	100%

Source: VASS, 1993.

6.5 THE ZIMBABWE PROJECT

The Zimbabwe Project was a multifaceted with the objective of providing a revolving loan fund and grants to cooperatives and individuals in Zimbabwe. The project received $6,000 from the New Zealand donors. Table 6.6 shows the statistics for the project including organisation. In order to estimate the involvement of women in decision-making, the following assumptions were made.

Assumptions

Participation of women in decision-making

The Zimbabwe Project is reported to have included women in *some* cooperatives. Considering the fact that cultural bariers exist for women involvement in decision-making in Zimbabwe, involvement of women in decision-making (committee) is, therefore, likely to be zero.

6.5.1 Gender Analysis of the Zimbabwe Project

The Zimbabwe Project had unequal percentage representation by gender at the committee level.

The project did not service any livestock.

The introduction of nutrition programmes in the Zimbabwe Project led to an improvement in health standards. Education and training on health matters improved the knowledge of the community about health issues.

Employment opportunities for the community improved. Other benefits accrued (do not appear on Table 6.7) from the project included access to credit, provision of pre-school centres, adult literacy, early childhood development activities. During times of crisis (drought) the project double grants to projects, introduce feeding programmes for pre-school children, food aid for the community serviced by the project.

Table 6.6. Zimbabwe Projects organisation

Gender participation	Zimbabwe Project (Zimbabwe)
Committee: Female	0%
Male	100%

Source: VASS, 1993.

Table 6.7. Benefits accrued from the Zimbabwe Projects

Benefits	After the projects
Distance saving	N/A
Time saving	N/A
Health	Improved
Education	Improved
Employment	Improved
Miscellaneous	Improved

Source: VASS, 1993.

6.6 COMPARISONS OF THE FOUR PROJECTS

Table 6.8 shows the gender analysis comparisons between the four projects. Zimbabwe Project will not be included because there was no distance and time savings and no livestock was serviced. All four projects were similar because they had unequal gender representation in the planning level of the project. On the one hand the Bumbuta and the Chimbwembwe projects had the same percentage representation in the committee level while the Nindo and the Zimbabwe Project projects had absolute absence of women representation in the organising committee. Considering the cultural inhibitions in Tanzania and Zimbabwe, the effective participation of women in decision-making in the four projects may have been negatively affected.

The Bumbuta and Chimbwembwe water projects serviced only one village each while the water project of the Iselamagazi project serviced a population of four villages. The result is that the Iselamagazi project serviced a larger population than the Bumbuta and Chimbwembwe projects.

The Bumbuta water project serviced livestock of one village while the Iselamagazi water project serviced a larger number of livestock (four villages).

Economically, the Iselamagazi water project brought greater benefits to the community than the Bumbuta water project because of the larger number of livestock serviced. The health and survival of the animals were assured.

The Bumbuta, Chimbwembwe and Iselamagazi projects show significant distance and time savings.

Table 6.8. Comparisons of projects organisation and benefits for women

	Bumbuta (Tanzania)	Chimbwembwe (Zimbabwe)	Nindo (Tanzania)	Zimbabwe Project (Zimbabwe)
Committee: Female	25%	25%	0%	0%
Male	75%	75%	100%	100%
Population serviced	2500	2,482	8,354	N/A
Livestock serviced	3400[1]	N/A	12,328	N/A
Benefits				
Distance saving	16 km	13 km	16 km	N/A
Time saving	200 min	162.5 min	200 min	N/A
Health	Improved	Improved	Improved	Improved
Education	Improved	Improved	Improved	Improved

Source: VASS, 1993.

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[1] Cattle, 1500; goats,1000; sheep, 500; donkey, 400.

In all four projects there were improvements in health standards. In particular, availability of water in the Bumbuta, Chimbwembwe and Iselamagazi projects led to the reduction in the number of cases affected by water-borne diseases. Including Zimbabwe Project health standards improved because in all the projects because of the the health and nutrition programmes introduced in the community.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY, DISCUSSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

There are four main points that will be covered in this chapter. Firstly, it summarises why women's participation in development projects is important. Secondly, it summarises why women in the SADC countries are disadvantaged and how development efforts in the region have attempted to increase their participation in projects. Thirdly, major findings from the actual participation of women in the SADC region highlights how women benefited from this participation. Lastly, recommendations are made.

The structure of the chapter will begin with the summary of the awareness of the importance of women's participation in development projects as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. Following that, will be the discussion on the actual participation of women in projects and the constraints they encountered in participation. Benefits that accrued from the projects will be discussed to bring out their implications for greater participation in development.

7.2 SUMMARY

The review of literature in Chapter 2 answered the question why women's participation in the ADC countries is important. It was seen that in most societies women work hard and make important contributions to reproductive work, productive work as well as in community management work, but they do not have the same opportunities as men to participate in decision-making in the development process. Even when women work hard and make important contributions in society and in the home, they do not receive a fair share of the development benefits. Women's participation, as suggested by the women in development literature is therefore required in all the stages and all levels of the project planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. A fair share in the project benefits is also needed.

To support this view, the discussion on 'development' and 'participation' concepts and practice made us aware that conventional development approaches usually provide already determined strategies which are often imposed on people without consultation. The participatory approach focuses on people-centred development which assist people to empower themselves in order to take control of their own lives. Apparently, the participation approaches influenced the universal recognition of the role of women in society. This recognition called for integration of women in the development process to enable them to fully participate in the development process, including project planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation. However, this proved to be difficult due to problems including failure to recognise the triple role of women in society, and lack of analytical framework to analyse gender participation in development projects in order to facilitate translation of

policy planning into planning practice. Fortunately, this framework was formulated and it is a new strategy which needs to be applied to existing and future development projects.

Chapter 3 illustrated why women in the SADC countries are disadvantaged and/or marginalised and how development efforts towards their greater participation developed. This was done by citing the major constraints towards women's participation.

It is clear from the discussion that colonisation of the SADC countries has left the region with insurmountable problems in government administration. It shows that at independence, women in all the SADC countries had been left behind in development. Although the majority of these now democratic former colonies recognise the importance of the role of women in society, and are attempting to include them in policies, there are still constraints influencing implementation of these policies.

As the economic development of the SADC region is characterised by the system of migrant labour centred around mining areas, men leave women in rural areas to cope with subsistence living and women find themselves becoming heads of households. A posisition they are normally denied when men are around. This system breaks the family unit and most of the women-headed households are below the poverty line. Structural adjustment programmes have also impacted negatively on women. The result of these SAPs is to reduce the debt crises by expanding output. The extra burden weighs heavily on women because they are in

most cases the major producers for agricultural export. Most of the time they do production work with little or no pay.

Before independence women had no formal political power in the region. But at independence women of most SADC countries were recognised as having fully contributed to the liberation struggles of their countries. This has earned them a place in the decision-making bodies and parliaments of most of these countries. Men, however, still dominate decision-making positions, while women are found in smaller numbers. There has been a positive step, however, towards greater participation of women in decision-making positions of their countries.

Although the majority of the SADC countries have recognised the rights of women and have attempted to eliminate all forms of discrimination against them, in reality, women still have little access to land despite the fact that they are the beneficiaries of land because they perform most of agricultural production tasks. They still have few credit facilities, little technical assistance, and few decision-making positions in local communities, cooperatives, farmers associations, unions, or national development programmes. When programmes/projects are designed, the legal status of women is not usually taken into account to enable them to participate fully in the development programmes/projects.

Access to education and training opportunities for women and girls is limited. It hampers the potential for emancipation and empowerment of women. The other important issue is that in the application of appropriate technology, women's position is rarely taken into account, despite the fact that they are in many cases the major contributors to agricultural production. Factors that are not considered

include appropriate skills, access to credit and other resources, training facilities, marketing support, cultural practices. Again women's participation in agriculture in relation to labour and time has not been improved. Women are still denied provision of farm implements, fertilizer, high quality seeds and agricultural extension services. These aspects prevent women's full participation in agricultural production.

The discussion on culture and religion has illustrated the role that these two aspects played in the subjugation of women. It was made clear that religion and culture worked together to create patriarchy, sex stereo-typing, cultural and educational obstacles for women. For example, the patrilineal pattern in Southern Africa deprives women of rights to land and other valuable resources, thus, making it almost impossible for women to fully participate in development projects.

The discussion of health and nutrition highlighted issues that are facing women in the SADC region. The issues include the triple role of women, women's lack of time and resources to take care of their health. Access to clean water supplies, energy supplies and sanitation would improve the family health. Carrying of water and firewood take up a lot of time of rural women and distance travelled to collect water can be very great, thus affecting women's health and impeding their full participation in development projects.

Most national governments and international agencies consider clean water, energy supply and sanitation critical for the survival of people. However, when projects with objectives of water and/or firewood are established women are rarely

specifically considered in the project cycle although they will be the beneficiaries of any improvement in the supply of these important resources.

The discussion on health and nutrition made us aware that agricultural production is made by women but they are the most malnourished. Fuelwood is the most widely used energy resource in developing countries, but its availability closer to communities is becoming rapidly depleted. This adds the problem of women and girls walking longer distances to collect fuelwood leading to low health standards and less time being available for other important activities.

Chapter 5 described the projects that were chosen for examination in this thesis. The discussion which ensued from the evaluation of the water projects made us aware that the projects' objectives (supply of clean and safe water) were met and the benefits that accrued from the projects included reduction in time taken and distance travelled to collect water, better access to clean and safe water, and reduction of illnesses caused by water-borne diseases.

Constraints that were encountered during the life of the Bumbuta project included over-centralisation of government administration and its interference in the committee funds of the project which caused delays in the management of the project.

In the Chimbwembwe water project, in contrast, the adequate involvement of government authorities was not used. Ineffective control of the project from lack of adequate involvement of the committee members, as well inadequate evaluation of the project by the agents posed constraints for the success of the project. The

evaluation opinion, therefore, said the objective was only partially achieved. In the Iselamagazi project the adequate involvement of relevant authorities was utilised.

The Zimbabwe project objective of providing access to credit and grants to agricultural cooperatives, educational programmes, adult literacy and technical training were met. From these programmes benefits accrued for members as well as spillover benefits (health clinics, pre-schools, nutrition programmes) for non-members.

Now that women have participated in selected projects, we need to explore the implications of the findings of their participation and benefits accrued.

7.3 DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The purpose of this section of the Chapter is to discuss the findings that were made in analysing projects in Chapter 5 and 6. The structure of this part of the section begins with the discussion of the implications of gender participation in the studied projects with reference to colonisation, culture and religion and law. The following part discusses the implications of social benefits which will centre around reproductive roles of women and girls, as well as the economic benefits which will centre around productive roles of women.

7.3.1 Unequal Gender Representation

In the discussion of gender participation in planning and implementation of the projects, it was observed that unequal gender representation existed although in the case of the Bumbuta and Iselamagazi projects government guidelines state

that there must be equal gender representation in all water project committees because women are the beneficiaries of water. Various reasons can be cited to explain why there is unequal gender representation in these projects.

7.3.1.1 Colonialism

During colonialism the structures of patriarchal control in the SADC region, as well as indigenous structures, reinforced and formed a new structures of male domination over women. In the post-independence era it is clear that the structures are still there although they are being addressed through the influence of the universal recognition of the importance of the role of women in society as well as through the regional efforts to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women. These structures are still male dominated and their removal is required as soon as possible to enable women to empower themselves so that they can fully participate in development processes. Removing the structures of patriarchy is obviously a difficult and a long-term strategy. a lot of work needs to be done to reverse the years of government structures and administration that ignored women. People's attitudes, of both women and men, die hard. In the case of women, their feeling of inferiority should be removed by educating them about their rights and giving them opportunities to fully participate in development processes, if available. They must be given the opportunity to analyze, plan and implement development.

7.3.1.2 Culture and religion

The discussion on culture and religion illustrated how they played a major role in the subjugation of women, which promoted patriarchy, sex stereo-typing, cultural and educational constraints towards participation in development and other matters that concern them.

The majority of people practice religious and/or cultural activities. When a development project is designed, it must accommodate these aspects of life. So, any development activity which is introduced in society should be religion- and culturally-aware for it to succeed because there are certain countries like Tanzania, which have Islamic law in addition to customary law and statutory law.

Development professionals should not assume that since women's rights are recognised, their full participation in development projects is automatic. There is still a lot of groundwork to be done. The attitudes of women themselves have to be changed in order that they can accept what is their right. Years of cultural norms, in particular, gender domination, may make them afraid to accept their rights and practice them. Men also have to be included in this new learning. Their attitudes have to be approached with caution so as to avoid conflict but facilitate understanding and encourage working together. They also have to be educated about human rights so that they can understand the plight of women.

7.3.1.3 Laws

Participation in decision-making is affected by the legal status of women. Although, most SADC countries' constitutions guarantee equality to all, customary

law continues to determine women's rights. According to customary law women are perpetual dependents, lack access to land, even in countries such as Zambia where there is no legal restriction on land. Women have little access to credit because they need male approval, which may be difficult to achieve.

I believe that, because of the dual legal system (Customary Law and Common Law) that exists in the majority of these countries, they should both be understood and the complexity of the situation should be accommodated in the development plans. The fact that under Customary Law women are still minors, own little property and and have very little inheritance or other rights, should be considered when designing programmes/projects.

7.3.2   Time and Distance Saved

7.3.2.1 Social implications of time and distance travelled

In the discussion of the water projects, it was clear that a significant savings in time and distance travelled was made. In my opinion, this is a good sign because women and girls will have more time to do other things. In many countries in the SADC region girls walk long distances to and from school, long distances to collect water and spend the rest of their time assisting their mothers with household chores, such as cooking, cleaning, doing laundry and looking after their younger sisters and brothers. This means that they begin doing reproductive tasks at a very early stage of life. Girls' health and nutrition standards can then be affected and may in some cases lead to retarded growth. This division of labour and is entrenched in the cultures of most countries in the region. However, with the

implementation of the project, girls can give more time and attention to their studies because the project is intended not only to provide access to clean and safe water, but also to for the provide educational needs to the community. Savings in time enable girls to fully participate in sporting activities as boys do as well as participate in youth related development activities, if available.

In addition, savings in distance and time give women more time to rest and look after their health, especially during lactation because their health during this time is vulnerable. They need time to take their babies or children to health centres (if available) as regularly as required. More time on their hands can ensure that they vary the family diet to increase nutrition. After implementation of the project they are relieved of the tasks of caring for the sick because the cases of illnesses due to water-borne diseases are reduced and people are healthier.

The problem of time and distance travelled to fetch fuelwood can also be solved by making efforts to replenish the fuelwood stocks through use of crop residues, wind and geothermal resources. Encouraging communities to plant trees and other plants can also be helpful in stopping soil depletion. Healthy women and children, with enough time on their side, will be able to participate in replenishing fuelwood stocks for their own survival as well as the survival of the society.

With more time at their disposal, women may participate in adult literacy programmes which are being introduced in most of the SADC countries. It is also clear that all the projects provided educational needs for the communities. Any aspect of education is important because it empowers people to take control of their lives and it enables them to participate fully in the development process.

Appropriate technology also plays an important role in the water projects. Savings on time is perceived as an advantage for adopting new technology. Women as beneficiaries of water would obviously appreciate an appropriate technology such as a well with a handpump, more so a well with a motor pump. What should be addressed, however, is how to introduce, maintain and manage the new technology. Sensitivity to the ambivalent attitudes of women towards innovation should also be considered. Their full participation in the introduction, maintenance and management of the new technology is required.

7.3.2.2 Economic implications of time saved

Time saved can be used for other important things such as alternative ways of earning income to augment scant available resources. These alternative strategies could be participating in economic development projects which may be available. These projects may include traditional crafts promoted as a means to generate income. This can be a sensitive issue for women because marketing the products need more time and resources as well as transport facilities to go to market places.

The discussion about the value of livestock serviced by the water projects gives the impression that if these animals are sold at the market place they could bring financial gain to the women because they usually take care of the animals. These animals can bring other valuable benefit to the people.

7.4 GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

7.4.1 The Importance of Empowerment of Women

It is suggested by the women in development literature that women's participation in all the stages and all the levels of the project cycle is required in order for them to be empowered and to be self-reliant. It is also suggested that in this way women are assured a fair share in the project benefits.

From the knowledge and acceptance of these suggestions one expects to make findings that only full participation in the project cycle empower women and it is a way to have a fair share in the project benefits. This thesis however has made unexpected findings that even though women do not fully participate in the project cycle they can still have a fair share of project benefits. This begs the question as to why an apparent lack of empowerment in the projects has nonetheless met many important development needs of women.

7.4.2 Donor Agencies

It is evident that donor agencies investigated and recognised the importance of the role of women in their development projects, and have made sure that they analysed gender representation in the project planning and implementation levels as well as the project benefits for all. They have even made important recommendations for the full participation of women in the entire project cycle.

7.4.3 Nature of Societies

Another important factor behind the meeting of women's needs despite their lack of participation in decision-making is the nature of traditional societies. Generally, customarily, men are seen to hold power. This can be observed in already determined structures such as organising committees of projects. In reality, organising committees may not be as important as perceived. Behind the organising committees women may be exercising much power but in a very subtle manner. It may be true that behind every successful man there is a woman., Because of cultural norms, women in most SADC countries do not speak in public especially in front of men, although behind closed doors they do.

There is, therefore, a need to recognize how SADC societies operate and to understand the type of role women play in those societies. This requires going behind the overt and public political structures and processes.

I agree that full participation of women in development projects empowers them and they are more assured of a fair share of the project benefits. But at the same time it is important to recognize the subtle power women have in the SADC region and be sensitive to it in order to avoid unexpected results of research.

I believe that if recognition of women's 'subtle power' together with their access to the type of participation suggested by the WID literature are revisited, then translation of policy into practice will be more effective.

7.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

7.5.1 For the International Community

It is impossible to achieve sustainable development in the SADC region when the debt crisis as well as the World Bank and IMF SAPs conditions are still weighing heavily on the region, especially on the SADC women. The substantial lessening of debt payments is necessary if self-sufficiency and empowerment of women in the region is of importance to the international community.

The international media can assist to empower SADC women by disseminating relevant information about exactly how the South and North are equal partners in the development process. The paternalistic attitude of the North towards the South perpetuates the strategies of development from above.

7.5.2 For the Northern NGOs

The Northern NGOs can play a greater role in moving away from neo-colonialism and paternalism towards the South so as to quicken the process of empowerment of women in the SADC. This can be done by rigorously establishing direct and efficient working relationships with the Southern NGOs.

Furthermore, the adoption of the analytical framework to analyse projects (Overholt et al., 1991; Moser, 1993) is of critical importance to enable translation of development planning policies into planning practice. This will enable equal participation of women and men in the development project cycle as well as equal distribution of benefits from their participation.

The Northern NGOs should also use more appropriate development strategies towards participation, sustainability and empowerment. An interpretative approach (Marsden and Oakley, 1991) of evaluation is proposed herein as an appropriate strategy of evaluation. To ignore full involvement of participants in the evaluation process can be a grave mistake because their judgement of the outcome of the project can differ with the donors.

7.5.3 For the National Governments

National governments should ensure that their policies stress equal participation of women and men in all stages and at all levels of the development project planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation.

Policies should address the issue of traditional practices that portray women as minors, because they are not. These practices limit women's equal participation in the project cycle.

These policies must make sure that there is equal access and control of resources and benefits, such as:

Resources: land, technology, labour (reproductive and productive), capital, education and training.

Benefits: income, assets ownership, in-kind goods (food, clothing, shelter, health and nutrition, distance and time saving to be able to do other things), education, political power and prestige.

The SADC region needs to intensify facilitation and support of research into women's triple role in society. This way the policy-makers will be able to establish ways of alleviating the burden of women's arduos work.

7.5.4 For the Southern NGOs

Southern NGOs must demand a respectable working relationships with the North.

They should ensure that there is equal participation of women and men in the project cycle, and most importantly, there must be equal distribution of project benefits. The analytical framework for projects analysis as proposed in Moser (1993) and Overholt et al. (1991) gives a method of how to translate policy into practice.

The interpretative evaluation methods should be followed, with special emphasis on full involvement of participants.

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APPENDIX

GUIDING QUESTIONNAIRE

The purpose of this research is to measure the level of participation of women in development projects in the Southern African Development Community region, and how women benefit from this participation. It is important to carry out this research in order to measure the level of benefits that women obtain in developments projects. The information that you provide is confidential.

A. Participation of women and men in a development project.

1. What is the name of the project and the country?

2. How many participants were in the project? (Female / Male).

3. What are the educational levels of the participants? (For example, what level of education did most women / men reach; were any illiterate?).

4. Have participants been directly consulted in identifying their needs? (Female / Male).

5. Did women participate in the setting of general project objectives?

6. How were women involved in the management of the project?

7. When meetings about the project were called, who attended? (Female / Male)

8. If women attended, did they speak out?

9. Did participants receive immediate benefits from the project?

10. If not, did women or men stay committed to the project?

B. Participation of women and men in production activities of the project.

1. What was the main production activity?

2. What were other non - project roles of women and men involved in the project?

3. What were the major constraints / difficulties facing participation of women in the

project?

(a) Cultural.

(b) Social.

(c) Economic.

4. Did women participate equally with men in production activities? (different roles, time involved).

5. Did production activities affect reproduction activities? (*biological reproduction:* bearing children and breastfeeding, *social reproduction:* caring for the family, collection of water and fuel, health care, etc).

6. Did reproduction activities affect production activities?

7. Did production activities benefit the participants? (Female / Male).

8. How did they benefit them? (positive effects).

(a) Female: Economic.

Social (eg. education / training, confidence, more time for the family).   Political (power, prestige / status, influence).

(b) Male: Economic.

Social.

Political.

9. Did production activities have negative effects on the participants?

(a) Female: Economic.

Social.

Political.

(b) Male: Economic.

Social.

Political.

10. What skills did the participants contribute to the project

(eg. specific skills from management of family).

11. What training did members receive during the project?

(eg. management, marketing, etc).

12. Did the participants need more training than the project provided?

(eg. literacy, assertiveness skills / confidence skills, etc).

13. Did the project's monitoring and evaluation system involve women?

14. Did the project's monitoring and evaluation measure the project's effects on women?