

Does the South African renewable energy programme exclude Black Woman owned businesses?

by

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Declaration

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Abstract

The main aims of this thesis were to investigate and critically evaluate the participation of Black women owned businesses (BWOBs) within the South African Renewable Energy Independent Power Producer Procurement Programme (REIPPPP), and to make recommendations to improve levels of participation of Black women in the REIPPPP in future rounds of the programme.

A review of the literature on intersectionality and social capital found that the level of exclusion of BWOBs, although not supported by sufficient statistical data, exists within REIPPPP. Whilst the REIPPPP programme aspires to the achievement of socio-economic outcomes such as enterprise development, social responsibility, skills development, training, and job creation as well as race and gender inclusive procurement, the programme has not been able to meet its race and gender inclusive procurement targets. After almost five rounds of bidding, it has been reported that only 3% of the 5% set aside for women owned vendor procurement, has been achieved throughout the construction and operations phases.

This research found that the reasons pertaining to the exclusion of BWOBs, stemmed primarily from the uneven distribution of power as a result of the collisions of race, gender and class. In a country besieged with deeply entrenched apartheid legacy issues of insubordination and inferiority of Black people to White people, the impacts of the intersectional identity of being a BWOB are felt more strongly. Furthermore the research found that in an addition to the hampering effects of the BWOBs' intersectional identity, abilities and capabilities, unconducive conditions at a State and Industry level, inferior social positioning in business as well as personal self-limiting beliefs amongst BWOBs all contributed to their current marginalisation in REIPPPP. The findings suggest that social capital could be used as a mediating variable or tool to help build the capabilities of BWOBs and could also be instrumental in unlocking financial and human capital necessary for the successful engagement of BWOBs in REIPPPP.

Conclusions drawn from this thesis suggest that whilst the State has a leading role to play in driving the participation of BWOBs, Industry and BWOBs have an equally important role to play in supporting the state in its initiatives on inclusivity. The recommendations of this thesis are to improve the participation of BWOBs through a four point strategy, starting with a thorough inquiry into the status quo, followed by a commitment to design solutions based on the inquiry's finding, implementing these solutions and impact monitoring these initiatives over time. Opportunities for further scholarship at the micro (individual), meso (industry) and macro (state) levels are also presented.

Opsomming

Die hoofdoelwitte van hierdie proefskrif was om die deelname van swartvrouebesitbesighede (BWOBs) binne die Suid-Afrikaanse Onafhanklike Kragvoorsiener-verkrygingsprogram (REIPPPP) te ondersoek en krities te evalueer en om aanbevelings te maak om die vlakke van deelname van swart vroue in die REIPPPP in toekomstige rondes van die program.

'N Oorsig van die literatuur oor interseksionaliteit en sosiale kapitaal het bevind dat die vlak van uitsluiting van BWOB's, hoewel dit nie ondersteun word deur voldoende statistiese data, binne REIPPPP bestaan nie. Terwyl die REIPPPP-program streef na die bereiking van sosio-ekonomiese uitkomstes soos ondernemingsontwikkeling, maatskaplike verantwoordelikheid, opleiding en werkskepping, sowel as wedloop- en geslagsinvorderende verkryging, kon die program nie sy ras- en geslagsinvorderende verkrygingsdoelwitte bereik nie. . Na amper vyf rondtes bied dit aan dat slegs 3% van die 5% wat opsy gesit is vir die aankoop van verkope deur vroue, deur die konstruksie- en bedryfsfases behaal is.

Hierdie navorsing het bevind dat die redes wat verband hou met die uitsluiting van BWOBs hoofsaaklik uit die ongelyke verdeling van krag as gevolg van die botsings van ras, geslag en klas bestaan. In 'n land beleër met diep verskans apartheid-erfenisvraagstukke van insubordinasie en minderwaardigheid van swartmense aan blankes, word die impak van die interseksionele identiteit van 'n BWOB sterker gevoel. Daarbenewens het die navorsing bevind dat bykomend tot die belemmerende gevolge van die BWOBs se interseksionele identiteit, vermoëns en vermoëns, onbevorderende toestande op 'n staats- en nywerheidsvlak, minderwaardige sosiale posisionering in besigheid sowel as persoonlike selfbeperkende oortuigings onder BWOB's almal bygedra het tot hul huidige marginalisering in REIPPPP. Die bevindings dui daarop dat sosiale kapitaal as 'n bemiddelende veranderlike of instrument gebruik kan word om die vermoëns van BWOBs te help bou en kan ook bydra tot die ontsluiting van finansiële en menslike kapitaal wat nodig is vir die suksesvolle verbintenis van BWOBs in REIPPPP.

Gevolgtrekkings uit hierdie proefskrif dui daarop dat, terwyl die staat 'n leidende rol speel om die deelname van BWOBs te bestuur, het nywerheid en BWOBs 'n ewe belangrike rol om die staat te ondersteun in sy inisiatiewe oor inklusiwiteit. Die aanbevelings van hierdie proefskrif is om die deelname van BWOB's deur middel van 'n vierpuntstrategie te verbeter. Dit begin met 'n deeglike ondersoek na die status quo, gevolg deur 'n verbintenis om oplossings te ontwerp gebaseer op die bevinding van die ondersoek, die implementering van hierdie oplossings en die impak van die monitering van hierdie inisiatiewe oor tyd. Geleenthede vir verdere vakkundigheid op mikro- (individueel), meso (industrie) en makro (staat) vlakke word ook aangebied.

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List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

BWOB	Black Women owned business
BWOV	Black Women owned vendor
CAPEX	Capital Expenditure
CSI	Corporate Social Investment
DoE	Department of Energy
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
ED	Economic Development
EPC	Engineering, Procurement and Construction
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GWh	Gigawatt Hours
IA	Implementation Agreement
IPP	Independent Power Producer
MW	Megawatt
NDP	National Development Plan
OPEX	Operational Expenditure
PDI	Previously Disadvantaged Individual
PPA	Power Purchase Agreement
RE	Renewable Energy
REIPPPP	Renewable Energy Independent Power Producer Procurement Programme
RFP	Request For Proposal
SED	Socio Economic Development
SMME	Small & Medium Enterprise
STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering and Maths
WOB	Women Owned Businesses
WOV	Women Owned Vendors

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Chapter 1: Introduction

'Energy is an integral part of the economy and the energy sector is a key enabler for the attainment of national policy imperatives such as those expressed in the National Development Plan (NDP) and its supporting pillars which include, inter alia the New Growth Path and the Industrial Policy Action Plan (Department of Energy , 2016.) This statement highlights the strategic importance of the energy sector towards the realisation of broader socio-economic issues.

The Renewable Energy Independent Power Producer Procurement Programme (REIPPPP) was launched in 2011 and has to date seen five bid windows or rounds of bidding, with over 6000MW procured from renewable sources which together total just under R200bn (Engineering News, 2016, Department of Energy,2016). This is a commendable achievement and has had positive financial, social and environmental impacts for South Africa (Department of Energy, 2016). The programme has continued to deliver on its promise of clean and affordable power whilst simultaneously aiming to address structural weaknesses of economic exclusion and socio-economic injustices. According to the IPP Office, as at June 2016, over 2000MW was generated and operational. The cost of producing RE had decreased to less than R0.85/kWp, 9602GWh had been generated, and a total cumulative FDI of R194, 1 billion and over 20 000 jobs (skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled) had been (Department of Energy 2016) created.

Notwithstanding all the positive outcomes of the programme listed above, the REIPPPP has not managed to reach its targets pertaining to procurement from Women Owned Vendors (WOVs). The Independent Power Producer Office (which is the custodian of the REIPPPP programme working under the auspices of the Department of Energy (DoE)) released a report in August 2016, looking at the state of renewables in South Africa. The report highlighted that procurement from WOVs has lagged behind the 5% WOV target set in 2011 with only 3% of construction bids and 4% of operations bids awarded to WOV's (June, 2016). These figures do not give us an indication of what percentage of the 3% and 4% WOVs are businesses owned by Black women. In my view, this a critical indicator to measure progress in a country purportedly committed to the economic inclusion and empowerment of black women.

The primary purpose of this study is to do an investigation into the participation of Black WOVs (BWOVs) in the construction and operations value chains of REIPPPP projects, in pursuit of possible explanations as to why there has been an under involvement of women, and of Black women in particular. Moreover this study attempts to grapple with possible ways to address the status quo of Women Owned enterprises in the REIPPPP value chain in order to improve on the low levels of participation currently being reported

1.1 Definition of Key Terms

Black	<p>African, coloured and Indian persons who are natural persons and:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are citizens of the Republic of South Africa by birth or descent; or • Are citizens of the Republic of South Africa by naturalisation before the commencement date of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act of 1993; or • Became citizens of the Republic of South Africa after the commencement date of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act of 1993, but who, had it not been for the Apartheid policy, would have qualified for naturalisation before then. • The definition of “Black people” now includes South African Chinese people as per the Pretoria High Court ruling on 18 June 2008 (DTI, 2013)
EPC	<p>Engineering, Procurement and Construction. An EPC contractor is responsible for designing (engineering), procuring for construction of the plant design and finally for constructing a plant or installation. The EPC contractor plays a critical role as it is responsible for procuring all the services and equipment required for the build (and possibly later maintenance) from sub-contractors requirement for the building. It therefore possesses great spending power and as such can leverage this power to procure from their desired service provider.</p>
Utility Scale Renewable Energy	<p>Renewable energy projects over 5MW, usually grid tied.</p>
Black Women Owned Business or Black Women Owned Vendor	<p>Businesses formally registered with the South African Companies and Intellectual Properties Commission, and are minimum 51% owned, managed and operated by a Black woman/women in line with the Department of Trade and Industry’s(DTI) definition.(DTI, 2013). These terms are used interchangeably throughout this thesis. For this thesis this category of businesses investigated falls under the Small, Micro and Medium Enterprise category(SMME).</p>

Table 1: Definition of key terms

1.2 Background

As a former employee of an Engineering, Procurement & Construction (EPC) company in the renewable energy industry for over three years, it became clear to me that there was a gap in the representation of women in the sector, and Black women in particular. I observed, a lack of both employment opportunities and the participation of women owned businesses in the sector.

The time I spent working for one of the top international EPC contractors in South Africa, afforded me the opportunity to gain insight into the intricate functioning of the industry and thereby enabled me to make many observations pertaining women and their involvement in the RE industry. In relation to my topic of interest, the advantages I have had are two-fold:

- i. EPC contractors are strategically positioned in markets where utility scale (greater than 5MW) renewable energy plants are being erected. Their primary responsibility is to design the plants, procure for the construction of the plants, and lastly to construct the plants. In many cases EPCs are also entrusted with maintaining the plants over their lifetime of up to 20 years. The strategic position that I refer to here is that the EPC (being the custodian of the most procurement-intensive stage of the project lifecycle: the construction phase) is responsible for managing and disbursing large sums of money to procure various goods and services from multiple sub-contractors. EPCs have the autonomy - within the boundaries of contractual obligations and commitments - to make important procurement decisions that represent real opportunities for wider business participation in the field.
- ii. Secondly, my work in the area of business development and tendering meant that I had very close interactions with the procurement side of the business and became privy to the philosophies and processes shaping procurement. Procurement is responsible for sourcing and evaluating suppliers and awarding contracts. It is in these constant interactions with the procurement unit, coupled with my interest in the ability of business to facilitate socioeconomic change, which culminated in my research topic.

I observed over the years that women, particularly Black women, featured as either 1) non-decision making employees, 2) beneficiaries of the community trusts that were set up to achieve broad based black ownership/empowerment, or as 3) beneficiaries of the corporate social investment(CSI) programmes that (IPP's were rolling out. Of course this is not to say that there were no women in decision-making roles or women involved in various business activities along the value chain – only that these women are in the minority.

I started probing and posing questions, firstly to myself and then casually to other colleagues and industry players, and found that most of the responses I received were unsatisfactory, as they had not been thought through much.

In summary – out of those people that I engaged with on the question of the inclusion of Black women owned businesses in the industry – many had either not recognised it as a gap, not thought about it at length or at all, or were uninterested as they were unaffected or had come to accept the status quo. This, to my mind and observation, signified a level of privilege espoused by colleagues in the industry, which seemed to be the possible reason why the programme had struggled to achieve targets related to Women (and Black women in particular). Being a Black woman curious to find answers, I was prompted to formulate a research question around this topic.

1.3 Rationale for the study

As a young, Black South African female who, until recently, worked in a predominantly white, Afrikaans and foreign-male dominated environment, I came face to face with the realities of sexism, racism and classism in my work. I came face to face with some of the harsh realities and gross injustices characterising the business of the energy construction industry.

After three and a half years in the industry, and very many unsuccessful attempts to engage with people about questions of gender and inequality in the industry, I decided to embark on this academic investigation of the topic. My rationale was that clearly understanding the drivers of this discrimination was essential to formulate solutions and thereby alter the status quo.

The motivation for this research is therefore twofold:

1. To begin to understand why Black women (business owners) in particular, do not play a significant role in the organisations that own, procure and operate renewable energy power plants.
2. To uncover the main barriers to achieving a more socially and economically inclusive renewable energy sector in order to grapple with how this change could be brought about.

This study is significant because there is currently no research that has been conducted on the participation of Black Women owned businesses in the renewable energy industry, and this study aims to create awareness around this. Although the mandate of this study is to explore and investigate the levels of participation amongst Black women owned businesses within the REIPPPP, the broader aspiration/desire is that this research will spark conversation around structural weaknesses of economic exclusion.

1.4 Problem Statement

When the REIPPPP was launched the government expressed the intention of using the program as a means of addressing both power generation and broader development goals. To encourage IPPs to take this seriously they announced that bidders would only be successful if they could demonstrate some Economic Development (ED) initiative, and that their bids would be adjudicated 30% on the proposed ED strategy and operational plan – also referred to as the ED “scorecard”. The remaining 70% of the adjudication score would be based on the price offered. ED comprises various sub-elements, namely CSI/ skills and training/ownership/preferential procurement/management/jobs created. IPPs have the liberty of choosing which areas to focus on, but must always operate within their contractual obligations.

The government set a 5% procurement target from WOVs as part of the preferential procurement sub-element of the Economic Development scorecard. This 5% is in relation to total procurement spend during construction and during operations. That is 5% of procurement spend at the construction phase of a project and 5% of procurement spend at operations. A review of the literature on projects reveals that to date only 3% has been procured from WOVs during the construction phase and 4% during the operations phase (IPP, 2016). The government did not further disaggregate the WOV procurement target and thus there is no specific target for procuring from Black women owned vendors. Without the prerequisite to report on achieving a target, there has been no incentive to measure the involvement of BWOVs (as opposed to all WOVs) and thus it has been impossible to gauge the extent of both gender and race inclusivity in the REIPPPP.

1.5 Research Aim and Objectives

In relation to the above, the research aims to clarify:

1. To what extent have black women owned businesses been excluded from the REIPPPP value chain?
2. What are the obstacles to inclusivity?
3. Why has there been poor inclusivity of women owned businesses in REIPPPP? Are race, class and gender categorisations coupled with the prevailing power relations, a possible explanation for the exclusion?
4. What opportunities for inclusion exist throughout the project lifecycle?

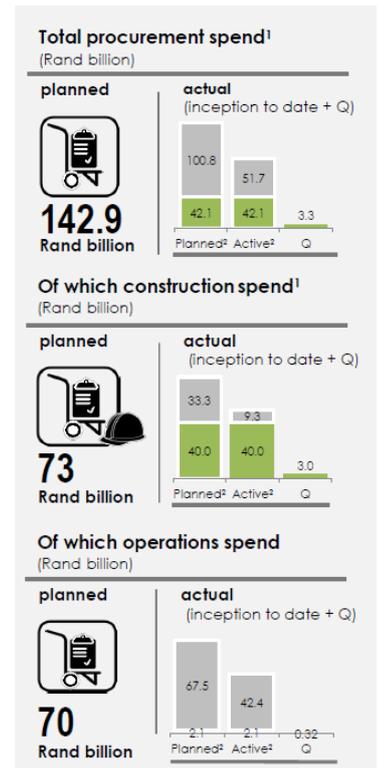


Figure 1: Total procurement spend
Source: IPP Office, 2016

The associated research objectives are:

1. To make explicit, the gaps that exist within the REIPPPP programme in relation to black WOVs.
2. To contribute meaningfully to an on- going global discussion on the involvement of women in energy, as decision makers and businesswomen.
3. Investigate ways in which various instruments (policy, financial instruments, approaches, and requirements) could be revised or reconfigured to achieve more inclusive business participation in REIPPPP.

1.6 Research Design, Methodology and Methods

The proposed study is qualitative and inductive in nature. It assumes an epistemological position that employs a combination of critical realism and interpretivist research paradigms (Bryman & Bell et al, 2015).

The research design is case study design. It is an explanatory case that seeks a detailed understanding of the exclusion of BWOBs in the renewable energy programme. Without detracting from the successes of the programme, which can be described in quantitative terms, it seeks to draw attention to the under-representation of Black women owned businesses in REIPPPP; an arguably qualitative element of the programme. A variety of empirical and non-empirical research and data collection methods are employed in pursuit of a multi-perspective and multi-dimensional answer to the question. These include a literature review, secondary data analysis, focus group discussion, semi-structured interviews and auto ethnography. Each method serves a different, yet critical role in, arriving at conclusions and recommendations.

Data collected is analysed and coded, before arriving at the themes that have been identified as key drivers for exclusion and subsequently the conclusions and recommendations made in the final chapter,

1.7 Limitations of the study

A fundamental assumption that has been made is that there are Black women owned businesses adequately qualified to participate in the REIPPPP and that Black women owned businesses would like to participate in the renewable energy industry value chain.

Being unable to access financial data to conduct a quantitative analysis of the participation of Black women owned vendors participating in the REIPPPP is a major limitation as the study somewhat assumes that there has been a representation of BWOB's, taking the figures reported by the IPP office. Having this data would add a depth to the analysis which would be useful in more fully answering the research question

Because the research will focus on the construction and operations phases, there is a possibility that opportunities for the involvement of BWOBs are present in the development phase; the omission of the development phase creates the risk of overstating the absence of BWOBs in the status quo., however this is mitigated by the data reported on the construction and operations phases on which this thesis focuses.

1.8 Chapter Outline

Chapter 1: Background

This chapter focuses on setting the context in which the study was derived and how the empirical phenomena became a research interest and subsequently a research question. This chapter will also outline what the objectives of the study are, with the view of guiding the reader through the steps undertaken to arrive at the findings and associated conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter 2: Conceptual Framework

This chapter provides the theoretical foundation for this research. This study is framed by two theoretical paradigms: Intersectionality and Social Capital. The purpose of this chapter is to describe these two paradigms and then outline why they have been deemed the most appropriate theoretical framings for this thesis. Key themes that emerge from both these theories are discussed.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

This chapter reviews the literature available on the role and participation of Black women in business and entrepreneurial spaces. Intersectionality theory and social capital theory are the main theoretical frames from which the review is being undertaken. Primarily because of the aptness of intersectionality in framing the gender-race-class nexus and social capital theory because it is also a possible explanation of why the barriers to entry for women are so pronounced in highly divided societies, and also could be used as a useful lense to apply in thinking of solutions and building capabilities.

Chapter 4: Methodology

This chapter details the approach and design of the research. The methods used for the research design are detailed and substantiated. Furthermore the process of gathering empirical data is discussed and a detailed analysis of data is provided preceding the discussion of results in Chapter 6. The qualitative methods used to conduct the research are discussed and a substantiation of these choices is provided. The data collection and analysis process is detailed, preceding the findings discussion in Chapter 6.

Chapter 5: Narratives of exclusion

This chapter provides personal accounts of two Black Women's experiences in the RE sector. The one story is of my own experience in the sector as an employee and the other story is that of a Black female entrepreneur that provides services to a RE plant under the REIPPPP programme. The purpose of these two stories is to provide first-hand accounts of marginalisation and to uncover these Women's perspectives of marginalisation, as a foundation for the findings and discussion in Chapter 6.

Chapter 6: Findings and Discussion

In this chapter a review and discussion of the findings that emerge in Chapter 4 is conducted. The importance of the participation of women in the economy is highlighted and reasons pertaining to exclusion are shared, with five key themes emerging as potential explanations for exclusion. Subliminal findings are also discussed in this Chapter with links made to the Conceptual Framework in Chapter 2.

Chapter 7: Recommendations and conclusion

This chapter draws conclusions from the findings presented in the preceding chapters and links these back to the three research objectives outlined in chapter one. Recommendations of how to improve the status quo are offered in this chapter and opportunities for further scholarship are highlighted.

Chapter 2: Conceptual Framework

This thesis seeks to uncover the dynamics leading to exclusion or of black women in the RE sector. In order to uncover and analyse the dynamics of inclusion/exclusion of black women in this sector, a conceptual framework was needed that could address both the relational dynamics of this process of exclusion, as well as help identify what capabilities black women would require in order to address the challenges that present themselves in the sector. There are various frameworks, mentioned below, that I could have selected, such as the vast literature on affirmative action (drawn mainly from the US context) or the Fanonist approach to decolonization. However, to meet my criteria of understanding the exclusion and attempting to look at potential ways of altering the status quo, I have selected two approaches that need to be read together to provide the kind of integrated framework needed to address the material addressed in this thesis.

2.1 Intersectionality theory

The selection of intersectionality theory was made after a review of Critical Race Theory, and mainstream Feminist theory more broadly. Critical Race Theory seemed a viable option for this investigation due, in part, to the fact that it challenges the foundations of the liberal order, posits that race is socially constructed, and that race serves a physical and material purpose for those it benefits (Delgado & Stefcanic, 2017). After careful consideration, it was discarded as a potential tool for analysis as it does not provide a sufficient analytical basis on which to conduct the intersectional analysis warranted by this study. Mainstream feminist theory on the other hand treat gender and race as mutually exclusive categories of experience and analysis whilst the sum of intersectional experience is greater than the sum of racism and sexism (Crenshaw, 1989).

After reviewing the literature on these theories as potential conceptual frameworks for this investigation, Intersectionality emerged as the most apt theory to use for the purposes of analysing the participation, or lack thereof, of Black women owned businesses in the REIPPPP, especially because of its ability to acknowledge and transcend intra group differences and articulate the manifestation of unequal power dynamics experienced by Black women. As Rasky (2011) put it, the way in which the intersection of multiple axes of identity are described in an intersectional framework, gives substance to a new theoretical embraced by virtually all of feminist scholarship.

With its intellectual roots in the feminist movement, the term intersectionality was coined in 1989 by Kimberle Crenshaw, a black feminist legal scholar (Crenshaw, 1989). Although embedded in black radical feminism, insights informing intersectionality lay in the activist context of the civil rights and women's movements of the 1955–80 period. Despite this history, Crenshaw proposed intersectionality as a critique of the 'sisterhood' claims made by the predominantly white women's liberation movement of the 1970s (Gordon, 2016). Gordon (2016) agrees with Rasky (2011) in that intersectionality theory arose from Black feminist thought as an incisive critique of mainstream feminism. In essence

intersectionality aimed to deconstruct the idea of 'sisterhood/sameness' because Black, minority and migrant women have been largely invisible within the feminist movement and within the literature on women's or feminist studies (Anthias & Davis, 1983). As Bell Hooks (1981) argued, the traditional feminist movement implied that that all women were White and all Blacks are men. At its core intersectionality emphatically rejects the homogenization of women, stating that assuming sameness is superficial because women's struggles are shaped by different political and social conditions in different countries (Rasky, 2011). I would argue that this also applies in the South African context in which the political, social and economic conditions under Apartheid have left a lasting legacy. Additionally, in the everyday lived experience of oppression, being categorised as 'a Black person' is always constructed and intermeshed with other social divisions, for example; gender, social class, disability status, sexuality, age, nationality, immigration status and geography (Davis, 2006). Thus intersectionality would be a useful tool to use in this study of a group marginalised within South Africa's REIPPPP.

2.1.1 Key intersectionality themes

Intersectionality as an analytical tool addresses three key themes that are central to this investigation namely: it gives a sophisticated and detailed ***description of the identity*** of a Black women, how this identity then shapes how Black women ***experience*** the world and the ***power dynamics*** inherent in these experiences.

Identity: Intersectionality allows one to describe a complex picture of the social identity of Black women by overlaying the multiple dimensions of identity defining Black women. In this investigation, the focus is particularly on gender, race and class, however, these aren't the only dimensions of identity that intersectionality acknowledges. Intersectionality theory has since evolved from a focus on the triple oppression of race, gender and class that dominated the black feminist movement (Davis & Anthias, 1983) to include other identity dimensions such as sexual orientation, disability, faith and age etc. Gender, race and class are still, however, perceived to be the three major social divisions (Davis, 2006).

Experience: Intersectionality acknowledges that multiple axes of difference converge to shape the experiences of the Black women. Crenshaw (1991) asserted that because of their intersectional identity as both women and people of colour within discourses that are shaped to respond to one or the other, women of colour are marginalised within both discourses. In addition, marginalised people are systematically (even if unintentionally) operating within, across, and through a matrix of interrelated forms and multiple degrees of penalty and privilege (Dhamoon, 2015). This complexity in turn informs their positionality (Dhamoon, 2015; Anthias, 2001a, Anthias 2001b) which is "the space at the intersection of structure - social position/social effects - and agency - social positioning/meaning and practice" (Anthias, 2001a, 2001b). It follows that a marginal positionality constrains the accrual of human, social and economic capital (Anthias, 2001b) and is likely to pose structural barriers to entrepreneurial activity.

Relational power dynamics: Ultimately this thesis will focus on the relational power dynamics that arise from the experiences of BWOBs in REIPPPP. All known societies were structured in varying patterns of stratification ranging from the impotent or powerless to a powerful elite or elites (Morris, 1987). Davis (2008) in Kaijser & Kronsell (2014) defined intersectionality as “the interaction between gender, race and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power.” In this way intersectionality serves to shed light on how structures of power emerge and interact (Kaijser & Kronsell, 2014) such as how all encounters in deeply racialised societies, such as South Africa, are always already racialized (Gouws, 2017). In a highly divided country such as South Africa, power is unequally distributed and skewed across gender and racial lines.

2.2 Social capital theory

Although intersectionality theory is useful for the purposes of this thesis for the reasons highlighted above, used alone it risks being purely descriptive and thus limiting the picture of the exclusion of BWOBs in REIPPPP. Social capital as an inquiry framework for this investigation was birthed through the reading of the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (2015/2016) on the state of entrepreneurship as well engagements with various respondents, with regards to factors that promote or stifle success in entrepreneurial ventures. Social capital, and more specifically the synergy view and networks view of social capital, was deemed to offer a helpful framework to attempt to answer the question at the core of this thesis.

Social Capital Theory has its intellectual roots firmly in the works of Hanifan (1916) who wrote on the importance of community participation in the academic performance of students. Further writing on social capital emerged in the mid-1950s to the late 1970s within the sociology and economics discourses (Woolcock & Narayan, 1999). It was, however, the seminal work of James Coleman on education and Robert Putnam on civic participation and institutional performance in the late 1980s and early 1990s that provided the basis on which much of the current work on social capital has been produced (Woolcock & Narayan, 1999). Broadly speaking social capital emerges from a conservative economic discourse that reduces social phenomena to ‘capital’. Woolcock and Narayan argued that there are essentially four perspectives on social capital namely, the communitarian view, the institutional view, the networks view as well as the synergy view. For the purpose of this thesis, conjoining the networks and synergy views provides a framing with which to conduct an analysis of the role of social capital that encompasses all stakeholder roles and dynamics.

The networks view on the effects of social ties is strongly embedded in the works of Granovetter (1973), and asserts firstly, that social capital is a double-edged sword and secondly, that it is important to distinguish sources of social capital from their consequences (Woolcock & Narayan, 1999). The synergy view on the other hand asserts that neither the state, communities or business alone possess the resources to achieve meaningful and inclusive developmental outcomes but rather that cooperation

between these stakeholders is what will deliver developmental outcomes. Moreover the synergy view notes that the role of the state is both the most important and yet the most problematic (Woolcock & Narayan, 1999).

2.2.1 Key Social Capital themes

When used in conjunction with each other the two views of social capital are useful perspectives for this thesis as they highlight the following key themes. The description of *internal & external capabilities*, the positive and negative *effects of social capital* as well as the importance of *inter-stakeholder relations* in achieving developmental outcomes as guided by the State in its role as a key actor

Internal vs external capabilities(internal capabilities refer to those abilities and capabilities that Black women possess, either as individuals or as a group. External capabilities are those abilities/capabilities that are not in their direct possession. External capabilities/abilities need to be acquired) Both

perspectives of social capital theory highlight the importance of both internal and external capabilities. Adler and Kwon (2002) make a clear distinction between bonding and bridging capital. The effects of social capital lie in the information, influence, and solidarity benefits that accrue to members of a collective - “bonding” social capital - and to discrete actors, whether individuals or groups, in their relations to other actors - “bridging” - social capital. In order to harness and fully tap into the benefits of social capital (information, influence and solidarity), there ought to exist some level of intergroup relations. BWOBs could begin by assessing the capabilities of those with whom they have bonding capital (other BWOBs). This could then be followed by a critical evaluation of absent capabilities external to them and that can be found in building bridging capital with those whom no bonding capital currently exists (industry). This approach prompts BWOBs to think of ways in which these external capabilities could be unlocked to increase the chances of successful engagements with industry. This simplistic example omits the perhaps systemic challenges that are entrenched along racial and gender lines, which could make it challenging to bridge the ‘external versus internal capability bridge’.

Positive and negative effects: Both the networks and synergy views of social capital do not seek to glamorise the possession of social capital. For one, the networks view argues that while strong ties may be beneficial, they also have the potential to isolate group members. Secondly, positive benefits derived from possessing social capital can be gained at the expense of another social group, today and or in the future (Woolcock & Narayan, 1999). On the other hand, the synergy view asserts that when a society’s social capital inheres mainly in primary social groups disconnected from one another, the more powerful groups dominate the state, to the exclusion of other groups. Such societies are then characterized by latent conflict (Woolcock & Narayan, 1999). Although both perspectives acknowledge the positive benefits of possessing social capital, they also pay attention to the negative impacts of social capital. In this thesis it is particularly important to be cognisant of both the positive and negative impacts of social capital, particularly as the relational dynamics of what is arguably the primary social group - white male owned businesses - are continuously contrasted and compared with a secondary

social group - BWOBs. Close scrutiny is required to uncover how the possession of social capital by the one group is gained at the expense of the other group.

Inter-stakeholder relations: Both perspectives place emphasis on the importance of forging inter-stakeholder relations. The network view stresses that without inter-community (or “weak”) ties that cross various social divides—e.g., divides based on religion, class, ethnicity, gender, socio-economic status—strong intracommunity ties can become a basis for the pursuit of narrow sectarian interest (Woolcock & Narayan, 1999). ‘The synergy view builds on this by asserting that no stakeholder is inherently good or bad. Moreover none of the stakeholders can single-handedly achieve developmental outcomes and it is only through complementarities and partnerships within and across various stakeholder groups that developmental outcomes can be achieved (Woolcock & Narayan, 1999). Perhaps what could make this even more challenging in South Africa, are the remnants of apartheid history that are still lingering in 2017. This point on forging inter-stakeholder relations becomes a material challenge in South Africa, as it speaks to how dominant structures of power interface with the historically powerless. The sophisticated apparatus used to embed ideas of superiority and inferiority across racial lines during apartheid remain dominant in the functioning of society. As McDonald (2006) put it, segregation ordained blacks to be inferior to whites and apartheid cast them as indelibly different.

2.3. Intersectionality and social capital combined: usefulness for investigation

The two theories discussed above have been combined with deliberate intent to address the question of the investigation. The specific themes highlighted above do not represent an exhaustive list of the themes put forth by the respective theories and the perspectives within social capital theory.

Intersectionality will be used primarily as a descriptor of relational power dynamics and social capital as a tool for looking into capabilities, engagement and normative paths to change. Each theory addresses a key issue pertaining to the investigation that the other does not.

Emerging from two different schools of thought, intersectionality from a more radical anti-racist and feminist movement & social capital from a more conservative economic discourse, combining these two theories helps to explain two facets of exclusion: power and capabilities, each of which are not explained by the theories individually. As Kaijser and Kronsell (2014) noted, intersectionality at its core serves to shed light on how structures of power emerge and interact. It is also useful for reasons of political consciousness and action (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1983). Moreover it assists in the conceptualization, identification and remediation of race and sex discrimination (Crenshaw, 1989). Importantly conceptualising and identifying forms of discrimination is a crucial preliminary step in formulating remedial strategies. It is therefore for this reason that social capital is introduced in this investigation. By highlighting what social capital is and the benefits of harnessing it for the benefit of all stakeholders (the networks view of social capital), it becomes a strategic tool that can be used to effect

change. This aspect of social capital made it attractive to use in this investigation as it attempts to grapple with some solutions for the exclusion of the BWOBs. Overlaying the synergy view of social capital allows for the inclusion of the state as a key stakeholder; something the networks view does not provide.

2.4 Conclusion

The use of intersectionality and social capital theory in this thesis is demanded by the multi-faceted nature of the research question. As a tool to investigate the marginalisation of Black women owned businesses, intersectionality provides a framework in which the identity of a Black women can be understood and also outlines the power relations that emerge and characterise the vantage point of a Black woman in society. Social capital theory however augments this in that it speaks more to the capabilities of both Black women and White men, and the effects that possessing social capital has on the positionality of these two groups. Used individually, these theories would not help in fully understanding and engaging with the exclusion of BWOBs in the REIPPPP, but together they help give a multi-dimensional view and explanation.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

“The South African energy sector has historically been at the centre of the country’s development and continues to be at the heart of structural developments in the economy.” [Spalding-Fecher et al., 2000b].

Given Spalding-Fecher et. al’s observation, and the decentralised nature of renewable power plants, it holds that the energy sector will continue to be at the centre of the country’s development. RE power plants are unique in that power is and will be generated in close proximity to local communities, as opposed to the socially detached infrastructure of the existing highly concentrated conventional energy infrastructures. The ramifications of this phenomena are that the socio-economic needs of people, communities and countries will need to be attended to at the same level of priority as the mechanics of power generation and the infrastructure itself (Wlokas, Westoby, Soal, 2016). Without trivialising or ignoring the many other developmental challenges in South Africa, for the purpose of this research, the focus will be on the socio-economic challenge around the exclusion of BWOBs in the REIPPPP value chain.

For this purpose, an analysis will be conducted employing Intersectionality and Social Capital theory, with particular attention to intersectional power dynamics and the role of social capital in both perpetuating and (potentially) reducing the effects and impact of being a black businesswoman operating in the REIPPPP value chain. Although alternative frameworks could have been used, when used in conjunction these two theories provide a useful framework for addressing the specific challenge of BWOB exclusion from the REIPPPP value chain. Intersectionality is used to describe the positionality and social positioning of Black women in business, and how power dynamics emerge, manifest and perpetuate patterns of exclusion. Social Capital theory is useful because it provides a framework for understanding the way particular social groups either possess or do not possess certain social and institutional capabilities that are conceived to be necessary forms of ‘capital’ in order to make progress in developmental terms. Intersectionality focusses on relational dynamics of gendered and racial power, and Social Capital theory focusses on the capabilities that are needed to engage in these relational dynamics. Both relational dynamics and capabilities need to be taken into account to understand the core problem of this thesis, namely the role of BWOBs in the REIPPPP value chain. Intersectionality is used to describe the positionality and social positioning of Black Women in business, and how power dynamics emerge, manifest and perpetuate patterns of exclusion.

3.1 The birth and rise of a promising industry: utility scale renewable energy

Historically, South Africa has been dependent on coal for the production of energy, electricity and liquid fuels (National Development Plan, 2010). It is the country's largest economically recoverable energy resource and among its three top mineral export earners. Due to the endowment of coal resources, in years gone by, Eskom (the state owned utility) had excess power capacity and was therefore able to provide electricity at cheap rates (Edkins et. al, 2010). Until the supply crises in 2008 the country had the cheapest electricity prices in the world at an average of R0.25 cents per kWh (\$USD 0.027) (Edkins et al 2010). What this situation did was weaken the case for renewables as there was sufficient supply to service demand, including the exportation of electricity to neighbouring countries. Moreover from a cost perspective there was also a weak case for renewables as electricity tariffs were low and reserve margins¹ were over 25% in 1998 (Edkins et. al, 2010). Given these conditions, and little pressure to decarbonise the economy, the case for the development of renewable energy was weak.

This situation changed, however, in the period between 2005 and 2008, as former Energy Minister Tina Joematt-Peterson pointed out in the State of Renewables Report (2015). The Minister wrote that 'The South African journey towards large scale deployment of renewable energy technologies shows an eclectic mixture of Government policy interventions, which converged with market forces between 2008 and 2012.' The Renewable Energy Independent Power Producer Procurement Programme (REIPPPP) was launched in 2011 and in addition to diversifying South Africa's energy mix, addressing an energy deficit crisis and improving access to energy, it was instituted with the aim of addressing some of the country's socio-economic challenges through a competitive bidding/tender process. Among the socio-economic challenges that Government tried to address through inclusion in the REIPPPP Request for Proposal (RFP) were skills development, training, enterprise development and social responsibility initiatives. A target was set that 5% of total goods & services should be procured from women owned businesses (DoE, 2011).

After three bidding rounds between 2011 and 2014, the Department of Energy has indicated that only three percent of goods procured have been procured from women owned vendors (IPP, 2016). This figure includes both white and black women owned businesses and therefore does not provide much insight into the percentage for Black women owned businesses. Consequently this does not allow for an accurate representation regarding the extent to which BWOBs have been excluded from REIPPPP. Deduction and guesswork is therefore the only way to arrive at a figure. The basic assumption is that of the reported three percent of WOVs, there ought to be some representation of BWOBs. To make this assumption is the best that can be done, given that there are no overlaps between the shareholding/equity in RE projects and the participation of women as suppliers and contractors in the construction and operations phase of the programme, the area which this thesis investigates. The concern of this thesis is to make an attempt at understanding what the possible causes of this target

¹ A measure of available capacity over and above the capacity needed to meet normal peak demand levels

shortfall are by using Intersectionality theory in conjunction with Social Capital theory. Prior to delving into the causes of exclusion, it is perhaps worth identifying the opportunities for inclusion presented by the State's procurement programme.

3.2 A State procurement programme: an opportunity for inclusion

Public procurement spending represents twenty percent of South Africa's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The potential for this spending power to be leveraged to confront South Africa's development challenges is therefore quite significant (Turley & Perera, 2014) and thus using procurement as a strategic tool to stimulate and encourage economic transformation and participation would be sensible, and in a South African context, justified (Bolton, 2006). Procurement as a policy tool can also be referred to as 'wealth redistribution' – using procurement to channel funds to discrete categories of economic actors (e.g. previously disadvantaged groups in South Africa) (Bolton, 2006). Indeed in the REIPPPP programme the targets and thresholds that were set point to recognition by the State of the potential of the programme to address some of the country's most pressing socio-economic challenges. In the context of this study what is most relevant and worth paying attention to is, arguably, the commitment to the inclusion of black women owned vendors in the REIPPPP value chain.

I argue that an appropriate test of the State's commitment to the inclusion of Black women owned businesses could be two-fold: firstly, the aggressiveness of the targets (as opposed to thresholds) set, and secondly, the repercussions for those who do not meet the targets set forth. In the REIPPPP, procurement spend constitutes a significant share of the total project costs. Total procurement spend for Bid Window 1 to Bid Window 4 during construction is R73 billion, more than the R70 billion projected operations procurement spend over the 20 years operational life of the plants (IPP, 2016). This is a substantial amount, which presents an opportunity for a level of meaningful economic inclusion, including but not limited to, the participation of BWOBs in the REIPPPP value chain. A target of 5% had been set for procurement from women owned vendors at the start of the REIPPPP (note that there is no distinction made between black and white female), and of this only 3% has been achieved. There is no mention in the IPP Office report, or any other platform, of penalties or repercussions for non-achievers, instead there are only a few lines stating that a "key learning is that women owned businesses *may* benefit from capacity building initiatives" (IPP, 2016). Based on this one could infer that although there was a recognition by the State that women should be involved in the REIPPPP as business owners, and that this recognition was subsequently followed by policy to implement it, the commitment to genuine inclusion of BWOBs remains questionable.

McCrudden (2004) states that the diversity of ways in which procurement and social policy have been brought together goes beyond simply awarding contracts on certain conditions, and extends to include, for example, the definition of the contract, the qualifications of contractors, and the criteria for the awarding of the contract. This is important because although there were WOB procurement targets in

REIPPPP – the outstanding question is whether there were sufficient and adequately qualified black women owned businesses ready to take advantage of these opportunities. If not, these targets could be interpreted as merely ‘paper commitments’ to appease vocal proponents of gender and racial empowerment.

It is necessary therefore to question whether there was sufficient knowledge of the state of entrepreneurship in the country, particularly with regards to the involvement of Black women. The Global Entrepreneurship Monitor report (2015/2016) found that in general men are more likely to become entrepreneurs than women and that for every ten men involved in entrepreneurial activity there were only six women. Furthermore it found that given the relatively low levels of skills and education in the South African population, the majority of total early stage entrepreneurial business entities are in the consumer services sector. These are useful findings as they give insight into the entrepreneurial landscape, and secondly, because these figures only represent businesses in the formal economy. As only formal businesses can participate in REIPPPP, it also gives an indication of the pool of businesses available to capitalise on REIPPPP opportunities. What does not come through very clearly in the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor report (2015/2016) is how Black women are faring in the entrepreneurial arena. We can deduce however, from the above reported figures, that Black women are less represented than their Black and White male counterparts. For the purpose of this investigation, the concern is the exclusion of BWOBs from REIPPPP. Intersectionality and social capital theory are used, both serving distinct functions, to try and understand this exclusion.

3.3 Intersectionality: being Black and Female

In a review of the literature on the marginalisation of BWOBs in REIPPPP and in other industries, it became clear that a wide gap exists in the literature around Black women as owners of business in the South African and broader African context. Much of the writing has been on justifying women’s role in the economy from the early works of Boserup (1970), but not much attention has been paid to the participation of Black women as players in key industries that have been previously dominated by White males, particularly in a South African context. Moreover those experiences that have been documented predominantly speak to the issues of middle class White women in developed countries. For this reason much of the literature used in this study has been taken from literature from the United Kingdom, America, Europe; where available this has been augmented with literature from India to provide a developing country perspective.

Intersectionality is used as a paradigm/ lense of inquiry in this paper. It is held loosely and used as a framework to guide the analysis in this investigation. Intersectionality is an appropriate framing to use for an investigation into the exclusion of Black women in REIPPPP. The early works of African American women activists like Sojourner Truth, Anna Julia Cooper, Ida Wells Barnett, Bell Hooks and Fanie Lou Hamer all vehemently resisted the victimisation of black women within interlocking systems

of race, gender and class oppression. Although these women had in their works articulated the race, gender and class oppression, it was Kimberle Crenshaw who coined the term Intersectionality in 1989. Crenshaw's vantage point emerged from the legal fraternity in which she had been embedded for most of her professional life. Furthermore Crenshaw (1989) stated that for feminist theory and antiracist policy discourse to embrace the experiences and concerns of Black women, the entire framework that was being used as a basis for translating "women's experience" or "the Black experience" into concrete policy demands would need to be rethought and recast. Primarily because of their intersectional identity as *both* women and people of colour within discourses that are shaped to respond explicitly to one or the other form of discrimination, Black women are ultimately marginalized within both discourses (Crenshaw, 1993). Since the term was first coined, Intersectionality has garnered a lot of attention and critique regarding its usefulness or lack thereof. The ambitious aim of Intersectionality is to re-think and recast the identity of a Black women, particularly in the context of dominant social groups. Crenshaw's statement is a poignant one, as it challenges all stakeholders to re-think their own perceptions and question their assumptions regarding Black woman. In this investigation, it is the roles of the State and industry that need to be investigated, given both their roles as potential enablers of inclusion. Kaijser & Kronsell (2014) have noted that for climate issues, political and societal institutions that regulate and create demands for transport, energy, and consumption are particularly relevant. Such institutions both build on, and take part in, the construction and reinforcement of injustices and intersectional categorisations. This could arguably be as a result of deliberate (policy, legislation etc.) or passive (no repercussions against non-achieving parties) actions engaged in by such institutions.

Davis defines intersectionality as "the interaction between gender, race and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power" (in Kaijser & Kronsell, 2014). What is implicit in this definition is that at some point, these intersections collide in a way that results in an unequal distribution of power. It is argued that the intersection of these categories results in the marginalisation and exclusion of Black women in REIPPPP, via the use and misuse of power over BWOBs. This situation is particularly pronounced in South Africa due to its colonial and Apartheid history, which at its ideological core was instituted with the intention of systematically excluding Black people from the economy (MacDonald, 2006). As intersectionality uses race, gender and class to make sense of social realities (Nash, 2008), it is useful as an analytical tool to shed light on how structures of power emerge and interact (Kaijser & Kronsell, 2014), and possibly how these are continuously re-enforced. Furthermore gender must also be understood in the context of power relations embedded in social identities; an assertion that becomes even more relevant in South Africa given our divided past Collins (1990 & 2000). Anthias (2012) also looks at the different levels of intersectional abstraction and asserts that social relations of hierarchy and inequality are embodied in concrete social relations. This also implicates the subjects themselves, who may also organise themselves in terms of positionalities and allegiances. Essentially, intersectionality helps in understanding power relations and how they play out in social realities.

Since Crenshaw coined the term there has been a proliferation of writing on intersectionality, pointing to the limitations of some of the older intersectionality frames and attempting to provide better theoretical and methodological underpinnings (e.g. Bilge, 2010; Brah and Phoenix, 2004; Davis, 2008; Dhamoon, 2011; Erel et al., 2011; Ferree, 2009; Gimenez, 2001; Hancock, 2007; Knapp, 2005; Levine-Rasky, 2011; Lutz et al., 2011; McCall, 2005; Taylor et al., 2011; Verloo, 2006; Walby, 2007; Winker and Degele, 2011; Yuval Davis, 2006). The positions taken range from the idea that intersectionality is the best means we have for exploring the multidimensional and complex articulation of forms of social division and identity (Brah and Phoenix, 2004), through to the view that intersectionality serves as a useful buzzword but cannot claim to be a theory as such (Davis, 2008), to the view that intersectionality tends to reduce all forms of difference to a list and treats them as equivalent (Erel et al., 2011; Gimenez, 2001). While these debates help to build a critical view of the literature on intersectional realities, intersectionality remains a useful tool for framing this piece of research because, following Brah & Phoenix (2004), intersectionality is currently the most appropriate means we have for exploring the multi-dimensional and complex articulation of forms of social division, identity and power.

Using an intersectional analysis, it becomes important to define what is meant by race, gender and class in the context of this investigation. **Race** means ‘human groups that, through symbolic classification, become “Races” ’ (Weiß in Winker & Degele, 2011). The idea of race as biological makes it easy to believe that many of the divisions we see in society are natural. But race, like gender, is socially constructed and social construction has profound significance and impacts every aspect of our lives (DiAngelo, 2012). Winker and Degele (2011) see racisms as relations of power resting on a structural asymmetry of power between human groups that have been transformed symbolically into races. **Gender** does not only encompass a binary concept of gender, but also closely related sexual orientation: gender designates the naturalized (and therefore unquestioned) binary male–female differentiation. This thesis uses the binary concept of gender in order to limit confusion around gender or gender association. Bordieu (1986) states that class is derived from the social origin of a person, the cultural resource of education and profession as well as the resource of social networks and relationships. **Class** is recognised as a mobile vector. That is, although one may be born a member of a certain class, this over time, has the potential to change. This is important to note, particularly in SA where increasingly opportunities have been available to those who were previously excluded during apartheid, and which could have the potential to change social status. Figure 2 below is an illustration, taking Bordieu’s (1986) formula of social origin + education (profession) + networks & relationships=class, showing how these permutations can change over time and subsequently result in a shift in social class. In a South African context one could argue that class is both racial and gendered (Macdonald, 2006).

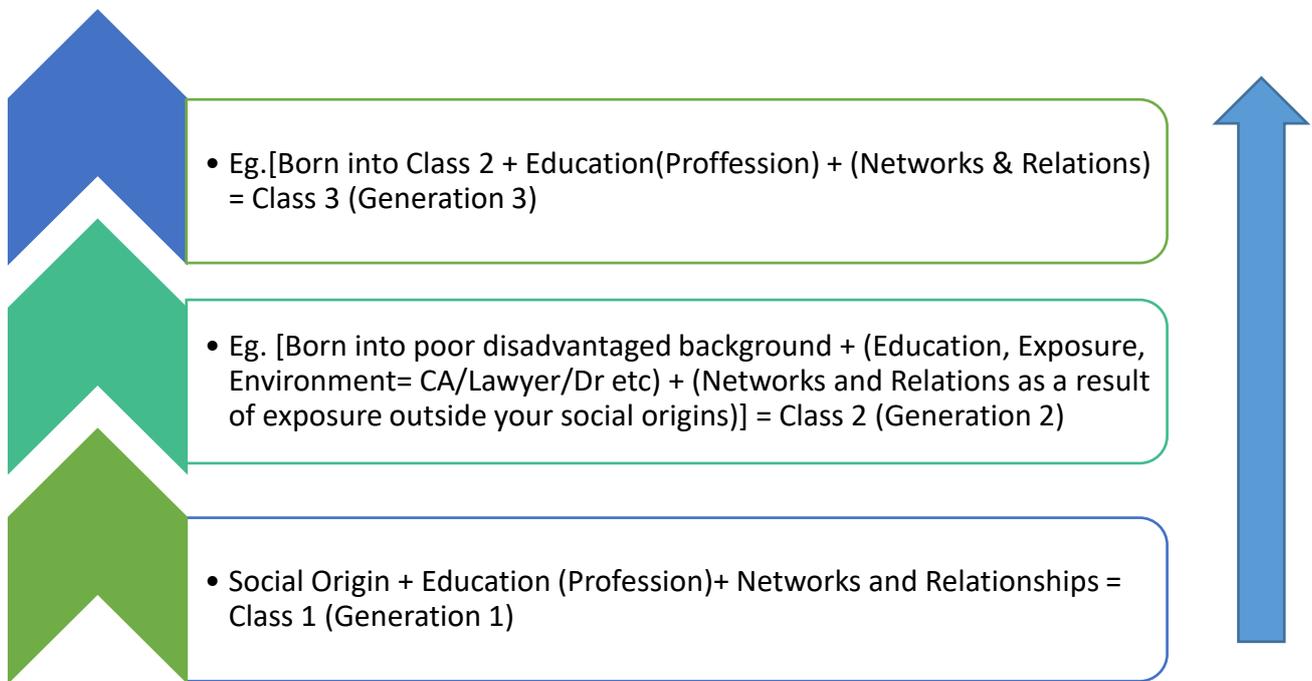


Figure 2: Upward class mobility: Author's creation

Figure 2 illustrates one of the arguments presented in this thesis, namely that for Black Women, upward class mobility can only be realised if there is a shift in the fundamental inputs of education and social networks, as outlined in Bourdieu's class formula (1986). Social origin, education and networks are the three tenets of Bourdieu's class formula. Social origin is a function that is given, that one is not at liberty to choose. If this was a laboratory experiment it could be considered the control function. There is little that can be done to change this aspect of Bourdieu's formula. However, in time education, and the formulations of networks helps to alter a current social class, which consequently results in an improved social origin for the next generation. What is key in Bourdieu's observation is that education and networks are both seen as key contributors to the upward mobility of a class. This is important as Bourdieu (1986) asserted that upward class movements only occur when education and networks interface either simultaneously or at different times. This is an important concept to hold in this thesis as it helps in contextualising the importance of social capital and how through it human capital, as a subset of education, can be harnessed to tackle the marginalisation of BWOBs in the REIPPPP.

If education and networks form the key foundation of achieving improved class status, it is important to interrogate how this has translated into the exclusion of black businesswomen in REIPPPP. Education for this analysis can be seen as an all-encompassing term for skills, capabilities, training, knowledge and experience etc. Whilst networks include connections, contacts, acquaintances and social circles. The analysis conducted in this thesis is by implication for Generation 1 as outlined in Figure 2. Generation 1 has had access to inferior Bantu education and almost non-existent social capital or networks in the formal economy to tap into. Bantu education taught skills that only trained black people

for low skilled jobs which aimed to keep black persons on the peripheries of the formal economy (Department of Trade and Industry, 2014). When the RE programme was launched in 2011, there was a realisation that some of the skills to deliver on the successful implementation of this programme were not present in-country, and so many foreign expatriates were hired to bridge this skills gap (Department of Energy, 2011). The idea was that doing so would create opportunities for skills transfer in order to fully capacitate locals to deliver on the programme. Given the skills gap already identified prior to the launch of the programme, at what level did Government really anticipate that Black women owned businesses would be sufficiently skilled and resourced to participate in REIPPPP?

The level of skills, experience and networks required to successfully engage in the REIPPPP is such that it makes it difficult for BWOBs to participate due to Apartheid's legacies highlighted above. It is still unclear what the thinking may have been when the five percent procurement from WOVs target was formulated. Perhaps the policy-makers assumed that in a new industry networks had not yet solidified and therefore an opportunity for the inclusion of BWOBs would present itself. Unfortunately it is evident that this has not transpired. Despite being a new industry, renewable energy plants are essentially construction sites and as such deeply rooted within solidified relations within the construction sector. Figure 2 is an illustration of how changes in the education and networks inputs may result in the upward shift of class and social positioning, in time. As iterative mutually functioning inputs educational, subsequently professional, attainment and the acquiring of social capital can in time translate in improved class, which in the South African context, could translate into more racial and potentially gender inclusive economic participation. Inadvertently this could in time improve relational power dynamics across race and gender lines. Prior to delving into intersectional power relations, it is worth highlighting the level of complexity, with which the intersectionality framework is applied.

When using intersectionality as a framing method three levels of complexity have been identified in the literature (McCall 2005, Nash 2008 and Winker & Degele 2011). These each refer to the differing levels of complexity of intersectionality. These are intracategorical, intercategorical and anticategorical complexity. Intercategorical complexity is the methodological approach which is deemed appropriate for the purposes of this research because it is concerned with the strategic use of categories and analyses relations between socially constructed groups. This approach orientates itself above all towards the relationships between categories (McCall, Winker & Degele, Nash 2008). The intracategorical and anticategorical approaches have been deemed inappropriate for this analysis as they are each concerned with deconstructing categories of difference on the micro level. Intracategorical complexity refers to "people whose identity crosses the boundaries of traditionally constructed groups" (Dill 2002) in order to reveal the complexity of lived experience within such groups whilst anticategorical complexity is based on the deconstruction of analytical categories. In order to meaningfully engage with the public data available on the participation of women in the REIPPPP, it is necessary to first do an intercategorical analysis, with future research - outside the scope of this thesis - on the deconstruction of the categories of difference at a micro level. The intercategorical approach focuses on the complexity of

relationships among multiple social groups within and across analytical categories and not on complexities within single social groups, single categories or both (McCall, 2005). Implicitly, the intercategory approach lends itself to exploring the relations of power, amongst other factors, that exist between groups and for this reason fitting for this analysis.

3.4 Intersectional power relations

The next critical concept relating to intersectionality, in the context of this thesis, are intersectional power relations. Luke (2002) argues that we need power because it is indispensable to practices that we inescapably engage in as social and political beings. Furthermore, Luke (2002) states that there is the practice of evaluating social inequalities, in terms of distribution of power: the power of differently situated individuals and groups to form and realize their objectives. Luke (2002) recognises the importance of possessing power for attainment of one's goal but in the same breadth acknowledges that power is possessed unequally in social settings. Moriss (1987) asserts that all known societies are structured in varying patterns of stratification ranging from the powerless to a powerful elite or elites. One could contend that in a highly unequal society, such as South Africa, burdened by systemic legacy issues of apartheid rule, the stratification of power would be more pronounced, and thereby power relations skewed along across race and gender lines. Morell et. al. (2012) contends that South Africa is highly patriarchal, with exaggerated racialized and gender inequalities, and the normalized use of violence. This can in part be attributed to the colonial and apartheid history of South Africa and the hegemonic power of masculinity that it entrenched in society. The works by Luke, Moriss and Morell et. al referred to above all speak to the importance of possessing power and more importantly, acknowledge that power is distributed unevenly in society, according to one's positionality. This lens helps one think about how power in a programme such as the REIPPPP would be distributed and consequently exercised and also how and what role power would play in ensuring better levels of inclusion amongst Black Women owned businesses.

Dhamoon (2015) posits that marginalised people are systematically (even if unintentionally) operating within, across, and through a matrix of interrelated forms and degrees of penalty and privilege. Gouws (2017) agrees, stating that the racial hierarchy that was implemented under apartheid categorised different population groups (viz. African, Coloured and Indian people) in relation to privilege, with black Africans always at the bottom of the hierarchy thus determining intersecting relations of power. In the context of South Africa's patriarchal society and the descriptions put forth by Dhamoon and Gouws it becomes evident that at the very bottom of the hierarchy are Black women. This is true in society, and also in the business sector more generally. As Dhlamini (2016) points out, women CEOs account for less than 3% for JSE listed entities.

Using Gouws' privilege and penalty nexus, it is clear that those who have been continuously privileged will continue to reap the benefits of these privileges, whilst those who have historically been penalised for their social identities will continue to bear the brunt of their location in the social/power spectrum.

However, this can change: according to social capital theory, by drawing on various capitals – financial, manufacturing, human, intellectual, natural and social capital – one’s position can be elevated, placing one in a position more ‘superior’ than others (Adler & Kwon, 2002) . This consequently puts those who possess these capitals in a position of power over those who do not possess such capitals. What power also has the potential to do is to grant access to other capitals that may not yet have been accessed. As Adler & Kwon (2014) suggest, possessing one capital can act as substitute where another capital is necessary but lacking. From this, it is possible to begin to see the complexities and difficulties pertaining to the inclusion of BWOBs in an industry that has historically been occupied by White males. According to Gouws (2017), being Black puts you at the bottom of the hierarchy and as Crenshaw (1993) put it, it is the experiences of Black men that determine the parameters of antiracist strategies and the experience of White women that is foregrounded in the women’s movement. This means that Black women do not fit snugly in either the ‘Black’ or the ‘women’ box, and are thus left on the periphery of economic activities. One could extend this further and infer that in order to be engaged in economic activities, e.g participation in REIPPPP, one would have to force oneself into either of these two ‘boxes’ to benefit. So the experience that White male counterparts in the energy sector have amassed for decades, under an enabling a forward propelling apartheid regime, has enabled them to build on a number of the various capitals – and this is what has put them in positions of ‘power’, whilst centuries of oppression have prevented Black women from accessing some, or any of the capitals. How could this be corrected? How can the playing fields be levelled to ensure representation of Black women in the REIPPPP?

Prior to examining how social capital can be used as a tool to build capabilities and encourage multi-stakeholder engagements to drive change in pursuit of a more racially and gender inclusive REIPPPP value, it is worth touching briefly on how the State and Industry have been responsible, intentionally or not, for perpetuating the exclusion of BWOBs from the REIPPPP. Social capital will then be discussed as a tool for building the necessary capabilities needed by BWOBs to succeed in REIPPPP.

3.5 Drivers of exclusion: The State and (The ‘Big Boys’²)

When the REIPPPP was conceptualised in the period leading up to the official launch of the programme in August 2011, the Government made it clear that to be eligible to participate in the REIPPPP, bids would be evaluated 70% on price and 30% on economic development initiatives. There were very clear and strict rules for participation. The 5% target of women vendors was included in the assessment of the economic development 30%. Earlier, this thesis quoted McCrudden (2004) who suggested that the diversity of ways in which procurement and social policy have been brought together goes beyond simply awarding contracts based on certain conditions, and extends to include, for example, the definition of the contract, the qualifications of contractors, and the criteria for the award of the contract.

² The Big Boys : a colloquial term used to describe major players within a given industry. In this thesis it is used to refer to the major players in the RE industry .

McCrudden's observation shows that if we scrutinise the realities of the requirements of the REIPPPP's RFP, it would become clear that the programme was not structured in a manner conducive to the immediate inclusion of BWOBs. The 'rules of the game' were such that BWOBs, which are largely SMMEs, could not take advantage of the opportunity apparently presented by the 5% WOV target. One could argue that this may, or may not have been an intentional move; nevertheless it is imperative that the underlying norms of current economic activities be exposed, because it is essentially these norms that need to be addressed (Kaijser and Kronsell, 2014). The reproduction of existing power relations does not require any specific politics; the norms are maintained and reproduced through everyday behaviour and practice (Connell, 1995). Power reproduces itself 'by doing things the way they have always been done' (Kaijser & Kronsell, 2014). For this reason, norms reflect power and privilege. While the State set in motion a competitive bidding programme that had commendable effects on tariffs from Round 1 to Round 3, we see that in contrast this programme has not had the desired impacts on the participation of BWOBs in the programme (IPP Office, 2016).

According to Samuels & Ross-Sheriff (2008) it is no longer acceptable to produce analyses that are embedded solely within an essentialist or universal collective experience as 'woman'. In other words we can no longer homogenise women. Drawing on this, one could argue that there ought to have been clear targets set specifically for the inclusion of BWOBs as opposed to only WOBs. Intersectionality theory and Gouws' (2017) observation that Black women are usually always found at the bottom of social hierarchy helps to explain this. Given the lack of Science, Technology, Engineering and Maths skills in the country, small businesses that require these skills would be negatively affected. Empirical research conducted by The Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) for their 2015/16 report has shown that there are not many small businesses that offer services suited to this programme, and this level of detail may have been an oversight in the conception of the programme. The high capital expenditure costs of participating make it challenging for BWOBs to participate. The tender process was highly competitive and one can therefore expect that a 'survivalist' approach would be adopted by bidders. The motivating factor for participants is winning at the expense of other participants due to the limited allocation of megawatts allocated to RE technologies. It is worth looking at how the structure of the programme was set up in a way that was not conducive to the participation of BWOBs in REIPPPP.

Deutsch's (1949, 1962) theory of how the source of motivation of different people may be interrelated is useful in making sense of the re-enforcing manner in which the REIPPPP programme functions.

Deutsch argues that there are three types of goal structures: cooperative, competitive and individualistic. A **cooperative goal structure** is one in which the goals of the separate individuals are so linked together, that there is a positive correlation among their goal attainments. This goal structure is typically one of 'I only succeed if we all do'. A **competitive structure** is one in which the goals of the separate participants are linked in a manner that there is a negative correlation among their goal attainments. This structure is such that 'I only succeed if you don't'. In an **individualistic structure** there is no correlation among the goal attainments of the participants and so 'Your success does not

impact my chances of success in any way'. This intense level of competition has had a negative impact on the inclusion of BWOBs, which, as empirical work and reports have shown, do not possess the human capital (skills and experience), financial or social capital to competitively participate in the programme. Again, as Gouws (2017) alluded to earlier, the penalty-privilege nexus works against BWOBs. The rules, as set out by the state, penalise BWOBs and the privilege of experience, financial and social capital works in favour of large, White male owned businesses (Refer Appendix 1).

A good example of this would be recent reports of a South African electrical contractor (White male owned) having carried out the largest number of utility scale solar RE installations (Construction Insight, 2017). This whilst BWOBs procurement targets have not been met. It is clear that this company has built a reputation (using various combinations of the capitals mentioned above) for itself in the utility scale Solar PV & Wind markets and has successfully beaten its competitors. It is also important to note that these are the kinds of actions, behaviours and realities that make it even more challenging for BWOBs, to compete and therefore meaningfully participate. Purportedly impersonal "public" institutions thus become "bearers of gender" when they reproduce or exacerbate preconceived notions about masculinity and femininity through their rules, norms, and practices (Kabeer, 2016). Kabeer therefore points out that through their rules and practices public entities become bearers of gender and by incentivising or rather dis-incentivising private sector to aspire to more gender inclusive participation, perpetuate the status quo. The irony is that Government claims to aspire to gender equality but things have played out very differently in REIPPPP. The following section looks in greater detail at the role that social capital could play in increasing the participation of BWOBs in the REIPPPP.

3.6 Breaking into the boys club: the role of social capital

The Global Entrepreneurship Monitor Report (GEM) (2015/2016) noted some of the challenges that women face in their journeys as entrepreneurs namely: higher levels of domestic responsibility, lower levels of education, lack of other successful female role models in business, fewer business-orientated networks in communities, lower societal status, culturally induced lack of assertiveness and confidence in their ability to succeed in business. Additionally respondents in this study referred multiple times to the value and power of social networks / connections / relationships in possibly changing the status quo. Many respondents asserted that had they had access to 'the right people' they would have been able to better prepare for participation in the REIPPPP. The GEM findings coupled with sentiments expressed by the BWOBs in this study, informed the decision to explore how social capital could help BWOBs build the necessary skills and capabilities to engage successfully with industry and the State.

Social capital theory is intellectually rooted in the works of Hanifan (1916) who wrote on the importance of community participation in the performance of students. Following Hanifan's work it was not until the 1950s that the concept of social capital appeared again, this time through the works of Sealy, Sim and Loosely (1956). Following this work exchange theorist Homans (1961) contributed to the literature and subsequently the work of economist Loury (1977) too made his contribution to the social capital

conversation. It was, however, the work of Coleman (1987 -1990) on education and Putnam's (1993 - 1995) work on civic participation and institutional performance that laid the foundation on which the current literature rests. The role of social capital in economic development has become increasingly evident and, contrary to the assertion of modernization theorists that social relationships are obstacles to development, empirical research has found the value of social relationships/networks in the development agenda. By the year 2008, the term 'social capital' had gained considerable traction and become largely "routinized" in both everyday conversation and policy circles (Woolcock, 2010). Social Capital theory has been criticised for reducing complex social dynamics into the more simplistic economic term "capital" (Portes, 1998). In contrast, some like Adler & Kwon (2012) Woolcock and Narayan (1999) argue that the popularity of term social capital transformed social dynamics into a valuable concept with quantifiable benefits. Woolcock & Narayan (1999) state that Social Capital theory has been used in nine primary fields: family and youth behaviour problems, schooling and education, community life, work and organizations, democracy and governance, general cases of collective action problems, public health and environment issues, crime & violence and economic development. This is testament to the applicability of social capital as a theoretical construct. The field most applicable to this investigation is economic development and for the purposes of this investigation Adler & Kwon's (2002) observation that social capital strengthens supplier relations (Asanuma, 1985; Baker, 1990; Dore, 1983; Gerlach, 1992; Helper, 1990; Smitka, 1991; Uzzi, 1997), is held as a central tenet.

Coleman (1990) defined social capital as any aspect of social structure that creates value and facilitates the actions of the individuals within that structure. Social capital is created when the relations among people change in ways that facilitate instrumental action. Lin (1999) expands on this definition and argues that social capital is an investment in social relations with expected returns, whilst Adler and Kwon (2002, 2012) suggest that social capital is the good will available to us. Woolcock (1998) takes the view that social capital refers to the norms and networks that enable people to act collectively. Lin (1999) argues that social capital works for three main reasons:

1. It facilitates the flow of information;
2. Social ties may exert influence on their agents; and
3. Social tie resources and their acknowledged relationships to an individual may be conceived by the organisation or its agents as evidence of the individual's social credentials, some of which reflect the individual's access to certain resources/networks (supporting and individual).

If the above definitions and perspectives of social capital are considered to be true, then it would follow that there would be benefits associated with BWOBs possessing social capital, given the reasons for exclusion that have been cited in the previous chapters. With regards to economic development and social capital four views dominate. The communitarian, network, institutional and the synergy view (Woolcock & Narayan, 1999). These views highlight how ties, resources and actors relate in the communities in which they find themselves embedded and most importantly, what the likelihood of the outcomes of these relational algorithms can be (Woolcock & Narayan, 1999).

The **communitarian view** equates social capital with local level organisations, namely associations, clubs, and civic groups. Built on the works of Granovetter (1973) the **networks view** stresses the importance of vertical as well as horizontal associations between people, and relations within, and among, other organizational entities such as community groups and firms. It recognizes that intra-community (or “strong”) ties are needed to give families and communities a sense of identity and common purpose, however, notes that without inter-community (or “weak”) ties that cross various social divides—e.g., those based on religion, class, ethnicity, gender, socio-economic status—strong horizontal ties can become a basis for the pursuit of narrow sectarian interests. The **institutional view**, argues that the vitality of community networks and civil society is largely the product of the political, legal, and institutional environment. Where the communitarian and networks perspectives largely treat social capital as an independent variable giving rise to various “goods” and/or “bads”, the institutional view instead puts the emphasis on social capital as a dependent variable. Lastly the **synergy view** asserts that: neither the state nor societies are inherently good or bad; governments, corporations, and civic groups are “variables” in terms of the impact they can have on the attainment of collective goals. States, firms, and communities alone do not possess the resources needed to promote broad-based, sustainable development; complementarities and partnerships forged both within and across these different sectors are required. Of these different sectors, the state’s role in facilitating positive developmental outcomes is the most problematic and important (Woolcock & Narayan, 2010). Both the synergy and networks view seems to be the most apt view to adopt for this investigation. The synergy view for highlighting the importance of multi-stakeholder collaboration, and the networks view for stressing the importance of forming not only strong, intra group relations but also strong inter-group relations. The networks view makes explicit the underlying assumption of the benefits of the synergy view. That is, for successful multi-stakeholder collaboration to happen, there needs to be strong inter-group relations.

In the context of this study the synergy view arguably best articulates the important roles that different actors in society need to assume for achieving collective goals. Whilst the networks view touches on the importance of intra and inter group relations, it puts into perspective the importance of both bonding and bridging capital. The synergy view of social capital places emphasis on the state’s role in harnessing the value inherent in inter- and intra- group relations. According to Adler and Kwon (2014) the effects of social capital lie in information, influence, and solidarity benefits that accrue to members of a collective (“*bonding*” social capital) and to actors, whether individual or collective, in their relations to other actors (“*bridging*” social capital). The synergy view stresses that inclusive development takes place when representatives of the state, the corporate sector, and civil society establish common forums through which they can identify and pursue common goals (Woolcock and Narayan, 1999). By implication each actor (state, corporate and civil society) possesses bonding capital, however, the positive effects of social capital lie in the relations with other actors, as asserted by the networks view. Although the synergy view is deemed the most applicable to this investigation, the network view’s assertion that without inter-community ties that traverse social divides, strong horizontal ties can

become a basis for the pursuit of narrow sectarian interests, is also a strong and useful argument. In the RE sector we see this assertion manifest in the manner in which the programme has benefitted white large male owned entities (Refer Appendix 1 and 2, with the rules outlined by the state acting as an enabler. More importantly the synergy view is useful for our analysis because although it discreetly touches on the importance of involving multiple stakeholders for achieving collective goals, it emphasizes the key role of the state and extends this to acknowledge how important, yet problematic, the state can be in facilitating development outcomes.

According to Woolcock and Narayan (1999) the synergy view suggests three central tasks for theorists, researchers, organisations, individuals and policy makers alike, in order to harness the positive impacts and value of social capital:

- 1) identify the nature and extent of the social relationships characterizing a particular community, its formal institutions, and the interaction between them (the networks view is embedded in this),
- 2) develop institutional strategies based on an understanding of these social relations, particularly the extent of bonding and bridging social capital in a society or community,
- 3) identify ways and means by which positive manifestations of social capital—widespread cooperation, trust, institutional efficiency—can offset, and/or be created from, its negative manifestations—sectarianism, isolationism, exclusion and, corruption.

In the case of BWOBs in the REIPPPP, it appears that there may be a misunderstanding of them as a community and consequently of the social relations that exist both within this group and with stakeholders in industry. This misunderstanding is apparent from the dearth of public information on the extent to which BWOBs have participated in REIPPPP and confirmed by the lack of academic research available on this topic. It follows therefore that there would not be an understanding of the social relationships characterising this community and the interactions between them and formal institutions. Secondly it is almost near impossible to develop institutional strategies without an intimate understanding of these relations. However it could be deduced, given the inequalities of the past, that accessing bridging capital may be a severe challenge for BWOBs, judging from our earlier points on the location of women in the power/social stratification. Lastly capacity building has been identified by the DoE as a possible solution to rectifying the low participation of women in the programme. It is not clear whether capacity building refers to cooperation and trust-building or more specifically to skills and training. Perhaps it's an 'upside down' approach to take to attempt to identify ways of promoting the participation of BWOBs when there is lack of clarity around the problems that exist around the exclusion of black women owned businesses in REIPPPP.

Perhaps a more practical approach would be to attempt to design capacity building initiatives that would help to unlock the benefits of social capital referred to by Linn (1999). These could include helping to facilitate the flow of information and investing in social ties that may permit the exertion of influence on

their agents ('putting in a word'). In addition social tie resources and their acknowledged relationships to the individual may be conceived by the organisation or its agents as evidence/proof of the individual's social credentials, some of which reflect the individual's access to certain resources/networks (supporting an individual) (Lin, 1999; Adler & Kwon, 2014 and Adler & Kwon, 2002). In other words investing resources in social capital building initiatives may be a better starting point, as it would require an understanding of the status quo and subsequently uncover key points relating to the problems of marginalisation of BWOBs. As Woolcock and Narayan (1999) pointed out, social capital is a mediating variable shaped by public and private institutions, and yet has important impacts on development outcomes. "Investing" in social capital is therefore an inherently contentious and contested political process, one in which the role of the state is crucial, not marginal. Social capital can help mobilise and build the other capitals – financial, human, intellectual etc – which could incrementally help BWOBs acquire the necessary capabilities to succeed in the REIPPPP. In so doing helping to shift relational power dynamics and improve the rate of the inclusion of BWOBs over the longer term.

3.7 Conclusion

The decentralised nature of renewable energy plants has catapulted developmental challenges and objectives to priority status, owing to the close proximity of these plants to local economies. In the conceptualisation stages of the REIPPPP the South African government recognised the impact that RE plants could have on developmental objectives, such as the inclusion of WOVs in RE. Consequently a 30% allocation to socio-economic objectives was instituted in the tender process, as an effort to encourage industry to embrace socio-economic development practices. This move highlighted the ability of state procurement to drive developmental objectives. A few bidding rounds into the programme, REIPPPP has been lauded as an internationally acclaimed blue print of a successful public-procurement programme. These accolades have largely resulted from the foreign direct investment attracted by the programme, the number of megawatts generated and jobs created.

Without detracting from the success of the programme, this thesis focuses on the WOV target embedded within the economic development arm of the programme. Within this the focus is further extended to BWOBs, primarily because the programme has fallen short in achieving the 5% WOV procurement target that it had set out to achieve. Intersectionality and Social Capital theory are used as theoretical frameworks to make sense of the status quo. Intersectionality is applied in order to describe and articulate how gender, class and race collide in ways that result in the uneven distribution of power and how these intersectional power dynamics manifest in the exclusion of BWOBs. The networks and synergy views of social capital are used as tools for building the capabilities and skills necessary to enable improved engagement between stakeholder groups to enable the inclusion of BWOBs in the REIPPPP.

Although a multi-stakeholder approach appears to be the most sensible approach to adopt in order to improve the status quo, the State has been identified as the key actor that could drive improved levels of participation of BWOBs in REIPPPP. This through a process of identifying the root cause of marginalisation (intersectionality theory is deemed useful here), understanding the problem (both intersectionality and social capital are useful for this), and lastly by leading initiatives that will result in improved levels of participation amongst BWOBs (synergy view is most useful here).

Chapter 4: Methodology

This chapter aims to identify, describe and substantiate the methods and processes undertaken to arrive at the findings discussed in chapter six. Furthermore this chapter aims to contextualise the findings, and subsequently the recommendations and conclusions drawn in this thesis. Due to the complex nature of the case (the participation of BWOBs in the REIPPPP), it was necessary to draw on a combination of research methodologies in order to reflect the multidimensional perspectives of the actors in this thesis. This approach is in line with a sustainable development perspective, which acknowledges and encourages the use of multiple stakeholders in developing solutions to societal challenges (Pohl and Hirsch Hadorn, 2007).

4.1 Research strategy and design

4.1.1 The case: BWOBs in the REIPPPP

Case study design involves the detailed and intensive analysis of one or more cases which the researcher aims to study in depth (Bryman & Bell et. al., 2015).

This thesis is an investigation into the construction and operations procurement processes that occur within the REIPPPP. Independent Power Producers (IPPs) engage in procurement processes for the successful execution of renewable energy plants. These procurement processes open up opportunities that BWOBs, could (and are supposed to) take advantage of. As stated earlier, only 3% of these opportunities have been awarded to WOVs. It is unclear what percentage of this 3% has been awarded to BWOBs. This forms the basis of this thesis investigation.

4.1.2 Description of the case

The unit of analysis is the South African Government's REIPPPP. This unit of analysis was chosen as it enables one to look at the ways in which the different stakeholders interact within this programme, with the South African Government represented by the Department of Energy (DoE), as custodians of this programme. Through this analysis we are then able to discern the possible reasons for the exclusion of Black women owned businesses within the programme. Whilst Yin (2009) would perhaps refer to this case as a revelatory case (that is one in which new insights are revealed as a result of a researcher observing and analysing a once inaccessible phenomena), I would concur with Lee, Collier and Cullen's (2007) account of an explanatory case. They assert that in an explanatory case, the researcher seeks to derive a detailed understanding of a particular phenomenon separate from more quantitative methods. In the REIPPPP especially, we have seen that most of the reporting on the status of the industry has focused on how much investment has been created, how many jobs created as well as how many megawatts have been generated. Although important, there is currently limited data on some

of the qualitative elements of the programme, with the figure reflecting the participation of women (Black) owned businesses, merely being one.

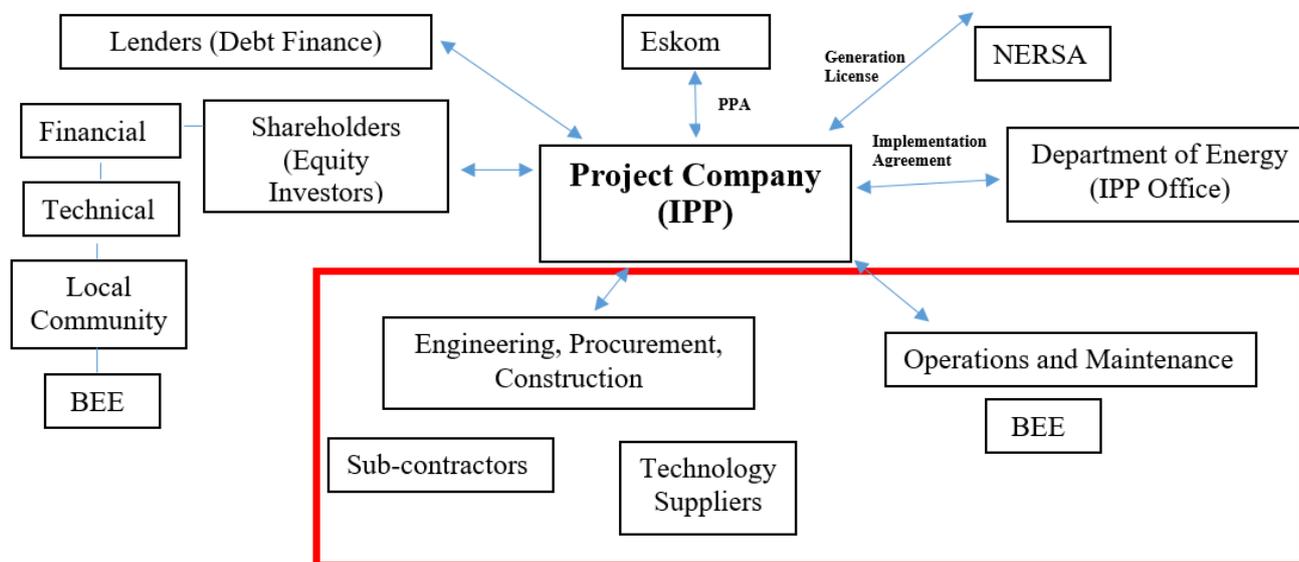


Figure 3: The delimitations of the thesis superimposed on the structure of a REIPPPP project, Author’s own creation

Figure 3 above is an illustration of the area of this investigation. This research is concerned with activities that occur within the red demarcated area. It is acknowledged that those activities that happen outside of this area may have an impact on what happens inside the area. The focus of this research remains however, what happens during the construction and operations phases of the programme. The construction phase of a project is characterised by the erection of a RE facility, whilst the operations phase of a project refers to the period that follows the construction phase. Both phases involve procurement processes.

Within the case described above, this thesis aims to answer the following questions and associated research objectives using a variety of empirical and non-empirical tools and methods. The questions and objectives outlined below are an attempt to understand the complexity and the nature of the case, because cases should be selected based on the anticipation of an opportunity to learn (Stake, 1995). The case has therefore been selected based on the opportunity to learn about the contributing factors that contribute to the exclusion of WOBs, and BWOBs in particular, in the REIPPPP.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS	RESEARCH OBJECTIVES
To what extent have Black women owned businesses been excluded from the REIPPPP value chain?	To make explicit, the gaps that exist within the REIPPPP programme in relation to BWOBs.
Why has there been poor inclusivity of women owned businesses in the REIPPPP? Are race,	To contribute meaningfully to an on-going global discussion on the involvement of

class and gender categorisations coupled with the prevailing power relations, a possible explanation for the exclusion?	women in energy, as decision makers and businesswomen.
What are the obstacles to inclusivity?	
What opportunities for inclusion exist throughout the project lifecycle?	Investigate ways in which various instruments (policy, financial instruments, approaches, and requirements) could be revised or reconfigured to achieve more inclusive business participation in the REIPPPP.

Table 2 Research questions and objectives

4.2. Advantages and benefits

The following are some of the notable advantages I had embarking on this research journey:

- Initially I had suspected that my positionality would be a significant limitation but upon reflection realised that it was in fact a key advantage. Positionality is described by Anthias (2001a, 2001b) as the space at the intersection of structure (social position/social effects) and agency (social positioning / meaning and practice). As a Black woman who has worked in the industry and experienced marginalisation first-hand, I am more aware of how exclusion feels and impacts those on the receiving end. Having this level of insight and empathy enabled me to better relate with the respondents. Another advantage was the time spent working in the industry. This deep and intimate exposure to the functioning of the industry was beneficial for this research in many ways. Firstly I was able to conduct to my empirical analysis with greater ease as I had access to networks that could share their experiences and knowledge with me with very little notice. This also saved me time: I did not have to spend much time trying to gather system-related knowledge and most of the research process was spent on gathering the target information required to build transformation knowledge.

4.3 Limits and Delimitations

This thesis has the following notable limitations:

- A fundamental assumption has been made that there are sufficient, qualified and interested Black women owned businesses positioned to participate in the REIPPPP.

- Black women owned businesses would like to participate in the renewable energy industry value chain.
- Due to the sensitivity and confidential nature of procurement contracts, it was not possible to gain access to financial data which may have been useful in further supporting some of the claims made in this thesis.
- Because the research will focus on the construction and operations phases, it is recognised that there may have been opportunities in the project development phase that may have been left out. I have focused on the construction and operations phase because this is where the majority of procurement spend happens and therefore where the most opportunities for inclusion of BWOBs exists.
- Due to the positionality factor mentioned above, it would logically follow that there may have been a greater predisposition for researcher bias in this thesis. I was very aware of this potential and ensured that I went into every interview with an open mind and made a very conscious and concerted effort not to lead or influence my respondents in any way.

4.4 Research methodology

The section that follows details the research process and outlines the theoretical framing used in this thesis, providing substantiations in this regard.

4.4.1 Pre- research phase: framing of the question

Over three and a half years of working in the RE sector, my role evolved from trainee to Business Development Manager: Europe, Middle East, Asia EA, In this time I was exposed to what I considered the injustices of the system and that gave birth to a desire to understand why I was, on numerous occasions, the only Black woman in the room. In addition, I wanted to know why all the procurement contracts that I had been privy to were only with White male owned businesses. Surely this was not representative of the demographic landscape of business in the energy sector? Or was it? Leveraging my role, my academic training and my passion for the promotion of women in business – I decided to explore these issues, especially after many failed attempts to solicit responses to the question from industry players.

4.4.2 Theoretical grounding and literature analysis

What became apparent during the search for literature on this topic was that very little work has been done on Black women's experiences in business, especially within a local (South African and African) context. This is a finding also made by Dhlamini (2016) in her work on the experiences of Black women in leadership positions within corporate South Africa. She further asserts that this gap provides a fertile research opportunity for scholars. As mentioned previously many theoretical paradigms could have been used in the investigation of this topic, such as Critical Race theory and Radical Black feminism,

but intersectionality and Social Capital theory were selected and used in conjunction with each other for the distinct but complementary reasons described in Chapter 2.

Intersectionality + Social Capital theory

Although discussed at length in Chapter 2, it is important to touch briefly again on the significance of using the two theories in conjunction. Intersectionality, as a more politically and emotionally charged theory affords this investigation the ability to articulate how the identity of a Black woman, in male dominated environments especially, affects their experience, particularly in relation to how this informs power dynamics. The two perspectives of Social capital theory used, the networks and synergy views, help articulate how capabilities could be built by BWOBs in order to enable them to critically and more successfully engage with the state and industry in order to improve the participation of BWOBs in the REIPPPP. The synergy view of social capital emphasizes that the state has a key role to play in achieving developmental outcomes. Each theory on its own, although useful, doesn't fully serve the ambitious aspirations of this thesis to contribute to transformation knowledge. Used in conjunction however, these theories are able to give different perspectives to the topic being investigated, which makes for a more impactful investigation.

4.4.3 Data collection

A variety of empirical and non-empirical data collection methods were employed for this thesis. The purpose of this was to gain a multidimensional view of the state and reasons of exclusions to inform more representative findings and conclusions. These include a literature review, a review of secondary data in the form of reports and documents, semi-structured interviews, a focus group as well as auto-ethnography. Refer to Table 4 below for a summary of the data collection methods used in this thesis. However, owing to the scarcity of data available on the research topic, it was decided to demarcate the topic into key sub-topics that could help improve literature search results. Table 3 highlights the key research themes.

	GROUNDING THEME	LINK TO RESEARCH QUESTION
1	<i>South Africa's historical context</i>	Trying to make sense of the socio-economic conditions in South Africa without acknowledging the role of history in contributing to the types of exclusion that this thesis is investigating would render it incomplete. The historical context also applies to the characteristics of the energy industry as a whole and as a result helps make sense of the status quo.
2	<i>Intersectionality</i>	Intersectionality theory was chosen as a theoretical basis for this work as it is currently the best theory/method that attempts to makes of the collision of race, gender and class. Intersectionality also helps understand some of the dynamics that arise from the

		race, gender and class intersections - such as power and agency - and the role those play in re-enforcing or redressing these intersections.
3	<i>Social Capital theory</i>	Whilst completing the literature review and fieldwork, social capital seemed to rear its head as a popular theme and upon reading more it became clear that this theory could be used to explain one of the biggest obstacles to achieving meaningful inclusion in the energy space. In a highly unequal society like South Africa, plagued by legacies of apartheid, social capital becomes a large determinant of success in business.
4	<i>Empowerment</i>	Kabeer's (2005) definition of empowerment... 'is social relationships that govern access to education, employment and entrepreneurship.... Potential to positively change a woman's life.' How are women equipped for empowerment? How do we give women transformative agency capabilities and resources to enable them to achieve what they wish to achieve in business?
5	<i>Procurement</i>	Essentially the research question I am looking at is centred on government procurement and/or the opportunities or challenges that have been presented by a large utility scale programme such as the REIPPPP. Large scale energy generation from independent power producers is centred on large scale procurement and therefore is applicable for discussion in our work as a result of this.
6	<i>Female entrepreneurship</i>	The assumption that is made in this research is that there are women owned businesses that are positioned to take advantage of the opportunities presented in the renewable energy value chain. It was therefore important to investigate this and include this as key theme in order to support the research.

Table 3: Key research themes

Search terms used: women's role in the economy; Empowerment of women in business; women in energy; women in business; Black women in business

Black women as participants in the economy; Gender discrimination; Intersectionality theory; Social Capital theory; racial discrimination; procurement; sustainable procurement; procurement in the REIPPPP; history of the REIPPPP; female entrepreneurship; Intersectionality in business

4.4.3.1 The Literature Review

Through a review on the literature on intersectionality and Social Capital theory this thesis aims to satisfy the key objectives of a literature review outline by Randolph. According to Randolph (2009) the purpose of the literature review is to:

- “report on **knowledge and ideas** that have been established on a particular topic, including their **strengths and weaknesses** while they allow you to discover the agreed academic opinion on the topic while at the same time letting you find out the disagreements on the same subject.
- Position your research project within the body of literature and thereby **provide perspective** for the reader.
- Demonstrate **your knowledge** of the subject area.
- Determine what each source contributes to the topic.
- Understand the **relationship between the various contributions**, identify and (if possible) resolve contradictions, and determine gaps or unanswered questions.
- Justify your **choice of research design**; for instance, your choice of qualitative over quantitative approaches, or your method of data analysis.
- Clarify how your work fills a **gap** in the scholarly literature.”

It emerged from the literature review that women were excluded from the REIPPPP programme and that Black women’s intersectional identity had negatively affected their participation in the REIPPPP programme owing to the uneven distribution of power and the low levels of social capital that they possess. The impacts of this uneven distribution of power and low levels of social capital are exaggerated by the legacy of discrimination from Apartheid. The literature review created an informed basis on which to conduct this research and made clear that this investigation was filling a research gap.

4.4.3.2 Secondary data

Bryman & Bell et. Al (2015) describe secondary data as data collected by researchers other than the investigator. In this thesis the type of secondary data used included official reports from various government departments and articles published in reputable industry publications and media houses. These reports enabled me to gain insight into the participation levels of BWOBs, although mainly from the perspective of government and industry. Using secondary data allowed access to the thoughts / outputs of some public sector officials and industry representatives that I might not have otherwise had access to. Although there was some information available in the reports, it was not clear what the levels of inclusion were for BWOBs. The reports did, however, assist me in drawing better formed assumptions regarding the levels of exclusion.

4.4.3.3 Semi –structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were used in this investigation. An interview guide was drawn up, but the interviewees were encouraged to respond to the questions according to their own perspectives and one is able to guide the discussion based on the responses of the interviewees (Bryman & Bell et. Al , 2015). The questions therefore merely served as a guide and to prompt participants on information to share.

4.4.3.4 Focus Group Discussion

A focus group discussion (FGD) is a qualitative research technique consisting of a structured discussion that is used to obtain in-depth information from a group of people about a particular topic (Cameron, 2005). A focus group discussion is useful in uncovering major themes that respondents and the researcher may themselves not have been aware of. The purpose of a focus group is to collect information about people's opinions, beliefs, attitudes and perceptions, not to come to consensus or make a decision. One focus group discussion with BWOBs was supported by the Women in Oil and Energy Association of South Africa and held in Johannesburg.

4.4.3.5 Auto ethnography

I felt it useful to include my perspective and voice in this thesis by including my own story and those of other Black women who run businesses. Auto-ethnography is an approach to research and writing that seeks to describe and systematically analyze (graphy) personal experience (auto) in order to understand cultural experience (ethno) (Ellis, 2004; Holman Jones, 2005). It is reflective and enables the writer to bring in their own perspective and experiences of the cultural situation. My original plan was to include three stories, one of which would be mine. Unfortunately this was not possible as a result of time and schedule clashes with the nominated interviewees, therefore only two of these stories are presented in this thesis. My story and Julie's story follow in chapter five.

	Method	Purpose	Finding
Non-Empirical Methods	Literature Review	To provide literature background and framing for investigation.	Confirmed that exclusion of BWOBs exists and power and lack of social capital are the main reasons
	Secondary data	To provide quantitative and qualitative information and perspectives from actors not included in empirical work	Confirmed that exclusion in the REIPPPP exists, from multiple angles and vantage points
Empirical Methods	Semi-structured interviews	To provide first hand perspectives of various actors	Highlighted different aspects of exclusion from various actors.
	Focus Group Discussion	To provide perspectives of BWOBs	Highlighted major reasons, from their perspective, of exclusion
	Auto-ethnography	To bring in personal in depth experiences of Black women	Highlighted different ways of exclusion in employment and entrepreneurial space in REIPPPP

Table 4 : Summary of data collection methods

4.4 Sampling and actors

Owing to the niche nature of the study, respondents needed to be those who were in the industry and could speak with authority on the functioning of the industry and how they had experienced it. For this reason, purposive sampling was used to select respondents. Bryman & Bell et. al (2015) describe purposive sampling as a non-probability form of sampling so the researcher cannot generalise findings to a greater population. The goal is to sample participants in a strategic way, to ensure that those sampled are relevant to the research questions. Below is the criteria used for selecting participants (in order of preference), for interviews and the focus group discussion, which consisted of 8 businesswomen in the energy space:

- Black women owned businesses who are providing or have provided services to REIPPPP and/or
- Black women who have operational businesses, preferably in the energy sector that could provide services to REIPPPP and/or
- Black women who have been in the energy sector, in any capacity, for (preferably) longer than 3 years and have a solid understanding of REIPPPP and/or
- Black women who have an interest in the RE sector

Although this criteria was implemented I also spoke to those who didn't fit the above and brought in other important perspectives, for the purposes of gaining a more complete picture of the status quo. This also aligns with Bryman & Bell et. Al's (2015) view that participants who differ on key

characteristics are brought into purposive sampling to ensure variety. I therefore spoke to the following participants:

Position	Company description	Meeting	Perspective
Chief Executive Officer	Women's organisation	Interview/ FGD	SMME
Country Manager	IPP,EPC	Interview	IPP, EPC
Procurement Manager	IPP/EPC	Interview	IPP, EPC
Consultant	ED Consulting Company	Interview	SMME
Managing Director	SA Renewable Energy Business Incubator	Interview	SMME
Owner	Small Business Owner	Interview	SMME
Finance/Investment Professional	Industrial Development Corporation	Interview	STATE OWNED ENTITY
Managing Director	ED Consulting Company	Interview	SMME AND IPP
ED Consultant	ED Consulting Company	Interview	SMME AND IPP
Renewable Energy Executive	Govt/State Owned Entity	Interview	STATE OWNED ENTITY
8 BWOBS	Various	FGD	SMME/BWOBS

Table 5: Key Interviewee List

Different perspectives and what they represent

In Table 4 a list of the parties interviewed representing the various perspectives of Industry, the State and BWOBS is presented. In total 18 respondents participated in this study and the split of the interviewees was as follows: 45% were BWOBS involved in RE and or other energy businesses, 11% IPP, 11% EPC, 11% Sate Owned Entity and 22% were representatives of SMME's in the RE sector (either in their role as an incubator or as consultants). In total then, 67% of the participants of this research represent the views and positions of BWOBS in the REIPPPP. Below is a more detailed discussion of these actors and the significance of exploring their roles for this thesis.

- **SMME:** BWOBS constituted 45% of the sample size that took part in this research. These BWOBS were experienced and had attained a level of professional status that enabled them to confidently pursue their goals of being entrepreneurs in the energy sector. These women were very clear and vocal about what it is that they had wanted in business, but struggled immensely to find support from government and industry in pursuit of their business goals. Their businesses therefore fall under the SMME category. These women were of the impression that they were being deliberately excluded from the REIPPPP, primarily citing the very high capital expenditure costs required for the participation as a key tool of exclusion, followed by having no social capital in this space, lack of information and inadequate training opportunities.

The representatives of the SMMEs constituted 22% of the sample size, however, shared slightly different views on why BWOBs were not represented in the REIPPPP. They stated that some of these BWOBs were more opportunistic and did not take the time to really engage with the industry and its requirements and were either too newly established or inexperienced to meaningfully participate. These representatives (White male operated) were of the view that capacity building initiatives were needed. Only one of the representatives shared the sentiments expressed by the BWOBs, that there was a genuine lack of commitment from Industry to involve BWOBs.

- **EPC (IPP) constituted** 11% of the sample. The views expressed by these respondents were that although exclusion exists, it was justified given where South Africa comes from historically. The view was that a dialogue needs to take place across all stakeholders and smaller businesses need to be granted an opportunity to prove themselves prior to accessing REIPPPP sized opportunities. Including inadequately experienced or capacitated BWOBs/SMMEs presented a major business risk that industry couldn't be expected to carry alone.
- **STATE OWNED ENTITY (GOVERNMENT)** constituted 11% of the sample size. The key themes emerging from these organisations was the importance to recognise the political agenda and how this affects business. Also that although government was committed to gender and racial transformation, the 'politics of the day' trumped transformation objectives.

4.5 Reliability, Validity, Generalisability

Bochner (2000) argues that traditional empiricist criteria are unhelpful and even "silly" when applied to new and alternative ethnographies. Guba & Lincoln (2005) agree and assert that applying traditional criteria like generalizability, objectivity, and reliability to qualitative research is illegitimate. (Bryman & Bell et. al, 2015), articulate it well in saying that it is not the intention of the study that it be generalizable beyond the case and therefore external validity need not apply to this study.

4.6 Data analysis

After the data collection process was concluded I embarked on data analysis. Organising and sorting the data collected was a challenging and eye-opening analysis process. I then coded the data which assisted me in organising and making sense of the information gathered and identifying emergent themes.

Coding is the process of focusing a large amount of free-form data with the goal of empirically illuminating answers to research questions. Coding moves in a stepwise fashion, progressively from unsorted data to the development of more refined

categories, themes, and concepts (Hahn, 2008). A Microsoft Excel sheet was used for coding of data in this thesis and the codes were drawn from the research questions and associated objectives.

Likewise, the first phase of qualitative coding **level 1** is intended to significantly reduce the qualitative data to allow a more manageable focus. This first stage of coding is commonly called initial coding or open coding. At this stage of the data analysis, 31 points or codes emerged. This was synthesised by level 2 coding.

Level 2 coding by the qualitative researcher starts builds on the level 1 codes. Level coding identifies the data most likely to help answer research questions; the goal during level 2 coding is to further refine the data. This step narrows the focus to a relatively few codes in comparison to level 1. Level 2 coding is commonly called focused coding or category development. At this stage the 31 themes were condensed and synthesised into 15 themes.

The study was concluded at **level 3** coding. That is when the 15 themes that resulted from level 2 coding were further refined and five key themes emerged to form the basis of the final analysis.

4.7 Reflections on this process

The research process has been a very personal journey, and in retrospect, was birthed back in 2013 when I first entered the RE sector. Over the years it has evolved slightly but has maintained its core intention of aiming to understand the impacts of marginalisation on those affected by the acts of discrimination and exclusion. The research topic was crystallized in 2016, owing, in part, to my personal experience (shared in Chapter 5) of marginalisation in the industry and a long standing passion and interest I have in the stories of women in business. The idea of this thesis was crystallized in the year

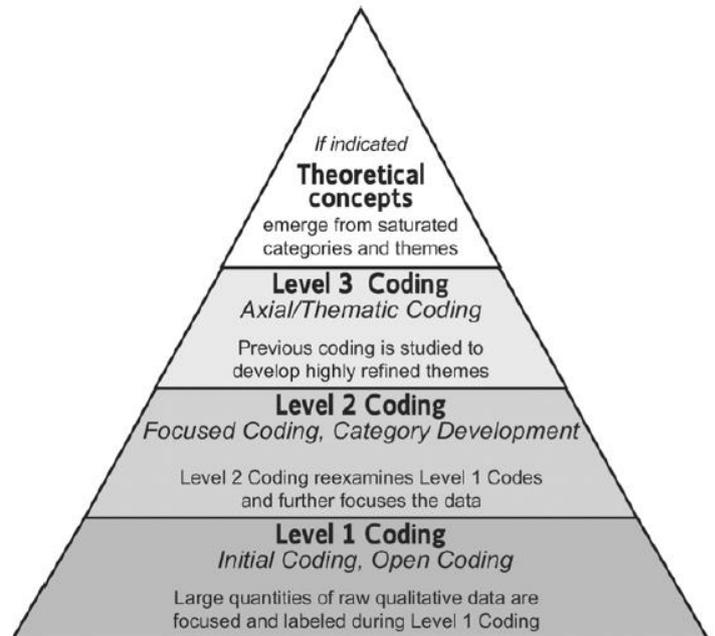


Figure 4 Coding Diagram: SAGE, 2015

2016 when I decided to exit formal employment within the RE sector to focus on this research into the participation of Black women owned businesses in the Renewable Energy space. This personal journey is told in chapter five: narratives of exclusion, alongside the story of another Black woman who owns and operates a small business providing services to the RE industry.

Recognising that this thesis did not fully employ transdisciplinary research methods, I do feel that Pohl et al.'s (2007) transdisciplinary research framework is apt for reflecting on how I entered (identified and structured the research problem), explored/immersed (analysed the problem) and exited this research environment (in order to bring results to fruition). I assumed different roles, at times conflicting, throughout these various phases.

- **Entering** the research phase, I admittedly came in with hypotheses that had been fuelled by my own personal experience in the industry. This therefore meant that I was at a higher risk of experiencing researcher bias. This was fuelled in part by my positionality as a Black woman doing research on Black women and opportunities in a predominantly white male dominated sector. I was conscious and very aware of this and had identified early on that this presented a major limitation for the study. I also settled on this topic with the guidance from academic and intellectual mentors who made me realise that what I was trying to articulate could be better achieved by focusing on Black women as opposed to just women. As a former corporate employee I soon realised that I would need to let parts of my professional persona go in order to successfully execute this work. My experience in the industry did help me position my research and find a niche that was to garner a lot of support from those in the industry who were interested in the topic but had not had the time or resources to investigate it.
- As I began **exploring** and **immersing** myself in the research, through my literature review and fieldwork, I experienced many emotions. At times I experienced very conflicting emotions. I was agitated by some of the views expressed by those sitting on the 'other' side of the fence and in the same breath had some of their allegations proven to be true in some of the engagements that I had with those on the 'other' side of the fence. There were times when I was frustrated with the women I engaged for the study – primarily because I saw some of the allegations made by the other team to be true. I had to be very careful to disengage where necessary and not show my own emotions which would risk the integrity of my research process. This process occurred throughout the thesis - however became easier to recognise and manage as I became immersed in the topic.
- On **exiting** the research process, I do not think it quite possible for me to 'exit' the process in the true sense of the word. This piece of work is very close to my heart and informed by the passion I have for seeing positive change and inclusive and truly broad based economic inclusion opportunities for women. For me this process was really the birth of my work in this space and I suspect that I will keep in touch with the men and women who supported me on this

journey and am certain that this 'research' will continue in different forms in an effort to find workable solutions to the problems that we face.

4.8 Conclusion

This is a qualitative study that has employed various empirical and non-empirical data collection and inquiry methods in pursuit of a more complete and multi-stakeholder representative answer. Intersectionality theory and Social Capital theory provide the theoretical framework, which has also informed the five data collection methods employed in this study. Multiple actors were engaged to ascertain their views and position on the topic and these were gathered and coded. Qualitative coding was conducted, from level 1 coding (initial) to level 3 (thematic) to sort, analyse and make sense of the empirical data. After the analysis of data concluded, the codes were summarised under five key themes: human capabilities and abilities, historical constructs and perceptions around personal, social identity, consequently compromised social positions and unconducive macro environment, compromised social positioning in business and self-limiting beliefs and perceptions. The next two chapters focus on the findings uncovered using the methodological steps and processes outlined in this chapter.

Chapter 5: Narratives of exclusion

As indicated in chapter three, autoethnography has been used as an anchor to narrate the exclusion of BWOBs in REIPPPP. The two stories presented in this section give insight into two perspectives related to the topic - an employee and an entrepreneur's perspective. Autoethnography was selected as one of the methods of inquiry because of its ability to challenge canonical ways of doing research and representing others (Spry, 2001) and because it treats research as a political, socially-just and socially-conscious act (Adams & Holman Jones, 2008). Moreover, it enables the ethnographer to reflect on their experience and locate it within a particular social situation. The narratives shared also allow the reader to gain access to deeper personal aspects of the stories, thereby making it a powerful tool to uncover points and insights that would not ordinarily surface in focus group discussions, interviews or surveys.

This thesis provides an opportunity to narrate my personal experience as a Black woman in the RE industry and it also provides the opportunity to compare and contrast my employment experience (personal vantage point) with that of a BWOB as it transitions into the findings uncovered through a wider audience during the empirical data gathering process of this thesis. The first story tells of my own experience whilst the second story tells of Julie's experience as a business owner. Both women are Black South Africans.

5.1 An employment perspective

Introduction

Growing up, I recall not a single occasion where I was made to feel 'less than' or inferior in any way or form because of the colour of my skin or my gender and so guess I therefore assumed that none of these 'isms' existed. The naïve heart of the 'ism'-denying little girl stayed with me into the early years of adulthood. I honestly enjoyed wearing my rose tinted glasses as a protective tool against the painfully bright light shone by an awareness of the 'isms'. Low and behold this changed. It happened. After three and a half years of denial, it hit me. Racism and sexism existed. They were 'things' and they happened to me. And so the painful process of taking off my rose tinted glasses began.

Growing up

I was born in the watershed year of 1990, just 4 months after Nelson Mandela was released from prison, into a warm and loving family. My mother says she vividly recalls being pregnant with me at the time and being positive about what the future of this country looked like for her unborn baby girl.

My parents had prayed for a little girl since my brother, who was five at the time, was born. They were elated when they found out that my mother was carrying a girl and unsurprisingly named this little girl

Fezeka, meaning “dream come true”. They had a strong belief that a child's name carried significant meaning and in a way prophesied a child's fortune in life. I was their dream come true and their hope was that I would indeed live the life of my dreams and make a success out of my life - whatever that meant for me and to me. As I reflect on this name as a more mature young woman, now a mother to a beautiful baby boy (Liyana uThando), I can't help but think of the colossal blessings that this name was paving the way for.

As a little girl I was also very close to my maternal grandmother and I grew up with plenty of cousins, who were more like siblings. In the African tradition your uncles are your fathers, your aunts, your mothers and your cousins, your siblings. My gran had seven kids of her own and adopted those of family members who needed a home. So her house was always full. Not just with people but with overflowing love and warmth. Although not the wealthiest of families, my aunts and uncles were never left wanting. In fact, my grandmother, who was a stay-at-home wife, made it her point to provide for her kids. My gran was a true warrior and truly entrepreneurial. She sold whatever was needed in her neighbourhood in order to take care of her household; a very full household. This was the tenacity that enabled my grandmother to survive long after my grandfather, who was the main breadwinner, departed in 1995 before I even got to know him. I am told that he stood up for what he believed in, even when those beliefs made him sever ties. I see myself in some of the stories that I am told of him, but vehemently disagreed with his views on the girl child and education. My grandmother fought for my mother to obtain an education. My mom tells me that she believes that the vision (of an educated daughter) that my grandmother had was the source of many disagreements with my grandfather. I was fortunate though in that I never got to experience his undesirable side, and thus wasn't disadvantaged in any way by his actions. My maternal grandmother departed peacefully on the 31 May 2004, exactly a week before my 14th birthday. May their souls continue resting in peace.

With all these children I had lots of cousins and we all grew up very close. It was a healthy split between males and females and the age gaps varied quite widely, ranging from five to fifteen year age gaps. In each age group there was a 'clique'. I was in the youngest clique. I spent weekends and holidays with my gran and school weeks with my parents. Both environments that I was exposed to very early on had a gender mix. It was almost always 50/50. And indeed we all had equal chores. There were no boy or girl duties although I did feel that the boys were given leeway on domestic duties some of the time. In fact in hindsight, it was always some of the older girls who came to the rescue of the boys. Nonetheless, the spirit was that of equality amongst the genders. So the seeds of gender equality were planted very early on.

At home I had liberal parents who never once uttered any negative racial comments about their white counterparts despite having been raised in apartheid South Africa; and my paternal grandfather having been involved in the struggle with the Mandela's and Tambo's, was pretty much the same. He made mention of some of the horrid experiences that they had gone through during Apartheid but never with the intention of polarizing. One example that my dad recalls vividly and retells, is when the police came looking for my grandfather and they didn't find him, they arrested my grandmother together with my

father. Of course this story is one of many that we were told as young kids growing up. Again, these stories were never told with the intention of contaminating our minds. They were told as stories to help us dream and imagine a future where we all lived harmoniously, whilst not forgetting our past struggles.

Schooling

I began my schooling career in the Southern Suburbs of Cape Town at a primary school called Grove Primary. It was a former co-ed "Model C" school. I loved school and those formative years saw me do well in a number of things and I was what you would typically call a 'teacher's pet'. I started school when I was five and a half, with my mom very ambivalent and uneasy because I was her tiny little girl. My frame hasn't changed much and am still mistaken by some as a school girl. To prove that I was not colour sensitised, the racial profile of my friends was about 90% white and 10% black. Oh, how I loved my white friends. Honestly I didn't even know they were in any way different to me. All I knew was that I wanted that hair, that long silky hair that wasn't negatively affected by three drops of rain - and for the longest time kept asking my parents why I didn't have that hair. It just never made sense to me. I loved swimming and my mom would always yell at me for not putting on my shower cap (even when I did the water just seeped through) because I was giving her more work than she needed. You see, every time my hair had a brief meeting with water, it would mean a trip to the salon. It cost money and my poor mother's time. I had to eventually make peace with my hair and settled on good old braids which also did the job. The idea was to be able to flick my hair back and forth and toss it behind my ear, like my white friends. And so the braids did just that. And so I was fine. I got teased by some of my black schoolmates for thinking I was 'white' but that honestly didn't bother me. They were in the minority anyway so it didn't bother me. I loved my white friends. After all I didn't think we were different. I completed primary school and got the opportunity to attend a private girl's school just a stone's throw away from my primary school. Here I was moving from a co-ed to a single sex girl's school, Herschel Girls' Senior School.

I loved my time at a girl's school but it came with a unique set of challenges. All really centred on being perfect, smart and working hard. I enjoyed myself here and this is where the seeds of confidence that were sewn at home and in primary school started taking shape. We were taught many things but basically all around how to be a lady. I am what you call a girly girl so this didn't bother me at all. I loved it. I loved all things pink and feminine. This is the sheltered environment where we were exposed to lavishness, luxury and success and in the same breadth were told we can do it and more. These formative years really planted some great seeds for my future and I realize in hindsight the value of the lessons learnt from this era in my life. Notice that race had never been something that I had experienced or known or even understood. It was an abstract concept that I had been shielded from. I had no clue it existed in the extent that it did but I knew there was something there. Well our History lessons told us so and some of the stories we were told proved so too but in my head it still did not click. I remember when we were taught about apartheid in History around ninth grade and I remember how every time our History teacher went into some of the horrific details, I felt very sad and somewhat angry. This wouldn't last long as my day-to-day experiences were very different. In every space I did

not feel unwanted, out of place or undervalued. Interestingly as my high school years came to an end the racial profile of my friends started to change a little. There was a realisation at some point that there were differences and I started relating more to my black sisters than my white counterparts. The conversations to some extent started to change. The commonalities started to fade and what was left wasn't enough to carry through some friendships. The conversations had become a little superficial for my liking.

Arriving at the University of Cape Town to embark on my undergraduate studies in 2008 was a terrifying experience. Having come from a safe environment where everyone knew each other to an environment where nobody knew your name was quite challenging to say the least. The first 6 months were a battle but I slowly settled in and found my feet. UCT was a melting pot as far as I was concerned. It was one of the most diversely spread population that I had come across. My racial awareness radar was still not very good and as a result hardly ever noticed what the racial split was in class or anything of the sorts. Interestingly, what I did start becoming very aware of was class. I sat in a Business Law lecture next to a young gentleman who'd introduced himself to me. He was from the Eastern Cape and was wearing open toe shoes and shorts in the middle of winter – when I jokingly asked him why he would wear shorts and open toe shoes in winter he looked at me and said, 'It's because they are all I have.' He was an intelligent Actuarial Science student who wanted to study and take his family out of poverty. I admired his drive and tenacity, however, in that moment realised that this class was representative of the two polar opposites in society. I was encouraged by the power of education in bringing together people from all walks of life and acting as a leveller. In hindsight, it would have been worth spending more time working on building bridging capital. As all things do, this era of my life came to an end in the form of a graduation in 2011.

Career

My first job after graduating was at an enterprise development consultancy, and there I was part of the team that looked after the Old Mutual Foundations' Legends Programme, an enterprise development programme which provided training and development opportunities to entrepreneurs nationally. I had come across this role via a close relative who worked at the Development Bank of Southern Africa at the time. She was working on a particular project and had mentioned that they were looking for graduate interns and knowing me well, concluded that I'd love it. So I applied, got a call for an interview and got the job. I worked with SMME's across the country and our role was to provide business skills training and support to SMME owners. I enjoyed the job but I struggled with my manager at the time, a Black (Coloured) woman. I never got the sense that she was invested in my growth. At times strongly felt that she may have been secretly on the team not rooting for my success. I may have been wrong but it was clear that our relationship would never work. We saw, understood, reasoned and acted very differently and as the Manager one was compelled to see it her way. I did note however that she was only like this with me. I was young at the time and instead of critically analysing the situation I made a decision to leave. I eventually decided to leave after a year and a half as the dynamics had made it unbearable for me to stay. In this role I again didn't experience, in my naïve opinion then, any racial or

gender discrimination but in hindsight do feel that the dynamic between myself and my manager, had remnants of some form of racial discrimination. After leaving this job I moved on to my next job assignment at an international renewable energy company.

I was fascinated by renewable energy and when I got the opportunity to work for an international renewable energy company, I grabbed it with both hands. I started at the bottom again – as an Intern. I didn't mind as I knew very little and had lots to learn. Being an intern worked as you're always treated less harshly than others. I always likened being an intern to being a learner driver. Most drivers on the road are patient with you. I walked into an environment that was very different to my previous workplace. I was one of two black females when I joined and slowly thereafter a few black (coloured) women started joining. The company comprised a few expats, particularly on the Engineering and Business Development side and a few locals looking after various other supporting departments. All of this didn't matter. I enjoyed working here. I was learning and being mentored by the Director of Stakeholder Relations, a white middle aged lady. She tried to expose me to the workings of the industry and I indeed learnt a lot during this time. I was, after expressing interest, moved to the Economic Development team where I worked with the ED Manager. Here I was responsible for assisting with reporting and dabbled with some ED strategy. I was working with a white older male my parents age, who wasn't very open to sharing information. When I noticed this I started making myself visible to the Business Development and Project Execution teams. I became a permanent employee in the execution team but as time passed I realised that my real interests were in dealmaking. I then got promoted to Junior Business Development Manager and left the company as Business Development Manager. My promotion and support was driven by my manager who was a German expat and believed in my abilities to perform and excel in whatever task that was handed to me, provided I was given the necessary tools and support to do so. I was fortunate that he was highly respected in the company, having been responsible for driving the biggest deal of the company internationally valued at over R1bn. Having someone like that behind me really helped position me in the company.

He sadly had to return to Germany, and his contractual obligations somewhat changed. My reporting lines changed and so could arguably say that that is when things started going south. I reported directly to the MD, a white South African male who had very different ideologies to myself. There were many occasions where I had been made to feel less than but I ignored these and continued performing the work tasks at hand. One example stays imprinted in my mind. I'd just been assigned to manage the World Bank's Scaling Solar Zambia project – it was around the same time that my boss was moving back to Germany. It is standard practice that when we work in foreign territory we do site visits. A site visit was scheduled and of course I was excluded. The Procurement Manager, Engineering Lead as well as my boss, were going to go on this site visit. I remember walking into my new line manager's office and asking him if I could go on the site visit (as we had agreed that he would expose me to things that would enable me grow in leaps and bounds in my role) and he said no. 'No you can't go because we will be needing you in office.' I.e. we need you in the office, at your desk, to do the slave work. This was to be the first of many encounters of this sort. I remember walking out of his office feeling very

disappointed, and overwhelmed with emptiness and for the very first time feeling a strong sense of denial to an opportunity to grow. I wondered if I was a different sex and colour if his response would've been the same. It left a sour taste in my mouth. Nonetheless the work continued. The slave work that is, while some took home fat salaries for my labour.

These types of incidents continued, until I demanded a pay increase after 6 months. Nobody was saying anything, although they acknowledged the good work, volume and increased responsibility. I asked and things went downhill from there. The HR Manager, a Black (coloured) woman who had asked me on a few occasions why I wanted to go on leadership development courses, do I see myself as a leader, was the biggest instigator. The day I walked into her office asking her about this salary increase she went straight to the MD and said I had walked into her office with an attitude, demanding an increase. The MD, when we had this conversation told me what she'd said and that it would be worth me apologising for my demeanour. It was of course all lies. This set the tone for a very tough time for the remainder of my time at the company. Her friends in the meanwhile were sending emails behind my back to the MD – 'claiming that I wasn't responding to clients'. Off course the MD sent them to me and I was lucky to start seeing what was happening behind my back. These were older women, 15+ years my senior, in administrative roles who, in hindsight I suspect were unhappy with my growth trajectory and thus embarked on a mission to make my stay as miserable as possible. In hindsight, I would say that they were engaged in a smear campaign to discredit me in any way or form that they could. I omitted to mention that these two women were the 'office besties' who were renowned for their misery and non-existent social capabilities. It was really through them that the saying 'misery loves company' made sense. What was the cherry on top were the WhatsApp voice notes that the relative of the HR Manager was sending to colleagues claiming that I wanted to be paid the equivalent of my 'highly qualified and experienced' white male team mates. I chuckled, angrily, but made the decision to say nothing about this. Oh the relationship here was very interesting, you see this colleague was related to the HR Manager – but this was never disclosed. In fact when I was about to go on maternity leave my boss and I had interviewed some very poor quality candidates to hold the fort while I embarked on the motherhood journey. This relative of the HR Manager was one of the potential candidates whose CVs had landed on our desk, amidst some very poor others. She was one of the better of the poor lot. She tried to convince us to hire this candidate and my boss refused. He had the last word after all. At the same time another team were looking for a Project Administrator in their division and this candidate popped up again. I came back from maternity leave and voila she had reappeared in a permanent role in another department. I therefore suspect that some of the malice could be attributed to my boss and I not wanting to hire this candidate. But that is a story for another thesis.

As the days went by so the fight started becoming uglier and more intense. What is important to note is that as the ugliness continued, for the first time, I started questioning my being: my very identity. I fought the fight nonetheless, flashing smiles and greeting other colleagues in other departments whom I had excellent working relationships with. The façade I maintained at the height of this internal travesty

was making me miserable but the show had to go on, at the expense of my emotional and mental wellbeing. I did make it very clear to the HR Manager and the Managing Director that I would not stand to be victimised or have my worth devalued in any way. The back and forth continued, until the Managing Director came to his senses and profusely apologised for all that had happened to me and his exact words were 'I would like us to forget about this and move on.' This was after a nasty salary spat, unequal and unfair treatment and unwarranted warning letters that I refused to sign. What was interesting to me was the HR Manager's response in the meeting where the Managing Director apologised. In this meeting she did not utter one single word of apology or express any regret for the events that had transpired in the preceding months. It became clear in this meeting who the guilty party was after all. Unfortunately by the time the apology came almost two months later, I had made the decision to leave but had not communicated this to anyone as yet.

I was broken at the end of the three and a half years at the company but do not regret the decision I made to leave. It came down to a choice between my health, sanity and emotional wellbeing and a job and I had to be true to myself and thus choose the former. The experience took a physical toll on my health. I had colds every other week that would last for two weeks before the next bout attacked. I stopped engaging in activities that I liked and I never spent time with my family and those whom I loved. Just before leaving I remember seeking professional help for my emotional state in the form of a psychologist and I remember telling her all that was happening in my life. She looked at me and said, 'My dear, I am afraid that by listening to you, you sound depressed.' She said, 'In fact you are depressed.' 'She said, I am booking you off for a week and going to prescribe a vitamin B1-injection and some anti-depressants.' I looked at the psychologist and said, 'I will not go on anti-depressants but will gladly accept a B1 injection.' I said, 'I refuse to numb this pain, I am going to take this week off to go and think.' She wrote on my sick note that she was booking me off due to, 'acute stress disorder.' From the day I walked out of the office that I knew that it was time. Time to let go.

I returned to the office after the week of leave and a week later submitted my resignation letter. My MD was shocked. His exact words were, 'I wasn't expecting this. I thought we had moved on.' I submitted that letter with no hopes for a job or income but I knew I owed it to myself, my son and all those who loved me to leave. To leave the salary, the seeming prestige and everything else that a good job presents for the average black woman. I felt robbed and used and I was spitting angry. I was angry for being forced to leave my job. Not by choice but by circumstances. That for me was the only source of anger. The extent of malice that would leave me jobless after 3am nights and slogging. That I was angry about. For the very first time I had to stare discrimination in the face. In this promising industry that stood for prosperity and all that's good. The clean energy came at a cost. An untold cost. A cost that never gets airtime because it is not a good side of the industry to expose. I was even more angered by a particular white female colleague's comment at the height of this fiasco. On a lunchtime walk she said to me, 'I think if he apologises, you must then just accept his apology and move on.' I also realised then that as Black women we could not rely on being represented by White women in business, as we

represent two fundamentally different identities within the womanhood continuum. We are all women, but fundamentally different.

I reflected on my experiences attending meetings and being mistaken for the PA all the time and an assistant and minute taker of sorts. My White male counterparts earning double, in some cases triple, what I was earning and never being mistaken for minute takers. The penny dropped – racial and gender discrimination were real, I was just fortunate to never have experienced them before. These ‘things’ existed’. After over 4 months of conflict and an apology from the MD, I made the decision to leave. My last day of official employment was 4 November 2016. That day stays embedded in my memory. Through this experience I learnt some very tough lessons. Lessons that I suspect represent a microcosm of issues affecting some Black women in corporate South Africa. But we bite the bullet because these jobs are our lifelines. On the back of my story, I think it is worth delving into some of the lessons that I learnt during this time before continuing on to Julie’s story.

My lessons learnt

1. Education is a powerful tool to employ in reversing the scourge of poverty. Sitting in class in university with children of some of the wealthiest families in South Africa as well as of the poorest in society proved this. The story of the poor Actuarial Science student planted a sense of hope in my heart. Education has the power to level playing fields. As Bordieu (1986) states attaining education and amassing networks on one’s journey will move you to an elevated level. It is however, in the same breath, important to note that education alone is highly unlikely to achieve the desired levels of inclusivity in the REIPPPP. Education is arguably one of the building blocks of inclusion.
2. The power of social capital. On both occasions and in both roles I got introduced to these industries and opportunities by people I knew. I may have never learnt about these opportunities had I not had the family member I had and the older White woman I knew, who saw potential in me and recommended me as a potential intern candidate. One could strongly argue that I perhaps wouldn’t be where I am today had I not had access to those connections. Who knows for sure? The point is I had those connections and they served me for the betterment of myself and my career. I argue that in the REIPPPP, these connections haven’t been made sufficiently by and with Black women.
3. You have two options when faced with challenges like the ones highlighted above – or perhaps any others in fact. To speak up or die in silence. In my case I chose to speak up and had to suffer the consequences of speaking up. The lesson is that every choice one makes results in a consequence. When I was eager to learn, behaved subserviently and didn’t ask difficult questions, it was ok, but when I started speaking up I faced dire consequences. The choice to not invest in BWOBs, and therefore not upskilling and adequately preparing them, results in the

poor inclusion of them in the REIPPPP value chain. A different choice in this regard could yield different results in the future.

4. Being shielded from the gross realities of post- Apartheid South Africa in the form of gender and racial discrimination in my case, had positive and negative impacts. Positive in the sense that, because I wasn't initially aware of discrimination and how it manifests, I didn't immediately take every experience and reduce it to a race/gender/class issue. It was bad in the sense that when I finally did realise what was happening or being done, I became even angrier as I kicked myself for being so oblivious and 'ignorant'. The burning lesson here is how can levels of awareness around issues of difference (race/class/gender) be raised in a manner that does not offend or incite violence/hate.
5. Women can indeed be their own worst enemies. A woman will gang up on another woman and be the instrument that a man uses to put another woman down. In my case the HR Manager was that woman. She was the woman who was the lead instigator in what transpired between myself and the (male) Managing Director. She chaired every meeting in the most biased of ways and was determined to get her way. To put me down. It is to me a sign of internalised and normalised oppression. Instead of building another young, Black woman up there is a tendency to break each other down. It became clear to me that she wanted me out more than he did. Perhaps when someone shines so bright that it blinds you the best way is to remove it if diminishing it doesn't work.
6. The responses by the Managing Director upon the submission of my resignation, and my White female colleague's words during the height of the challenge, was the manifestation of White privilege. How one could break another human being down on baseless grounds and thereafter expect one to 'move on' is to me White privilege playing out in one of the worst forms that it could play out. It is depictive of some of the broader racial, gender and class issues in South Africa, where a privileged position in society disables one from seeing and understanding the impacts of unjust treatment of another in any form. Being desensitised to the real effects of being treated as an individual 'less than'. I always liken this experience to motherhood. It is only when one becomes a mother that one can fully understand what being in this role entails. Until then, one can only but imagine what motherhood entails. This experience was no different. In the form of racial and gender discrimination however it becomes complex if one applies the motherhood analogy as a White man will never become a Black woman. The question is then will the identity of Black Women ever be understood by White men?

5.2 An entrepreneur's perspective

Growing up

Julie* (not her real name) is a 30-something Black woman who was born and bred in South Africa. She is the middle child in a family of 5. She was raised in a loving home, even though her father was an alcoholic. The alcohol abuse by her father meant that there were times that were very noisy and disorderly in her home and her all her siblings vowed that they would never drink because of how they experienced the scourge of alcoholism in their lives when they were growing up. With all of that she asserts that she grew up in a loving home where there was a 50/50 gender balance and her parents did not conform to any gender stereotyping. Her brothers and sisters were equally expected to do their chores. Julie was always the responsible and conscientious child who sometimes put her life on hold to take care of her siblings and parents. Julie met her husband, James (not his real name) when she was very young and they got married after three years of dating. They have been happily married for 19 years. I was lucky to meet James – what a lovely and humble man. James and Julie have two kids, a boy aged 16 and a girl aged 21. Julie encourages her kids to live life on their own terms and says that she will not be prescriptive in terms of how she tells them to live their lives. She believes that she has raised them on solid Christian values and that those should suffice as armour in the world.

Schooling

Julie also studied in her hometown and remembers working for the jewellery company American Swiss as a high school girl over weekends to make extra income to help out at home. She was always a 'hustler'. She knew she wanted to be a businesswoman one day and loved business subjects at school. In fact she loved school. Because she started working when she was young, she quickly saw what working for someone meant, in terms of financial and time freedom and decided then that she wasn't going to work for someone for very long. She continued working for American Swiss and then worked for a security company as a receptionist and then in her last role as an employee she worked for Eskom. After this she proceeded to start her business. She and her husband together decided to cash in their savings and start their business in 2013. James had worked at a mine in the local area for 21 years and they both felt the timing was right to venture into business as a husband and wife team. They had the networks and know-how and therefore felt they were sufficiently equipped to go into business.

Career and Business

The timing for the business could not have been more opportune. Her father-in-law, who'd been a general contractor in the mine for over a decade was now about to retire and it made sense for them to take over his business. The negotiations started with the mines for them to take over her father-in-law's contracts. The negotiations proved successful and so she and her husband began operating.

Julie acknowledges that she and her husband had a softer landing in the world of business. They had two levers in their favour: her husband had a solid reputation and understanding of the mining industry and her father in-law's reputation as a businessman was also quite good in the industry. As business works, word had it that an EPC contractor who was building in the area was looking for a black owned

module cleaning and grass cutting service provider on one of their RE plants in the area. With the know-how and equipment Julie bid for this contract and she was successful. This contract marked her official entry into the RE industry. Admittedly it wasn't the most profitable contract, but nonetheless she thought this would be a great way to build a reputation in the industry in the hope of getting future projects. When the EPC contracted ended, Julie remained as a service provider, albeit this time under the project owners. Julie has managed to create over 10 jobs in their RE arm of the business. She does state though that in comparison to her other business, this business is the least 'empowering.' In her words, 'it is somewhat a waste of my time'. I make roughly R60 000 from this project a month and my salary bill alone is R40 000.' I have about R20 000 left for fuel and any other maintenance costs like burst tyres etc. for the month. Tyres burst often as there are tree stumps on site. 'You do the Maths.' Julie says they have asked her for quotes for other services on site and on some occasions they even give her such low caps on their budget for the service that she doesn't even bother to quote. She says 'they try and squeeze you so thin' that it doesn't make sense to be in business.

Julie tells the story of her struggles during her 2 year and 4 month tenure on site. She says that in all this time she has not signed a contract with the principle contractor and when she asks about it she gets given the run around. Luckily for Julie, she has the support of the Executive Chairman of the project owners who is rallying behind her and supporting her in her business journey. He has instructed the principle contractor on many occasions to sign this contract, but promises are made and not honoured. She says they have tried to get her off the site many times, saying that the farm owner should be responsible for grass-cutting and module cleaning, not her. Never mind that he (the farm owner) will get lease income every month for the next twenty years. They constantly sabotage her by giving ridiculously low increases on an annual basis and exclude her from any management meetings, but Julie continues with the project because of the 10 employees on the site who depend on this for income. She says that if it wasn't for them she would have left the site a long time. She points out that the minimal increases and low margins, excluding her from management meetings are all ways in which they frustrate you in a way to get you out of the 'game'. Julie reckons that she is now used to how these people operate and therefore they will never succeed in getting her out. She is here to stay as she is building a legacy for her children. Julie's story paints an interesting but grim picture of some of the challenges faced by Black women working on the margins of the REIPPPP. When asked if she thinks her experiences have been shaped by the fact that she was a woman and that she was Black, she said exclaimed 'yes'. She says that she doesn't think but knows that her experiences have been as a result of her being a Black woman. It is worth delving into some of the lessons that Julie's experience highlights.

Julie's lessons learnt

1. Work experience can act as a substitute for education when one wants to become an entrepreneur. In Julie's story we see how her experience and her grit from a very young age positioned her for the challenges of being an entrepreneur. Although she isn't extensively educated, she has sophisticated thinking abilities and has developed a thick skin and a desire to succeed. Looking at

Julie's story one can argue that as an entrepreneur perhaps on-the-job skills are more valuable than a formal qualification. In contrast to what you would need to pursue employment opportunities.. It is more your attitude than your aptitude that you need to succeed.

2. Social capital has a huge role to play in unlocking business opportunities. Julie's father in-law and husband's role in Julie becoming a businesswomen cannot be stressed enough. Julie's father had a reputation that had gave him a good name in the industry that they could then ride on as his offspring. It was a double positive for Julie as her husband also a good reputation in the industry and strong technical know-how so it was easy for her father-in-law to hand the business over to them. Julie had no mining experience but together with her husband learnt more and has managed to grow her business. This illustrates how social capital in action can play out and lead to positive human and financial benefits.
3. You need a white male champion to progress in the RE industry. This point is critical. It is quite similar to my experience where my German boss was always fighting for my progression and promotion within the company. I progressed because he saw potential in me and did not hold back and because he was a respected voice in the organisation, I progressed. In Julie's case it is the white male Executive Chairman who is supporting her business and rooting for the growth of it. In this case he is also a foreign male. Julie still has her contract because this man is set on the fact that Julie deserves this and is the right person to do the job and because he is respected Julie manages to remain on site. What I see here is that it becomes very important to build the bridging capital with White men in order to succeed in the REIPPPP. This is because, for now, they still hold the power and therefore it in the interest of Black women to start forming alliances and building strong ties with White men. Perhaps in time this situation may change.
4. It is important to persevere in business if you want to succeed. Understandably this is easier said than done and off course easier when one has another stream of income. In a situation where this is your only stream of income, it may be difficult to stay when you're doing the project at a loss. Julie is fortunate in that she has another income generating business. If this was her only source of income, perseverance would seem to be too big of an ask. What is important to see here is how discrimination and exclusion, even from the inside, can have undesirable economic impacts on the BWOBs. One can only imagine how this would play out if Julie wasn't in a position to carry this project. The ripple effects on the ten workers that she employs and their families?
5. Contracts do not necessarily always translate to economic empowerment. Perhaps some empowerment contracts/opportunities shouldn't be referred to as such. In fact racial and gender discrimination can be argued to present economic disempowerment. I think briefly of my case, where I was 'forced' out of a job without being 'fired/dismissed'. The conditions have been made so unbearable for me to stay that I had no choice but to leave without any immediate, alternative

income-generating plan. In Julie's case how is running a project at a loss to be considered economic empowerment? I would argue that it speaks to the manner in which empowerment is viewed in REIPPPP. This signals that perhaps empowerment isn't being implemented with the spirit that it was intended for – economic and social justice - but rather begrudgingly as a compliance act.

5.3 Links to the conceptual framework: social capital and intersectionality

These two stories highlight how the intersections of race, gender and class have collided in a way that has hindered the advancement, and consequently the success, of two Black women in the REIPPPP, from an employment and an entrepreneurial perspective.

The key themes highlighted in both these stories include the importance and power of possessing social capital; the role of education and training (both formal and informal); the importance of having a positive attitude and strong character; the importance of having a respected champion from the 'in-crowd'; how women can sometimes be their own very worst enemies; and economic disempowerment through gender and racial discrimination. The two stories touch on numerous points, some not within the ambit of this investigation. It is however worth touching on three of points that have emerged in these stories that are notable for this thesis. These are intersectional collisions and power dynamics, social capital and its role in lessening the impacts of racial and gender discrimination and economic disempowerment through racial and gender discrimination

5.3.1 Intersectional collisions and power dynamics

There are a number of ways in which intersectional collisions and power were presented in my story. I will touch on some of the ones that had a more potent impact on me. The first occasion was when it had been agreed that I would be supported in this new role, but that was immediately followed by being refused to go on a site visit of the project that I was going to manage for 2 months. Power was exercised in a contradictory way – agreeing to support me was power exercised positively but then when I requested follow through on this promise it was refused, with 'valid substantiation'. Here power is being exercised negatively. He held the power, in terms of allowing and approving me the opportunity to go. He chose not to. Of course I was left powerless in this situation. I recall walking out feeling cheated and being stripped of the ability to grow. Especially with the reason cited – 'we need you in the office' - which I interpreted as deliberate act to 'keep me in my place.' I also found that power was always used in a way that served the company's needs, at my own physical, psychological and time cost. When one was working long slave hours one would be encouraged to work even harder but when asking for remuneration commensurate to the efforts being expended you were no longer that 'great'. This inconsistent use of power over time strips one off their personal worth, which is perhaps a way in which you can be 'kept in your place.' As one White male colleague said, 'you wanted to know too much and you were 'unboxable' and this scared them.' The only way therefore for me was out. Power

like that is exercised when playing a violin and I wasn't going to be anybody's musical instrument, at any cost.

In Julie's case, attempts to misuse power have failed owing to the support of the person who sits at the top of the power hierarchy in her situation. By virtue of this situation, Julie's power position is elevated. Being told that she doesn't belong there and that the farm owner should be responsible for maintenance and not her – is a sign of how destructive the misuse of power can be. The deliberate refusal to sign a contract with Julie is another sign of this. These attempts have proven to be unsuccessful as Julie has the support of the biggest boss. Be that as it may, the constant negative acts and messages being communicated to her, can be psychologically damaging unless one has a very strong sense of self and support as is the case with Julie. In short, when the misuse of power meets support, the impacts of exclusion are mitigated. When the support is not there, the impacts of exclusion are felt more intensely. This points to the importance of having champions from the 'in-crowd'.

5.3.2 Social capital

In my story, the positive effects of social capital are highlighted. My employment opportunities have come via my networks, however this was supported by my formal education and drive. I cannot fathom how the one functions effectively without the other, particularly in employment situations. In my case, it was through social capital that I was unable to unlock the next opportunity that I embarked on after my time working for a company in the renewable energy industry. As Adler & Kwon (2002) highlight, social capital can help one unlock various other forms of capital e.g. human, financial etc.

In Julie's story social capital has played a profound role and has had a great impact on her business, especially financially. Her husband and her father-in-law played a critical role in unlocking the business opportunity. She benefitted a great deal from having strong ties with the 'in-crowd'. Although not highly educated in the formal sense, her experience, drive and ambition coupled with her networks have her achieve some level of success as a businesswoman. Looking at Julie's case one could perhaps argue that barring a formal education, one can substitute education with experience, drive and ambition. What Julie's situation shows is that on the entrepreneurial path social capital carries more weight and translates into greater benefits, than perhaps the 50/50 split cited in my story from an employment perspective. Social capital has helped Julie unlock human and financial capital and if this notion is extended to BWOBs, it could perhaps also translate into the same positive impacts cited in Julie's story.

5.3.3 Economic disempowerment through intersectional discrimination

It is important to note the choice of the word disempowerment as opposed to exclusion. This is deliberate as one can only disempower one who was previously empowered. In both these stories this is the case. It leaves both Julie and I in positions that are less desirable than the ones we were in

before we pursued these opportunities. In my case, I was stripped of my ability to earn an income as a result of the misuse and abuse of power. It is perhaps a form of privilege at play here, where there is no recognition of what the effects are of not having an income are and how these may be even worse for Black women. Stripping an individual their right to earn an income, based on untrue and unsubstantiated reasons, is destructive and can only be malicious. With all intents and purposes, it is a direct contribution to the poverty crisis. Again, with social capital and via my networks I was able to mitigate the negative impacts of this economic disempowerment,

In Julie's case economic disempowerment manifests differently. It is economically disempowering to award a business owner a contract where they do not profit for the risk they take and the effort they expend on a project. Julie feels obligated to her workers as she recognises that this is their only source of income, and luckily Julie has another business where she generates decent revenue that enables her to keep / cross-subsidise this contract. She can absorb the impacts that arise from this loss-making business. Ironically, this contract is still listed as an 'empowerment' contract in the reports. It is fortunate that Julie can absorb this contract, but how many BWOBs would be able to operate a loss making business? I doubt that many would.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter highlighted how intersectional power dynamics and social capital have manifested in the experiences of two Black women. One from an employment perspective, and the other from an entrepreneurial perspective. Each story identified different causes of exclusion - some points within the scope of this thesis and some perhaps not in the immediate ambit of this thesis. Central to both these stories however, are power and the role social capital has in perpetuating and or mitigating the impacts of the abuse of these intersectional power dynamics. The next chapter builds on some of the narratives in this chapter and thus can be seen as a continuation of this chapter as it delves more in depth into the findings of the data collected from all the respondents and presents the results of the analysis process. It is expected that the abovementioned themes, and more, may present themselves again.

Chapter 6: Findings

This chapter aims to provide answers to research questions one to three³ and also to address the first research objective⁴ stated in Chapter 1. This Chapter looks at the reasons behind the low levels of inclusion of Black women owned businesses in the REIPPPP. In this section the five major themes that emerged from the empirical work are applied across three levels of analysis namely; the micro, meso and macro.

Prior to delving into these findings, this Chapter provides a recapitulation of the participation of women and of the value of having women participate in the economy as entrepreneurs.

6.1 Overview of participation of women in the REIPPPP

The DoE IPP Office report released in 2016 reported that total procurement spend from bid round one to four was R142, 9 billion. Of this R142, 9 billion, R73 billion constituted construction spend whilst R70 billion constituted spend in the operational phases. Whilst the target for procurement from WOVs was set at 5% of the total for both construction and operations, neither of these targets have been achieved. For construction a mere 3% has been achieved whilst only 4% of the targeted spend has been achieved for operations. In real figures this is R2, 19 billion for construction as opposed to a targeted R3,65 billion and R2,8 billion for operations as opposed to the targeted R3,5 billion. It still remains unclear what percentage of the figures reflect the participation of Black women owned vendors.

6.2 The value of having women participate in the economy as entrepreneurs

Research is increasingly starting to show the value of having women participate in the economy. New research from the McKinsey Global Institute (MGI) 2016 found that if women were to participate in the economy to the same extent as men, they could add as much as \$28 trillion or 26 percent to annual global GDP by 2025. This is roughly the combined size of the economies of the United States and China in 2017. According to an OECD (2012) report, women owned businesses make a contribution to household incomes and economic growth. Furthermore, it is argued that women's spending patterns positively benefit children (UNWomen, 2014). Entrepreneurship is equally important for job creation, innovation and growth (OECD, 2012). A key challenge however, when attempting to boost women's entrepreneurship, and Black female entrepreneurs in particular, is the lack of solid and reliable data on this and other questions related to gender-specific entrepreneurship data (OECD, 2012). This point on reliable data also applies to the data on the participation of BWOBs in REIPPPP.

³ 1To what extent have Black women owned businesses been excluded from the REIPPPP value chain? 2. Why has there been poor inclusivity of women owned businesses in REIPPPP? Are race, class and gender categorisations coupled with the prevailing power relations, a possible explanation for the exclusion? 3.What are the obstacles to inclusivity?

⁴ Highlight the gaps that exist within the REIPPPP programme in relation to Black WoV

6.3 Delving into exclusion

After conducting the empirical work and the analysis it is evident that the problem of the exclusion of BWOBs in the REIPPPP is multifaceted. Assigning responsibility to one party for the exclusion inherent in the status quo would inappropriately reflect the reality of the situation. However equally faulting the stakeholders affected would also be an inaccurate reflection of the situation. I would argue that although each stakeholder needs to assume some responsibility, there are varying degrees of responsibility that each stakeholder should assume. One way in which the responsibilities could be distributed could be by using the power hierarchy as a weighting tool.

Owing to the multidimensional nature of the question, an analysis is conducted using a macro, meso and micro environment approach. The macro environment refers to activities at the state level (policy, legislation etc.). The meso environment refers to activities at industry level (competition, behaviours and attitudes) and the micro level represents what happens at an individual level (perceptions, opinions, beliefs etc.) What became apparent is that there are particular attitudes that permeate and transcend all levels of analysis. These look and manifest differently at a macro, meso and micro level but ultimately all achieve a similar outcome – which is to normalise the exclusion of BWOBs. As Anthias argues, social positions are characterized by hierarchical differences and unequal access to economic, political, symbolic and cultural resources that are naturalized via continuous social reinforcement, in other words, these hierarchies are made to appear invisible by means of apparent normalcy (Dy et. Al., 2014).

Figure 5 is a depiction of these levels of analysis.

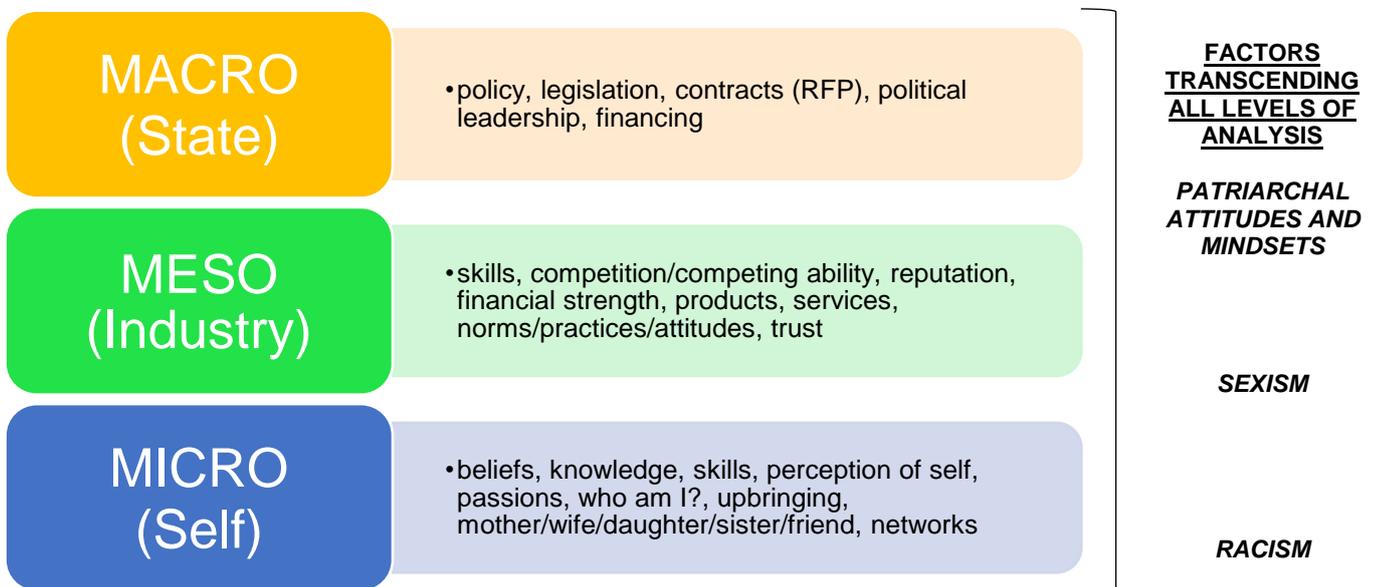


Figure 5: Categories/levels of analysis (Author's creation)

6.3.1 Key actors: locating actors to contextualise empirical findings

As a former employee in the RE sector, I embarked on my research with knowledge of the perceptions of BWOBs held in the industry, so one of my aims was to engage as many BWOBs as possible, as well as stakeholders who engaged BWOBs directly or indirectly. This, however, does not mean that I did not engage with other IPPs and EPCs. My decision to engage predominantly with BWOBs was further confirmed when, through the review of the literature, it became clear that the marginalisation of BWOBs in the REIPPPP was not well understood. Indeed, no data on the participation of BWOBs was publicly available.

Through the Women in Oil and Energy Association (WOESA) I was able to reach BWOBs, who perhaps may have been more challenging to find. As outlined in Chapter Four, purposive sampling was used for this thesis. Of the total 18 interviewees that I officially spoke to 45% were Black women involved in RE and or other energy businesses, 11% were from other IPPs, 11% were employed by EPCs, 11% worked at State Owned Enterprises and 22% were representatives of SMMEs in the RE sector either in their role as an incubator or consultants. In total then, 67% of the participants of this research represent the views and positions of BWOBs involved in the REIPPPP.

6.3.2 Empirical Findings: Key themes pertaining to the exclusion of BWOBs

After the empirical data was collected it was analysed using the conceptual framework outlined in chapter two. The list below summarises these fifteen key points. As discussed in chapter four, 31 points surfaced and through an extensive coding process were condensed into fifteen, and distilled further into five anchor themes. Each point is discussed using the macro, meso and micro analysis approach described above:

1. The **social identity of a Black women** is still largely unrecognised, and when you take this a step further into business, it becomes more complex. As one respondent stated, “it’s almost as though you don’t belong because you’re upsetting the mould” (BWOB owner). Even when you are an insider – you are constantly being made to feel like an outsider.
2. **Patriarchal perceptions**, attitudes and mindsets that have been continuously reinforced over centuries make it difficult to be recognised as a Black woman. These have become norms in how business operates and therefore are not seen as problematic. In other words, the prevailing perception is that it is ‘normal’ for Black women to be excluded from business.
3. **Lack of commitment and conviction** from the SA Government and business to include Black business women in the value chains. One respondent asked a poignant question, “if there is

commitment why is Government not fining companies for not procuring from Black women owned vendors and why are IPPs not meeting the 5% target set?"(BWOB)

4. **Political leadership** is key to achieving transformative gender-related outcomes. Politics has the potential to ruin strides made in the achievement of the participation of Black women in the REIPPPP, owing to the SA Government's anchoring role in the programme.
5. Due to the low number of Black women owned businesses in this space, the practice of **fronting**⁵ is prevalent. Ironically, this has in some instances, made it difficult for Black women to meaningfully engage and be absorbed into the value chain, especially during the construction and operations phase due to ownership structures that present conflicts of interest.
6. Women are said to be their own worst enemies and this holds true for Black women as well. Black women are said to be their **own worst enemies** by not standing up for one another and instead playing into stereotypical roles.
7. **Lack of human capital** - skills, training, experience, knowledge - was identified to be a key driver of the exclusion of Black women owned businesses in the REIPPPP.
8. **Lack of social capital** – networks, relationships etc. – was identified by most respondents as having played both an important and problematic role in the exclusion of Black women in the REIPPPP. This also skews power dynamics in favour of those who do possess social capital.
9. **Existing policies and legislation** on the participation of Black women owned businesses has not stimulated or promoted the participation of Black owned businesses in the REIPPPP.
10. **Formal and informal support** has not been provided to ensure that Black women owned businesses are able to meaningfully participate in this programme.
11. Due to the capital intensive nature of industrial infrastructure, Black women owned businesses which are predominantly SMMEs, do not have the **financial capacity** to participate in the REIPPPP – not as investors or bidders nor as construction and operation partners.
12. **Trust**. Although this was not explicitly expressed by respondents, it is a major hindrance to forming initiatives and building partnerships to meaningfully change the status quo.
13. The exclusion of Black people and consequently Black women from business is a **long term problem** that has transcended generations and therefore positive, transformative outcomes

⁵ Fronting means a deliberate circumvention or attempted circumvention of the B-BBEE Act and the Codes (DTI, 2013)

from any solutions that may be implemented to change the situation may take time to materialise.

14. **Utility scale energy procurement programmes**, such as the REIPPPP, are not the most effective ways in which to stimulate, promote and support the participation of Black women owned businesses.
15. Black women do not have a **'voice'** in the energy sector that is respected, listened to and heard.

What came out strongly is that the biggest hindrance/hurdle/constraint from the beginning of this programme, has been the state, particularly in its strategic role as 'rule-maker' and 'buyer'. This aligns with the synergy view of the state's role in facilitating positive developmental outcomes and how problematic this role can also be (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Five anchor themes resulted from this analysis. These are discussed in the following section.

6.4 The five drivers of exclusion

Investigating this problem, it was confirmed that the problem is multidimensional. Due to the multidimensional nature of the exclusion of BWOBs, many points, 31 to be exact, emerged through the empirical data collection and analysis process and these were then condensed into the fifteen points mentioned above. These 15 points were then clustered into five key drivers, guided mainly by the research questions and objectives. These five drivers are: identity, abilities and capabilities, unconducive macro and meso environments, inferior/compromised social standing in business, individual level phenomena and beliefs. Let's examine each point in detail below:



Figure 6 Categories/level of analysis
Authors creation

6.4.1 **Identity: Historical constructs, beliefs and perceptions of the social identity of a Black woman**

Points: 1, 2, 13

Drawing from the empirical work and analysis, this point speaks directly to the crux or arguably the root of the problem relating to the exclusion of Black women owned businesses in the renewable energy programme. It is these age old perceptions that through social re-enforcement have made it appear normal for Black women to be excluded in business and historically in government structures, although this is changing. As a result Black women are not recognised as a group on their own. They are either

defined as Black (gender neutral) or as a woman. This is what intersectionality opposes (Hooks, Crenshaw). Black women have been homogenised and thus are not yet fully recognised as a standalone group. As Crenshaw (2016) argues, if we cannot conceptualise and articulate the problem, how will it be dealt with?

This was evident in my research as over 80% of the respondents would make statements such as, 'not just Black women – women', 'not just women owned business – SMMEs'. I found this particularly interesting as it came from representatives of the state and business more than it came from Black women. Further, the Black women owned businesses that I interviewed were very clear on this and saw their plight in business, especially within this industry, as different from their White female counterparts. Statements such as 'we are different, we do not have the same social capital and resources that they have available to them' – were uttered quite frequently by the Black businesswomen I spoke to. 'Remember the 'big boys' are their brothers, husbands, fathers, uncles and brothers-in-law, so we definitely fight different battles as our landing (if it eventually happens) is always a harder one than theirs'. Hawthorne (2009) validates this claim, "[t]o the extent that women belong to dominant White, European-derived, heterosexual, wealthy and mobile groupings, they too are drawn into modes of production, consumption, and theorization that reflect the model of economic man".

In chapter three I discussed inferior positioning/location of the Black woman along the social stratification continuum. Black people have always been at the bottom of the continuum, as Gouws (2017) noted and Black women are rock bottom. That is, you find them at the 'bottom of the pile'. Again as a result of socialisation resulting from colonialism, imperialism and most recently apartheid in South Africa, amongst many other contributing factors.

This normalization of race then manifests in policy and legislation at the macro level. One could argue that it would suffice to say that Black women, and consequently their positioning, is a blind spot. Winker and Degele (2011) talk to this when they say that for a start, it is vital to expose the underlying norms of current economic activities. Increased equity and equality will not come about simply through the inclusion of marginalised groups in policymaking.

At the meso level through industry practices, rules and unspoken expectations/norms and at the micro level unfoundedly feeds sensitivities around inferiority to the Black woman (business owner). Good examples to illustrate this would be how the women owned vendor requirements are positioned by the REIPPPP RFP. Women are spoken of as one and there has been no public reporting of the allocation to Black women owned businesses in publicly available REIPPPP documents. One tends to either find women or Black – especially with regards to Black women owned vendors. At an industry level it is then perceived as ok to procure from Black owned/ women owned vendors. Again because at a macro level the message is coming out as either woman or Black. Black women have struggled to gain recognition in the business arena – corporate South Africa being a good example in addition to the REIPPPP, because again you're either a woman or Black. As Crenshaw (1993) noted, because of their intersectional identity as both women and of colour within discourses that are shaped to respond to one or the other, Black women are marginalized by both.

6.4.2 Abilities and Capabilities

Points: 5, 7,10,11,13

This has also come out as one of the major contributing factors of the exclusion of Black women owned businesses in the REIPPPP. This aligns with the Department of Energy's view expressed in their Renewable IPP Report (2016), that capacity building has been identified as an inhibitor of the participation of women owned businesses in REIPPPP. Moreover, Black businesswomen as well as IPPs and various other key players in the REIPPPP space cited skills, training and experience as a key concern and contributor to the exclusion of Black women owned vendors in this space.

At a macro level no programmes were designed at the outset of the REIPPPP to deal with skills and training related specifically to the REIPPPP and thus no focussed training programmes were implemented to address the skills shortage within the programme. Instead what seems to have happened is that the skills and training element was informally 'outsourced' to the many foreign companies that had come into South Africa to participate in the programme. The plan was that these companies would transfer skills and knowledge to locals but there have been no monitoring initiatives that have been reported on in the public domain, apart from commitments made under the ED component of the RFP. We are, however, only starting to see these programmes mushroom now five years after the implementation of the REIPPPP. An example is Enel Green Power's programme (Refer Appendix 4). It follows that there was no strategy or concerted effort to train up and empower Black business women in the REIPPPP.

Given that the skills and capabilities of Black women owned businesses haven't enabled them to participate in the REIPPPP, some majority Black women owned businesses have ended up forming partnerships with larger, predominantly White male owned companies in an effort to fill the technical or financial gaps within their businesses. Ironically, this has also(in some parts) made it difficult for some IPPs and EPC's to meaningfully engage with these Black women owned businesses as these partnerships sometimes present a conflict of interest with the client. With some of the BWOVs being part owned by competitors it means no further business opportunities can be explored with these businesses. This then closes the door of opportunity and further fuels the inexperience cited as a major inhibitor. Some may that this is the practice of fronting and some may contend that these are the partnerships that are necessary to bridge the gaps and plug the holes that are inherent amongst BWOV'S.

Further to the technical and skills support that have been identified as missing, Black women owned businesses have battled to participate in the REIPPPP, owing to financial constraints. Black women owned businesses identified these financial constraints as a key frustration. They pointed out that government and government agencies did not make funding available to them to participate in ways that would translate into meaningful economic empowerment. Many woman owned businesses cited that even bidding in this programme was very expensive – even if you were not the key bidder. One woman mentioned that when they had thought of partnering with a potential bidder they were told that

they needed R3 million just to bid. This turned them off as they realised that ‘this programme wasn’t intended for them to play in.’ Further, trying to access funding to take part from government and DFI’s proved unsuccessful as their requirements were cumbersome and not tailored towards smaller businesses

Many respondents also noted that the skills, experience, training and knowledge gaps that are present currently will take a few generations to resolve as they have been problems that have been created over generations. In attempting to deal with this problem many agreed that direct and focussed strategies were needed to ensure that the gaps are closed.

6.4.3 Macro and Meso environment factors

Points: 3, 4, 9, 12, 14

The collision of various macro and meso factors such as lack of government and business commitment to the inclusion of Black women owned businesses, indecisive and weak political leadership, policies and legislation not promoting the participation of BWOBs adequately and a lack of trust, have also been identified as key contributors to the status quo.

At a macro level decisive political leadership and commitment can be seen to yield positive outcomes. As Karen Breytenbach noted when she reflected on the launch of REIPPPP, in the Business Day Renewable Energy Report (2016), “It is a story of commitment and belief in what we were trying to do and everybody was behind us – the whole Government, it was an amazing experience.” This level of commitment and decisiveness contributed to what would be lauded as one of the most successful programmes in the history of independent power procurement in South Africa (Business Day, 2016). Political leadership and commitment can therefore be argued to have either positive or detrimental effects to the inclusion/exclusion of women (Black) owned businesses in the REIPPPP. One respondent, who worked for an organisation that interacted with government officials at a very high level stated, “Where would the opportunity for Black women owned businesses be when politics are taking over the programme?” The respondent continued, “Women can’t play when there are ‘other’ issues that are being fought at a political level. There is no place for them to participate.” It also came through that there aren’t regulations focused on absorbing women into the value chains of programmes such as the REIPPPP – and perhaps that that would be the best starting point as a sign of commitment from government. This point on political leadership has been strengthened as we look at how the programme has come to a halt owing to Eskom (and Government). This has ramifications for the participation of Black women owned businesses – if the programme ends there will be no opportunity for Black women owned businesses to ever participate.

Lack of commitment of business (big players in the RE industry) has also been identified as an inhibitor of the participation of Black women owned businesses in REIPPPP. Although many respondents noted

this as one of the key inhibitors a few respondents disagreed with this assessment. One respondent said, “The bigger businesses are not committed to supporting the smaller players in this space for a number of reasons, but the main reason, I think, is because of the fear of creating more competitors, and they make all sorts of excuses about it being pointless to train smaller companies for contracts that last only between 12 and 18 months typically.” On the other hand some respondents disagreed with this statement stating, “The big players are keen on supporting the smaller players, however the environment poses challenges to seeing this materialise.” Although trust wasn’t expressly stated as one of the reasons for the poor inclusivity of women, it seems to me that there is a level of unspoken mistrust that exists between the big players in REIPPPP, BWOVs and Government as far as this matter is concerned. The mistrust of government has been further fuelled by the current situation of the REIPPPP programme, whereas the mistrust between BWOVs and the big players is evidenced by the low levels of participation of women in the REIPPPP programme (Refer to Appendix 1). Appendix 1 lists the prominent players in REIPPPP.

6.4.4 Social standing in business

Points: 8, 13, 15

The issue of social capital and networks came up repeatedly in the interviews and interestingly it came up more from the BWOVs than it did with non-BWOV respondents. These networks, as argued by the BWOVs give ‘them’ an added advantage in terms of knowledge, information and opportunity sharing. Because they know the ‘right’ people as far as information, knowledge and opportunity are concerned they are able to access opportunities in time to prepare and address any financial or human capital gaps that may prevent them from participating in the REIPPPP. This cycle continues and trust is built amongst these closed groups over time and that in turn results in it being more difficult for ‘new’ or ‘unknown’ players to break into the existing groups and participate. Put another way, one could say that the bonding capital within these groups is strengthened over time which makes it more difficult to build bridging capital. There was recognition from some respondents not falling within the BWOV category that women needed to get out and start building relations and networks. However, in the same breadth they were cognisant of the domestic responsibilities that women carry over and above their obligations as businesswomen. They argued that perhaps domestic responsibilities took priority over ‘networking’ and ‘socialising’ in the immediate which could be the possible explanation as to why it may be a challenge for women to spend time ‘networking’ and ‘socialising’. Interestingly the BWOVs did not share the same sentiments regarding domestic responsibilities and their ability to make time to build networks.

To access opportunities many of the BWOVs interviewed felt that belonging to an association that represented their interests would assist them in accessing knowledge, information and opportunities. Although in theory this is the case, in reality some of these organisations are not widely recognised in the industry and consequently are not able to effectively meet these expectations, particularly in the RE sector. One could argue that the voice of these women was not loud enough to be recognised by key players in the industry or that industry and Government were not prepared to listen. Ultimately these

organisations have not had much impact on improving or stimulating the participation of BWOBs in the REIPPPP. My assessment is that although these organisations have very strong bonding capital, the real lever, bridging capital, has not yet been fully engaged to achieve optimal results. Most BWOVs felt that it was the public sector's role to facilitate and encourage interactions that build bridging capital, as according to them, relying solely on the 'goodwill' of the private sector would not yield results, as has been evident in the programme.

Many respondents agreed that achieving transformation is a process that is going to take time. However, one respondent pointed out that what is important to remember is that it also takes time to build a reputation and brand in any industry and that it is important to be cognisant that the 'big guys' were also small guys once and they have had to prove themselves over time and build themselves up in order to be prepared to take on projects the size of REIPPPP projects. One could argue that there is a level of privilege speaking in the previous comment, as the Apartheid system unfairly disadvantaged Black South Africans by not encouraging them to become businesspeople. On the other hand there is common sense merit in the statement in the sense that there are no 'short-cuts' to building a business and indeed it will take time.

However, it is important to be cautious of downplaying the power of social capital in closing the gaps. Support (financially, human and otherwise) will be key to ensuring that meaningful transformation and inclusion is achieved over time, and given the unequal departure points of Black and White business owners, more effort will need to be expended on the upskilling and training of Black female business owners, in the REIPPPP and other industries in general. This is also assuming that whilst this training and preparation as taking place there will be opportunities in the short term to involve BWOVs at other points on the value chain.

6.4.5 Self beliefs and perceptions

(Points: 6, 12)

Although many of the BWOVs that participated in the survey were led by women who had achieved some level of success in their professional lives, remnants of internalised oppression were apparent. It became evident that the exclusion experienced in the REIPPPP and other industries had bred an inferiority complex that makes Black women question their own abilities. Additionally the RE sector was painted as a highly complex industry requiring a great deal of technical knowledge - this also fed into their insecurities and made them believe that participating in this industry at any level was impossible. So much so that when women were given a door of opportunity to participate in this programme, they engaged in self-sabotaging activities, which would be detrimental to their own long term benefit.

An example of this in the financing space was described by one of the respondents representing a development finance institution. She described how her organisation's conditions of finance were made favourable to PDIs such as Black women. In consortia with other White males, some Black women would argue and fight for financing conditions that were favourable to all parties, including the White

males. She shared this example: financing Black woman is financed at 'x%' interest whilst the White male counterparts, in the same consortia, would get finance at an interest rate of 'x+5%'. She tells of some scathing correspondence she got from these women but as a Black woman maintained her position. Ironically these women finally see her position and appreciate that she did not budge then. One then struggles to make sense of why women would contest and fight for something like this and it became apparent that making these conditions less favourable would result in the Black woman being left out of the deal, as the counterparts would go look for more favourable financing terms without the women's involvement. So the system indirectly compels the women who are 'in the game' to look after their own needs and benefits without worrying about the long term implications for other women.

Some respondents also noted that women are sometimes guilty of not supporting one another. "Those who have made it seldom find the time to give back to other women, in the form of support and guidance, and so while we look outwards we need to be consciously looking inwards"(BWOB). This is an interesting finding as it again points to the fact that the causes of the status quo are multidimensional and thus it is important that, while looking at the causes at a macro level, we also examine the detail at the micro level. It has become apparent that without changes at any one of the levels, any efforts (macro, meso, micro) to change the status quo will yield little progress towards the inclusion of BWOBs in the REIPPPP.

6.5 Personal Observations

When conducting complex research such as this, many things are uncovered - stated and unstated - and at times questions and interactions give rise to other – arguably directly/indirectly related observations – that in my view are important to share as part of the investigation process. I would like to share three of these observations:

1. Some of my White interviewees, particularly males, struggled to communicate certain words to me pertaining race and race related matters in our interviews. I found that they treaded carefully on racial, political and gender issues, particularly political issues. I would argue that perhaps being a Black woman conducting an investigation on Black women invoked a level of discomfort amongst some participants and possibly may have informed some of their answers to me. In my view, this is illustrative of the fact that we are not yet comfortable talking openly and frankly about race to one another and I suspect that this may be particularly pronounced in older generations. This in my view could be attributed to the emotionally charged period of Apartheid, and the associated wounds that are carried, and in some instances lived, by many South Africans. Given this discomfort and lack of openness we may be further away from transformation than we'd like to think. My concern is that until we start talking frankly about things, we will struggle to make meaningful strides towards economic inclusion.

2. In the interviews with the BWOVs I found that the women were vocal and brutally honest about the status quo, how they felt and their views on what needs to change. I observed that there was a level of comfort with me that created a safe space in the interviews for them to vent and express their challenges and frustrations. Interestingly, I struggled to get hold of those women who were considered as 'making it' and the women that I could easily reach out to those who were frustrated with the way things were. From a personal perspective I wondered whether experience supports the finding that women are 'their own worst enemies' as in this instance, women were not willing to impart their knowledge and the experience gained for the empowerment of other women who were starting out.
3. An overwhelming number of respondents really struggled to recognise 'Black women' as a standalone social group; a group with its own identity. I found that when I posed questions specifically regarding Black women the answers would be formulated more generally, "not just Black women", "women in general, SMMEs etc.". This happened in almost every interview. Black women were variously seen as part of the Black camp, the Women camp and the SMME camp. In some parts there were moments that felt as though the subject of investigation was being diminished to either/or. It started becoming clear why we have not made much progress in the inclusion of Black women in the REIPPPP.

6.6 Connections to Intersectionality and Social Capital

Identity

This driver speaks to the importance of recognising that Black women are not the same as White women. This is the 'sameness' that Crenshaw (1989) cautioned against. Intersectionality becomes a useful tool to use in understanding how the identity of a Black women ought to be understood and therefore how it differs from that of a White women. In other words it helps in conceptualising the problem of exclusion as it relates to Black women. Furthermore, by being sensitised to the differences it assists in comprehending how deeply entrenched power dynamics are in the REIPPPP, and encourages those within Government and business to start questioning the 'normal' or business-as-usual approach. Intersectionality further helps to encourage stakeholders to stop and think about the exclusionary ways in which business is currently being conducted. In my opinion, it also points to what I refer to as the 'blind spots' which are various forms of privilege – economic, social etc. By highlighting and communicating the effects of exclusion on Black women, intersectionality assists those who are in more privileged positions along the power/social continuum to think about how their own dominant positions affect those who are less privileged. Perhaps it is only with this type of knowledge and introspection that the problem can be remedied. Only when people recognise and acknowledge how their identities advantage and or disadvantage others, can a path to remedying the status quo begin.

Abilities and Capabilities

This driver links to the social capital element of the conceptual framework. Four key sub-elements came out under this driver: training (both formal and informal), employment and entrepreneurial skills transfer, business partnerships in an effort to plug resource and capacity gaps and financial capital. The BWOBs that engaged on this matter argued that although training and upskilling were mentioned as important objectives of the REIPPPP, there was no commitment from industry to transfer these skills and government did not set up structures to monitor or evaluate whether this transfer was happening. Some of the respondents voiced a suspicion that, if this skills transfer was happening, it was being given to the White males who had already been benefitting from the programme. This oversight highlights the important yet problematic role of the state in driving and accelerating developmental outcomes, a position forwarded strongly in the synergy view of social capital. Furthermore, one could argue that because of the Apartheid legacy, the SA Government actually has a more pronounced role to play in improving the status quo.

Partnerships also came up as a solution to plugging addressing the deficits that prevented BWOBs in participating in REIPPPP. These partnerships provide a good example of how social capital can have both positive and negative impacts. Some of these partnerships, although intended to mitigate exclusion, had negative impacts on BWOBs if they were seen to be engaged in fronting practices. That is the practice of using Black people as figureheads or 'names' in order to unlock BEEE opportunities. The competitive nature of the industry is such that one company may not be able to do business with another company because of fearing that Intellectual Property may be leaked to a competitor. This results mostly from local companies competing with foreign companies along certain points in the value chain. An example:

A BWOB, Company A, forms a partnership with Company X. They tender for a project with Company Y. Company Y expresses interest in working with Company A, but as negotiations progress, Company Y realises that Company A is in partnership/owned/operated with Company X, who is a competitor. The potential opportunity doesn't materialise.

This scenario shows how even if bridging capital is accrued the outcomes are not always positive. It highlights again the importance of building human capital amongst Black women in the form of training and skills transfer, in order to enable them to capitalise on opportunities without needing handholding. One could again argue that the rules set forth in REIPPPP were not conducive, explicit or strict enough to encourage the participation of BWOBs.

Unconducive macro & meso environments

For this driver many of the points identified are outside the ambit of the conceptual framework being applied by this thesis. That said, the amalgamation of low commitment levels by government and business, weak political leadership, policies and legislation, affect how BWOBs are able to participate in

the REIPPPP. As a buyer, seller and advocate for developmental outcomes, the role of the state has been particularly problematic in REIPPPP. As an inherently political organ it can be argued that the government has had its focus and attention diverted from the developmental outcomes in the REIPPPP to more urgent political matters that may not necessarily be in the public domain. Assumptions such as the ones made above lead us to what I call one of the veiled issues underpinning marginalisation namely, trust, or rather lack thereof.

Mistrust between various stakeholders, although not explicitly stated by the various stakeholders, seems to be the 'elephant in the room'. When conducting a reflective analysis on trust, it seemed that mistrust had a longstanding history that could be traced to Apartheid and colonial times. Mistrust coalesces around intentions and abilities. BWOBs do not trust that industry and the government are genuine in the intentions to include them in REIPPPP. This mistrust is justified owing to the low levels of inclusion that have been seen in the REIPPPP. Industry also do not have trust in the abilities of BWOBs, citing lack of experience. On the other hand government, which purports to be in support of the inclusion of BWOBs, has not geared the system up for their inclusion. Trust building is going to be a key issue to address in remedying the problem.

Social positioning

BWOBs raised this issue more than the other participants in the research.

They are of the view that possessing social capital unlocks knowledge and information and also gives one access to opportunities. This aligns with Lin's (1999) views on the role of social capital. It would seem that although there is bonding capital amongst BWOBs, the strength of the ties that make up this bonding capital are not strong enough to build bridging capital that will yield positive results. What also came out here was that although social capital is important, it cannot be seen to act as a substitute for hard work and gaining experience in the sector. Further social capital will not eradicate the exclusion of BWOBs in the REIPPPP. One participant, a White South African male, recognised that the marginalisation of BWOBs was not a 'quickly fixable' problem, particularly given the magnitude of it in South Africa. He stated that "It is a problem that is going to take time to correct and correction of the problem is going to require that some difficult conversations be had in parallel to upskilling, training, supporting and sponsoring Black women in business". In the time, social positioning of BWOBs can improve if the correct measures are undertaken and opportunities are being given to BWOBs. Not to set them up for failure by giving them huge projects, but rather by allocating projects of a smaller scale, in order to help BWOBs in this industry build up their reputation.

Personal/Individual

This finding, as a Black woman, was admittedly quite personal but the insights gained from other Black women helped me to situate and perhaps better understand my own position. One key thing that emerged from a micro analysis of the status quo is the concept of internalised oppression, feelings of

inferiority and self-sabotage. I would argue that inferiority and self-sabotage are the offspring of internalised oppression, and therefore my analysis will treat the concepts as such. Internalised oppression is when a member of an oppressed group believes and acts out the stereotypes created about their group. One can understand how, especially in the South African context, this is applicable. Apartheid's primary concern was to reduce Black South Africans to second class status (Macdonald, 2006). The precision with which it was executed is such that Black people were made to believe and feel that they were 'less than' White people. Black women even more so. The intersections of race, class and gender collide in ways that breed self-doubt and a sense of inferiority. Therefore when Black women fight for White men, as mentioned in the case above it is a clear indication of the divisive nature of internalised oppression. It encourages BWOBs to operate out of a place of scarcity and fear, so much so that in the name of 'looking out for oneself' one does this at the expense of another Black Women, perhaps unwittingly. That is blinding the power of oppression. It therefore is imperative that as Black women we examine our own place and our own positions in business and society in order to prevent continued exclusion and marginalisation from occurring. As a united front, Black women can achieve impressive strides towards achieving inclusion, but as individuals may struggle to get the message across with the emphasis that is required for change to occur.

6.7 Conclusion

Although research shows the value of including women in the economy as entrepreneurs, Women (and Black women in particular) have been largely excluded from the REIPPPP programme. The empirical work conducted revealed that there were many contributing factors to this exclusion and these cut across the macro, meso and micro levels. In other words all stakeholders had, to varying degrees, a role to play in the current situation and looking to the future of the REIPPPP. The five contributing factors identified were; identity, capabilities and abilities, unconducive macro and meso environments, compromised social positioning in business and also at an individual level, limiting self-beliefs held by BWOBs. The findings confirm the multifaceted nature of the exclusion of BWOBs and make it clear that solutions to the marginalisation of women in the REIPPPP rest with more than one stakeholder. This is full alignment with the synergy view of social capital that states that States, firms, and communities alone do not possess the resources needed to promote broad-based, sustainable development– in this case to promote the inclusion of BWOBs in REIPPPP. A multi-stakeholder approach designed prudently and executed with precision, seems to be the only way forward.

Chapter 7: Recommendations and Conclusion

The preceding chapters in this thesis have discussed the reasons pertaining to the exclusion of BWOBs in the REIPPPP. This chapter of the thesis will provide a key overview of the findings made and explicitly link them to the research objectives posed in chapter 1. This will be followed by a summary of the state of participation of BWOBs in the REIPPPP and a set of key recommendations related to research objective 3: This chapter will close by proposing areas of future scholarship.

7.1 Key findings overview linked to research objectives

7.1.1 Research objective 1: Highlight the gaps that exist within the REIPPPP programme in relation to BWOBs

This research has shown that there are limited opportunities for the participation of BWOBs in the REIPPPP, mainly due to the lack of financial, human and social capital possessed by BWOBs on one hand and to uncondusive macro and meso operating environments as a result of industry practices, supported by state rules. Further it also appears that there is a limited understanding of the existence and extent of the marginalisation as it relates to BWOBs in REIPPPP. One could infer that this could be forms of political and white privilege functioning to perpetuate exclusion. Further to the above, the unequal distribution of power in the programme could also be faulted for this exclusion.

7.1.2 Research objective 2: To contribute meaningfully to an on- going global discussion on the involvement of women in energy, as decision makers and businesswomen

As noted in the OECD (2012) report, there has been very little data on the participation of women in entrepreneurial ventures and thus limited data is also available for understanding the state of entrepreneurship amongst women within the RE sector. Part of the contribution of this thesis is to continue to caution against the idea of a universally applicable experience of 'womanhood' and highlight that Black women are affected in different ways by universal challenges. As expressed in the findings section, by virtue of White women's social ties with White men, White woman tend to benefit more than Black women do. Lastly that it is important to remember that addressing intersectional discrimination in the energy sector will unfortunately not be the answer to solving marginalisation and rather it is through the strengthening of ties (in and across social, economic and gender lines) that changes may come about.

7.1.3 Research objective 3: Investigate ways in which various instruments (policy, financial instruments, approaches, and requirements) could be revised or reconfigured to achieve more inclusive business participation, of BWOV, in REIPPPP

What this research makes clear is that the problem of marginalisation is multifaceted and therefore will require the careful selection and combination of initiatives to remedy. The state can begin by assessing how its current policies and targets benefit, if at all, BWOBs. Industry can follow suit by examining how it can demonstrate commitment to intersectional inclusion in their value chains, and BWOBs can also contribute by questioning their own capabilities and how they are currently demanding to be heard. Each stakeholder has a key role to play but I would argue that first, each stakeholder must examine their role in the problem prior to engaging with each other for solutions. Until there is a clear, evidence based understanding informing the status quo efforts to institute, reconfigure and or revise policy, financial and other instruments will achieve little in bringing about change. Perhaps a more thorough way of attending to the problem will be through a model of inquiry into the status quo, genuine multi-stakeholder commitment to changing things, implementation of action plans and a continuous process of compliance, impact monitoring and evaluation.

7.2 Recommendations

Although a multi-stakeholder approach is deemed the best way to improve levels of participation of BWOVs in the REIPPPP, government should assume primary responsibility owing to their important yet sometimes problematic role (Woolcock & Narayan, 1999).

Furthermore it should assume greater accountability for many of the interventions that would be required to improve this gender gap. As the procurer, government is strategically positioned to leverage its spending power into meaningful gender participation. Thus, based on my findings, I would recommend a model based on the four pillars of Inquiry, Commitment, Action and Tracking (ICAT) – these are elaborated upon below. It is hoped that these recommendations could also be used as a departure point for solving similar gender related issues in other industries.

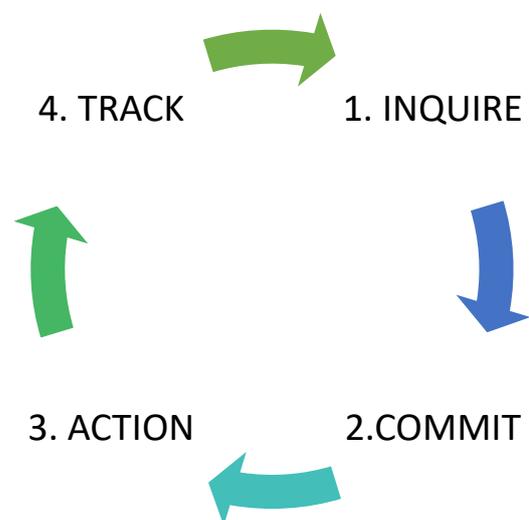


Figure 7: ICAT model for gender inclusion: Author's creation

7.2.1 Inquire

It appears that the extent and nature of the problem is currently not as explicit as it would need to be in order to recommend and propose the solutions necessary to address it. An in-depth inquiry is therefore necessary in order to understand the problem in better detail. Examples of approaches could include:

- Multi-stakeholder discussion platforms (including White males)

Due to the complex nature of the problem and multiple stakeholders involved, it is imperative that conversations between government, the private sector and Black women owned businesses are convened. Although some of these conversations have happened, they have been primarily through representative organisations and messages have been communicated via third parties. It is therefore crucial to start having conversations with the affected parties directly in order to get a better sense of the inhibitors of inclusion.

These direct conversations could be organised by tapping into existing databases. For example, The Department of Energy's Women in Energy database (www.womeninenergy.gov.za) could be a useful departure point to get this conversation going. Furthermore women's organisations could be approached to support this inquiry, with government acting as the key facilitator of these discussions. The point is direct conversations between affected parties ought to start happening.

- Quantitative analysis/audit of material involvement (in Rand value) of BWOVs

Based on the statistics that have been reported as required, the level of exclusion of BWOVs is not clear. To truly inform the conversation, a thorough analysis of the involvement of BWOVs along the value chain should be undertaken in order to quantify the monetary value of the inclusion/exclusion of BWOVs. Having such a Rand figure would contribute to a discussion that is based on factual evidence as opposed to estimation and supposition. Contrasting the extent of participation of BWOVs with total spend along the various points along the value chain would help paint a better picture of the problem.

7.2.2 Commitment

For any meaningful changes to occur, the multiple stakeholders involved will need to commit to the envisioned changes through various instruments and support mechanisms. Because government, as the procurer of goods, holds inherent power in this process it will need to set the tone by committing to changing the status quo and the private sector through supporting and involving women in these value chains and Black women by delivering on their business/product promise and taking advantage of the opportunities. Some steps to demonstrate commitment could include:

- Legislated specific targets

Currently, although there are legislative measures aimed at encouraging the participation of BWOV's in the REIPPPP these targets are unspecific in so far as BWOV's are concerned. Moreover, these targets are optional and do not come with penalties that are punitive enough to stimulate the desired level of participation. Building on the point made above, setting these explicit targets would be informed by an

inquiry that highlights where the biggest gaps are and consequently, where focus needs to be directed. It is important to note that, as previously mentioned, legislation is merely the starting point and more than anything communicates a strong message of the government's strategic intentions and objectives. Once the state commits in the form of abovementioned, it is then also important that industry and BWOBs carry this commitment through by actively and continuously engaging with each other.

- *Involvement of a range of practitioners in the process of writing up tender RFPs and requirements*

It is imperative that practitioners from a range of disciplines and representatives sit together around the table when RFPs are being written. Although it is not possible to foresee all the shortcomings that may become present during the course of a procurement programme, bringing in a range of practitioners from the outset can help significantly reduce the unintended consequences or negative impacts such as those that have been seen in the REIPPPP programme, particularly with regards to the exclusion of BWOBs in the programme.

7.2.3 Action (Implementation)

It has become evident in this research that issues pertaining to generationally founded problems - such as exclusion - will not be changed in the short term. Rather it is incremental steps taken over the immediate, mid-term and long term that are likely to lead to the desired levels of change. It is therefore why monitoring and evaluation starts becoming a strategic pillar in the ICAT model. Below is a list of some recommend actions for implementation in the immediate to midterm period.

- *Re-birth, re-configuration and re-positioning of women's organisations*

Given the finding that women lack a voice in the industry, and the existence of many Women's organisations, one can deduce that the current organisations are not achieving the desired effects, either because they haven't been given an opportunity to speak or have been unsuccessful at delivering the message. Women's organisations have the opportunity, with the backing of government, to strategically position themselves as qualified voices to speak on the needs and wants of women in industry. In this work I have observed that there are numerous associations for women in business, but I have not identified an organisation in the RE industry that was driving the businesswomen in *energy* agenda. Perhaps this is would be a start – to have a single organisation that advocates for businesswomen in the energy sector that could work alongside other women's organisations.

- *Targeted support initiatives & interventions*

Going back to the first point of inquiry, when there is evidence based information on the gaps that exist, support initiatives can then be targeted to address these gaps. Currently, there are support initiatives that exist in the form of funding, women's organisations etc. but these initiatives have not been adequate to address the exclusion of BWOBs. When the issues that exist become clearer, initiatives for

support can be targeted accordingly. Taking the example of funding, it is good that there are funds made available for Black people and consequently Black women to own a certain percentage of a project. However, they are not able to find financing to participate actively in the realisation of a project. That is to say they do not have the financial backing to secure the work that they are proposing to deliver in the REIPPPP. The problems that exist are complex and multidimensional and they require tailor made approaches to resolve them.

- Legislated punitive measures

To encourage the implementation of legislation for BWOBs, stricter penalties ought to be levelled against parties who do not adhere to the contractual stipulations. Perhaps a starting point would be to enforce Rand for Rand penalties or even two rands for every rand not spent on a Black Women owned business. This tiered approach from one to two rand could be based on whether the non-compliant party is able to provide sufficient evidence of having attempted to find qualifying BWOBs but failed in doing so. An example in the REIPPPP would be that currently only 3% of the targeted 5% spend has been spent on Women (Black) women owned businesses. It is not clear what happens to the 2% not spent on BWOBs. There is no mention of those funds going anywhere to fund capacity building initiatives in order to prevent this target from not being reached in the future. All that is said is that this target has not being met. The question remains then – where do the funds that were to fund this participation of women go? To my mind, it would make sense to use these funds towards capacity building initiatives aimed at BWOBs and WOBs in general.

- Dual-approach capacity building programmes

Drawing on the point made earlier on the incremental nature of change of the status quo, it is imperative that capacity building initiatives are two pronged. That is there should be interventions to deal with the short term challenges, whilst in parallel adopting more long term focused programmes. As an example, the more immediate term solutions would deal more with the symptomatic issues of the Women (BWOBs) currently operating in the REIPPPP and administering support in line with the areas of improvement or training that have been identified and communicated. These could be technical, business, financial etc. and would deal with the existing priority areas that BWOBs face in the industry.

A longer term approach would be to target capacity building initiatives at the younger generation of black female businesswomen, using some of the findings presented in chapter four. This approach would need to identify what training programmes, exposure and access would attract young black women who were interested in participating in this industry. These initiatives are likely to lend themselves to interdepartmental initiatives. For example, if there is a shortage of BWOBs as a result of a lack of maths, science or business skills – how would Black women be attracted into the industry Further, what academic training at school level would assist them succeed in the industry. This could then align with initiatives being run by the Departments of Basic Education or Higher Education etc.

7.2.4 Continuous impact monitoring and evaluation

Continuous monitoring and evaluation is imperative, especially in new industries. Most importantly though monitoring and evaluation provides data and evidence of reality that can then be interpreted as a measure of the achievements or shortcomings of a particular industry. It therefore helps inform strategy processes and acts as a form of check and balance. In the REIPPPP, however, I would argue that the biggest shortcoming of the monitoring and evaluation apparatus, has been the obsessive focus on the quantitative achievements of the programme; that is the FDI attracted, MW built and jobs created. Of the FDI attracted, do we know how much of this money sits in South Africa and how much of it will benefit SA in the long run? Of the jobs created – are these jobs permanent, temporary and are these workers actually ‘benefitting?’ Those questions remain and perhaps what is required going forward is a shift in the approach towards monitoring and evaluation. The qualitative elements of the programme have not been given as much attention as they ought to have been given, probably because these elements are usually more complex and more fluid and therefore more difficult to describe.

- Independent impact (in addition to compliance) monitoring and evaluation

I would recommend that in addition to compliance monitoring, impact monitoring be introduced. Independent impact monitoring that will scrutinise and dig deeper in to the figures provided in an attempt to uncover what the impact of the figures is and will be in the long term and whether these address the developmental needs of the people, communities and country. Perhaps an exercise such as this could uncover that with all the jobs that have been reported to have been created, only 20% are permanent jobs with long term economic impacts. Moreover perhaps of the skills learnt in the temporary jobs, these could be transferred to other industries. Maybe there are certain RE technologies that help address unemployment better than another technology etc. These questions will not be adequately address by high level figures that are in some instances forecasts or estimations. Again, compliance monitoring is essential, however more attention needs to be given to monitoring and evaluating impact. Compliance monitoring alone is not enough to demonstrate impact.

7.3 Conclusion

It is evident that although the REIPPPP has delivered on the promise of cost effective and clean energy this success has not been achieved with adequate inclusion of BWOBs in the programme. This is due to the uneven distribution of power and weak social ties across gender and racial groups, which could be attributed to the legacy of mistrust fuelled by the country’s history of Apartheid. It is only through the state taking the initiative as lead actor, that the status quo may change. To assist in changing this a model based on inquiry, commitment, action & implementation and tracking (ICAT), of the status quo is recommended. The ICAT model recommends that a detailed inquiry into the situation be conducted with the aim of clarifying the magnitude of the exclusion whilst simultaneously providing a departure point for evidence based solution design. Commitment is a catalyst for change and this commitment is evidenced by clearly articulated initiatives. To bring about change there will need to be clear action and implementation plans flowing from

the commitments made via various channels and measures. Lastly, if compliance monitoring isn't supported with impact evaluation, then there is the potential risk of repeatedly facing similar challenges in the future.

7.4 Opportunities for future scholarship

There is very little research that has been done on this topic and this presents fertile ground for different scholars with different interests. The opportunities suggested below are on the micro, meso and macro levels.

Micro: What are the effects of internalised oppression on the perceived abilities of BWOBs to participate and succeed in REIPPP?

Meso: Levels of commitment of industry to an intersectionally inclusive value chain

Macro: Explore the contradictory role of Government as Procurer and Development Advocate and its impact on the exclusion of BWOBs?

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Prominent EPC players in REIPPPP

	Name of Company	Origin/Ownership	BEE	Age(years)
1	Consolidated Power Projects	South African	Level 2 Contributor	30+
2	Group Five Construction	South African	Level 3 Contributor	43
3	Murray and Roberts	South African	Level 3 Contributor	100+
4	Vestas	Danish	Excluded from analysis as only South African players are the units of analysis	
5	Acciona	Spanish		
6	Juwi Renewable Energies	German		
7	Abengoa	Spanish		
8	ACS Cobra	Spanish		
9	Iberdrola Engineering and Construction	Spanish		
10	Nordex Energy	German		
11	Scatec	Norwegian		
12	Suzlon	India		
13	Temi Energia	Italian		
Note: South African major EPC players are companies that have been existence for over three decades				

Source: Eberhard,A., Kolker,J., Leigland, J. 2014.

Appendix 2: Construction Insight Article



Specialist electrical contractor, **Brand Engineering SA (Pty) Ltd**, has carried out the highest number of utility scale solar Renewable Energy (RE) installations in the RE industry in South Africa. It has become a key construction partner for RE developers, and is responsible for the generation of 360 MW of power for Renewable Energy Independent Power Producer Procurement Programme (REIPPPP) projects and other related renewable energy initiatives.

Established over 45 years ago, Brand Engineering, together with its two BBBEE companies, **Besamandla (Western Cape) and Besamandla (Eastern Cape)**, operates in southern Africa and the African continent.

"Our exposure to the multi-disciplined nature of the RE projects enables us to offer engineering, procurement and construction (EPC) solutions for the civil, electrical and mechanical scopes of these projects," explains Herman Kriel, Group Managing Director for Brand Engineering. The company is the only South African contractor with experience and exposure to all types of renewable technologies.

REIPPPP
Brand Engineering ventured into the RE market when the REIPPPP commenced.

The solar photovoltaic (PV) REIPPPP projects which the company has completed to date and which are fully operational are:

- 6,8 MWp Rustmo1 plant – North West (NW)
- 10 MWp Konkoonsies plant – Northern Cape (NC)
- 10 MWp Aries plant – NC
- 22 MWp Herbert plant – NC
- 11 MWp Greefspan plant – NC
- 10 MWp Aurora plant – Western Cape (WC)
- 10 MWp Vredendal plant – WC
- 75 MWp Sishen plant – NC
- 86 MWp Prieska plant – NC

In addition it has completed six separate grid connection projects totaling 127 MW.

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Appendix 3: List of REIPPPP Projects

Round	Project	Sponsor	Technology	Net Capacity (mw)	Province	Stage of Development
1	Aries Solar	BioTherm	PV	10	Northern Cape	Operations
1	Cookhouse Wind Farm	AIIM	Wind	135	Eastern Cape	Operations
1	Dassiesklip Wind Energy Facility	BioTherm	Wind	26	Western Cape	Operations
1	De Aar Solar PV	Globeleq	PV	48	Northern Cape	Operations
1	Dorper Wind Farm	Sumitomo	Wind	97	Eastern Cape	Operations
1	Droogfontein	Globeleq	PV	48	Northern Cape	Operations
1	Greefspan PV Power Plant	AEAMD	PV	10	Northern Cape	Operations
1	Herbert PV Power Plant	AEAMD	PV	20	Northern Cape	Operations
1	Hopefield Wind Farm	AIIM	Wind	65	Western Cape	Operations
1	Jeffreys Bay	Globeleq	Wind	134	Eastern Cape	Operations
1	Kalkbult	Scatec Solar	PV	73	Northern Cape	Operations
1	Kathu Solar Energy Facility	AIIM	PV	75	Northern Cape	Operations
1	KaXu Solar One	Abengoa	CSP	100	Northern Cape	Operations
1	Khi Solar One	Abengoa	CSP	50	Northern Cape	Operations
1	Konkoonsies Solar	BioTherm	PV	10	Northern Cape	Operations
1	Lesedi Power Company	Solar Reserve	PV	64	Northern Cape	Operations
1	Letsatsi Power Company	Solar Reserve	PV	64	Free State	Operations
1	MetroWind Van Stadens Wind Farm	OMIGSA	Wind	26	Eastern Cape	Operations
1	Mulilo Solar PV De Aar	Mulilo	PV	10	Northern Cape	Operations
1	Mulilo Solar PV Prieska	Mulilo	PV	20	Northern Cape	Operations
1	Noblesfontein	Gestamp	Wind	73	Northern Cape	Operations
1	Red Cap Kouga Wind Farm	Red Cap	Wind	78	Eastern Cape	Operations
1	RustMo1 Solar Farm	Momentum	PV	7	North West	Operations
1	SlimSun Swartland Solar Park	Juwi	PV	5	Western Cape	Operations
1	Solar Capital De Aar (Pty) Ltd	Solar Capital	PV	75	Northern Cape	Operations
1	Soutpan Solar Park	SunEdison	PV	28	Limpopo	Operations
1	Touwsrivier Project	Soitec	PV	36	Western Cape	Operations
1	Witkop Solar Park	SunEdison	PV	30	Limpopo	Operations
2	Amakhala Emoyeni	Cennergi	Wind	138	Eastern Cape	Operations
2	Aurora	Solaire Direct	PV	9	Western Cape	Operations
2	Bokpoort CSP Project	ACWA	CSP	50	Northern Cape	Operations
2	Boshoff Solar Park	SunEdison	PV	60	Free State	Operations
2	Chaba	Innowind	Wind	21	Eastern Cape	Operations
2	Dreunberg	Scatec Solar	PV	70	Eastern Cape	Operations
2	Gouda Wind Facility	Acciona	Wind	135	Western Cape	Operations
2	Grassridge	Innowind	Wind	60	Eastern Cape	Operations
2	Jasper Power Company	Solar Reserve	PV	75	Northern Cape	Operations
2	Linde	Scatec Solar	PV	37	Northern Cape	Operations
2	Neusberg Hydro Electric Project A	Mulilo	Hydro	10	Northern Cape	Operations
2	Sishen Solar Facility	Acciona	PV	74	Northern Cape	Operations
2	Solar Capital De Aar 3	Solar Capital	PV	75	Northern Cape	Operations
2	Stortemelk Hydro (Pty) Ltd	NuPlanet	Hydro	4	Free State	Operations
2	Tsitsikamma Community Wind Farm	Cennergi	Wind	95	Eastern Cape	Operations

Round	Project	Sponsor	Technology	Net Capacity (mw)	Province	Stage of Development
2	Upington Solar Solar Photovoltaic	Enel	PV	9	Northern Cape	Operations
2	Vredendal	Solaire Direct	PV	9	Western Cape	Operations
2	Waainek	Innowind	Wind	23	Eastern Cape	Operations
2	West Coast 1	Engie	Wind	91	Western Cape	Operations
3	Adams PV	Enel	PV	75	Northern Cape	Operations
3	Gibson Bay	Enel	Wind	110	Eastern Cape	Construction
3	Johannesburg Landfill	Ener-G Systems	Landfill	18	Gauteng	Operations
3	Karoshhoek Consortium	Ilanga	CSP	100	Northern Cape	Operations
3	Khobab Wind Farm	Mainstream	Wind	138	Northern Cape	Construction
3	Loeriesfontein 2 Wind Farm	Mainstream	Wind	138	Northern Cape	Construction
3	Longyaun Mulilo 1 Wind	Mulilo	Wind	96	Northern Cape	Construction
3	Longyaun Mulilo 2 Wind	Mulilo	Wind	139	Northern Cape	Construction
3	Mkuze	Building Energy	Biomass	16	KZN	Operations
3	Mulilo Sonnedix PV	Mulilo	PV	75	Northern Cape	Operations
3	Mulilo Total PV	Mulilo	PV	75	Northern Cape	Operations
3	Nojoli Wind	Enel	Wind	87	Eastern Cape	Construction
3	Noupoort Mainstream Wind	Mainstream	Wind	79	Northern Cape	Construction
3	Palaisheuvel PV	Enel	PV	75	Western Cape	Operations
3	Pulida PV	Enel	PV	75	Northern Cape	Operations
3	Tomburke PV	Enel	PV	60	Limpopo	Operations
3	Xina CSP South Africa	Abengoa	CSP	100	Northern Cape	Operations
3.5	Kathu CSP	Engie	CSP	100	Northern Cape	Construction
3.5	Redstone CSP Project	ACWA	CSP	100	Northern Cape	Financial Close
4	Aggeneys Solar Project	Biotherm	PV	40	Northern Cape	Financial Close
4	Bokamoso	SunEdison	PV	68	Northern Cape	Financial Close
4	Copperton	Plan 8	Wind	102	Northern Cape	Financial Close
4	De Wildt	SunEdison	PV	50	North West	Financial Close
4	Droogfontein 2 Solar	SunEdison	PV	75	Northern Cape	Financial Close
4	Dyason's Klip 1	Scatec Solar	PV	75	Northern Cape	Financial Close
4	Dyason's Klip 2	Scatec Solar	PV	75	Northern Cape	Financial Close
4	Excelisor	Biotherm	Wind	32	Eastern Cape	Financial Close
4	Garob	Enel	Wind	136	Northern Cape	Financial Close
4	Golden Valley	Biotherm	Wind	120	Eastern Cape	Financial Close
4	Greefspan	SunEdison	PV	55	Northern Cape	Financial Close
4	Kangnas	Mainstream	Wind	137	Western Cape	Financial Close
4	Konkoosies II Solar Facility	Biotherm	PV	75	Northern Cape	Financial Close
4	Kruisvallei Hydro	Building Energy	Hydro	5	Free State	Financial Close
4	Kurusa Wind Farm	Enel	Wind	140	Northern Cape	Financial Close
4	Ngodwana Biomass	SAPPI	Biomass	62	Mpumalanga	Financial Close
4	Nxuba Wind Farm	Enel	Wind	140	Eastern Cape	Financial Close
4	Oyster Bay Wind Farm	Enel	Wind	140	Eastern Cape	Financial Close
4	Perdekraal East	Mainstream	Wind	108	Western Cape	Financial Close
4	Roggeveld	Building Energy	Wind	140	Northern Cape	Financial Close
4	Sirius Solar PV Project One	Scatec Solar	PV	75	Northern Cape	Financial Close
4	Soetwater	Enel	Wind	140	Northern Cape	Financial Close
4	Solar Capital Orange	Solar Captial	PV	75	Northern Cape	Financial Close

Round	Project	Sponsor	Technology	Net Capacity (mw)	Province	Stage of Development
4	Waterloo	SunEdison	PV	75	North West	Financial Close
4	Wesley Ciskei	Innowind	Wind	33	Eastern Cape	Financial Close
4	Zeerust	SunEdison	PV	75	North West	Financial Close

Source: Energy Blog

Appendix 4: Enel Green Power Training Programme



Free of Charge
Courses sponsored by
Enel Green Power RSA (Pty) Ltd

Enel Green Power Photovoltaic Skills Training

INTRODUCTION AND COURSE OVERVIEW

Enel
ENEL is a multinational power company and a leading integrated player in the world's power and gas markets. Enel Group operates in over 30 countries across 4 continents, producing energy with a net installed capacity of more than 89 GW and distributing electricity and gas over a network of approximately 1.2 million miles. With more than 61 million users worldwide, ENEL has the largest customer base of all its European competitors and is one of Europe's leading power companies in terms of installed capacity and reported EBITDA (www.enel.com).

Enel is deeply committed to renewable energy and to researching and developing new environmentally friendly technologies. Enel Green Power (EGP) is dedicated to the production of energy from renewable sources and manages over 10 GW of installed capacity from hydro, wind and solar arrays, along with biomass and cogeneration plants throughout Europe, the Americas and Africa.

In South Africa, as part of the Renewable Energy Independent Power Producer Procurement Program (REIPPPP), Enel Green Power, with its base in Johannesburg, has won over 1,200 MW of sun and wind technology tenders respectively. A total of six power plants are currently under construction and a further five have been awarded in the round 4 stage. This amounts to a total investment of approximately R18 billion in South Africa since the company's entrance into the country.

Enel Energy South Africa
Enel Energy South Africa is an Enel Group company dedicated to South African families and businesses who recognize the potential of modern, innovative energy production methods and who wish to benefit from ENEL's consolidated experience in energy generation systems.

Clients can have a Photovoltaic System installed or a battery in its stand-alone capacity, at home or in business, raising their quality of life and the reliability of their business, without having to change their daily habits around load shedding

Enel Green Power
Enel Group company dedicated to developing and managing energy generation from renewable sources at an international level, with a presence in Europe and the America



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www.enelgreenpower.com/en-GB/

Enel Green Power in South Africa

Enel Green Power has five Photovoltaic Solar power projects (two within the Northern Cape Province, one in the Western Cape Province, the Free State Province and Limpopo Province respectively) and two Wind power projects within the Eastern Cape, to installed capacity over 500 MW. In addition Enel Green Power intends to commercialise and install on a large scale small Photovoltaic plants for residential use (rooftop) within South Africa.

In order to prepare the South African market Enel Green Power has – jointly with the Master Artisan Academy SA – developed two skills programmes for PV Rooftop installations.

These skills programmes initiated by Enel Green Power and licenced by Enel University, and delivered by the Master Artisan Academy SA, will be offered free of charge to all qualifying participants.

Training Phases

Enel Green Power, in the coming years will be committed to providing training in photovoltaic plants and educating households in South Africa in “why” and “how they should participate in building a new green South Africa together.

Courses

The programme offers two courses to select from, namely:

PV Rooftop Installer Course

Duration	5 days (Monday to Friday)	
Entrance requirement	Qualified electrician/Electrical Engineer/ semi-skilled and experienced within the electrical environment	
Assessment and certification	Final day summative test for certification	
Modules Covered:	PV-T1: Introduction to PV-Systems PV-T2: Electronic characteristics of PV-Systems PV-T3: Installation and monitoring of PV-Systems	PV-T4: Design of PV-Systems PV-T5: Customer care
Cost:	Training free of charge (including catering and course material)	

PV Enterprise & Sales Development Course

Duration	5 days (Monday to Friday)	
Entrance requirement	Qualified electrician/Electrical Engineer who runs a small to medium contractor/consulting company / Qualified and/or final year marketing students; sales representatives	
Assessment and certification	Final day summative test for certification	
Modules Covered:	PV-E1: Entrepreneurial profile PV-E2: Understanding the market (renewable) and marketing strategies PV-E3: Economic and financial aspects	PV-S1: Psychology of selling PV-S2: Understanding the market PV-S3: Managing customer needs PV-S4: Closing the deal
Cost:	Training free of charge (including catering and course material)	

How to Participate

Complete the enrolment form and send by fax/email. (Contact details on the form.) Once registered you will receive confirmation of booking, date of course allocated as well as directions to training venue.

Placement in specific courses are subject to availability of seats. Registration for a specific course closes 3-days BEFORE the start date of the course.

Source: Enel Green Power