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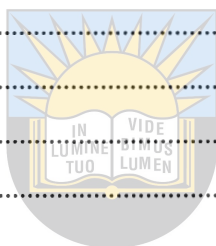
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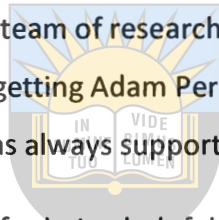
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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigate s the constraints and opportunities for women smallholders and farmers in three villages: Lutengele; Sirhosheni and Mbekweni in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. The paper gives attention to empirical evidence collected on the constraints needs, aspirations and goals of women for food crop production in the context of local culture and custom in three selected rural villages in the Eastern Cape.

The researcher used both qualitative and quantitative methods to collect and analysing data. The study utilizes interviews, focus groups and observations with participants and also complemented with literature from experts and Umhlaba documents. The dissertation is largely influenced by qualitative research methodology approach to explore how women have been affected by the breakdown in village-based on production and by male migration to cities and proposes new form of labour assistance to ensure improvement of production and livelihoods in rural areas of the Eastern Cape



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ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
ASGISA	Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative of South Africa
CGE	Commission for Gender Equality
CLRA	Communal Land Rights Act
CRDP	Comprehensive Rural Development
FAO	Food Agriculture Organization
GAD	Gender And Development
GEAR	Growth Employment and Redistribution
HIV/AIDS	Human Immune Virus/ Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
IFAD	International Fund for Agricultural Development
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
PTO	Permits to Occupy
TLGFA	Transkei Leadership and Government Framework Act
WARD	Women inn Agriculture and Rural Development
WESSA	Wildlife and Environment Society of South Africa
WRC	Water Research Commission

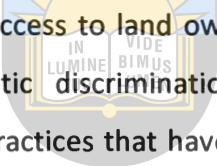


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CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

This thesis aims to investigate the constraints and challenges that inhibit women from being successful farmers in three rural areas of the Eastern Cape. It is known generally that women are the food producers in rural areas globally. However, women are continually undervalued although they work extensively in agricultural production, as is the case in the rural areas of South Africa. This study explores the changing roles of women in agricultural production and their decision making status and will determine how tradition and culture influences women's access and use of land and rural resources. This will be achieved through comparative research of multiple fieldwork sites - by looking at gender inequality livelihoods, and institutional frameworks.



The historical exclusion of women from access to land ownership, credit, decision making and education has created a systematic discrimination against women. Systematic discrimination is caused by policies and practices that have the effect of excluding women and minorities and are built into the ways that institutions operate. Women have a greater workload than men in Africa; they work for long hours doing reproductive, productive and community managing work. The African culture itself puts women at the bottom; they have no say but are generally regarded as being subordinate to men. Throughout Africa agricultural production and preservation of land resources is primarily the responsibility of women and children. However, access to land and resources is largely limited by gender discrimination, which is a serious problem, particularly in rural areas in Africa. Women provide livelihoods and are generators of economy in rural areas; they contribute to the income of their families and development of their communities. Women also work as food crop farmers for their family's food consumption and cash crop farmers to sell in order to provide for the whole family. They work in family business or own business or work for other people while they partake in the domestic chores. Overall these factors make women work longer hours than men doing unpaid work (Boserup, 1970: 58).

This study begins by giving a brief background to women and development with specific focus on socio-cultural position of African women in agricultural development. I therefore provide a conceptual or thumbnail sketch of what will be discussed in detail in coming chapters. This chapter addresses the research problem, which motivated this study, and the

research questions and the objectives are also spelt out, as well as a basic research methods and literature review.

One of the aims of this study is to explore the role of tradition and customary laws in rural areas of Eastern Cape. The fact that women have poor access to resources such as land, water, credit, farming equipment, makes it difficult for them to function to their full potential. Discrimination against women in rural areas through customary laws and sexual division of labour, limits women's contribution to the economy of South Africa as a whole. These cultural norms dictate the roles of women and men and division of labour and restrict women from partaking in formal work, hence they are economically disadvantaged. Moreover women who are entrepreneurs usually experience tension from male counterparts and traditional authorities (ILO, 2012:1). If women can be given equal opportunities as men, will their communities be better off?

A second reason why this study was conducted was to explore the changing roles and responsibilities of women in three rural areas of the Eastern Cape. It is said that women in rural areas have a 'triple- burden' to carry out: reproductive, productive and community managing work. This includes working longer hours doing productive work (work done by both women and men for pay in cash or in kind), reproductive work (child bearing, rearing, cleaning, collecting water, cooking, care-giving) and also community managing work (work done by women to ensure the provision and maintenance of scarce resources of collective consumption, such as collection of water and wood, health care and education) while men undertake productive work and community politics (Moser, 1993:27; Momsen, 2004:2; Ostergaard 1992:78). Women's burdens often increase as men move into the cash economy, as they are often left to head the household and balance their time and reproductive, productive and community responsibilities, whilst taking care of their families. Unlike men, women are severely constrained by the burden of simultaneously balancing these three roles. Their reproductive and community managing work is often seen as 'natural' or non-productive (Boserup, 1970: 43) and is not valued as work. The problem of the 'triple burden' is often severe in single headed households or female headed households. This study was therefore prompted by the need to explore various factors that seemed to inhibit women's participation in agricultural development. I have focused on a comparison of three different rural villages in the Eastern Cape – Lutengele, Sirhosheni and Mbekweni.

1.1.1 Research Problem

Given the decline of agriculture and the increase of reliance on a cash income, this dissertation asks what the problems and opportunities for women small holders and farmers in rural areas of the Eastern Cape are. This will be related primarily to the problems facing women in agriculture and how can this be overcome, as well as the problems and opportunities related to gender development in the rural areas. I will be investigating the patterns and needs that are common to all households in Lutengele, Sirhosheni and Mbekweni that are involved in agriculture.

1.1.2 Research Objectives

The aim of the study is to identify the constraints and opportunities that confront agricultural production and access to land by women in rural areas and how these challenges are managed. I explore rural women's experience of their 'triple burden' and focus on their challenges in obtaining land and accessing specific items such as water, tractors, labour and crops. I also would like to gain an understanding of how traditional norms and cultural practises are interpreted with regard to gender and gender empowerment in rural areas. This will be done with cognisance of the culturally embedded ways of production and how these have been transformed over time.

1.1.3 Research Questions

This study sought to address the following questions:

1. What are the cultural, political and economic barriers that women experience in accessing and acquiring land for agricultural production?
2. Do women participate in decision making and how is this done?
3. What are the specific constraints that female land users experience with regard to agricultural production and resources such as water, crops, and mechanisation?
4. What is the understanding of tradition (and traditional leaders) with regards to female access and use of land and rural resources?

1.4. Theoretical Framework

This study is primarily based on a feminist perspective, and is therefore a study that directs attention to women's experiences and the relevance of gender as an element that shapes

social structures. According to the feminist perspective women and men should be equal and should therefore have equal rights (Kendal, 1996:27). The role played by women in agriculture is therefore closely connected to the gendered power relations that exist in rural areas society. Rural areas in South Africa are regarded as predominantly patriarchal in the Eastern Cape; the existing perception is that men are breadwinners and that women are only compliments to male productivity (James, 1995:102). The few rights that women hold in certain areas are often threatened by the negative attitudes of customary law, and patriarchal household and community relations.

Under such conditions, women struggle to access resources such as land and to obtain credit, technology, marketing and other information which will promote their contribution to agricultural production. Here women may also experience difficulty in making important decisions in households and economic production. They therefore sometimes occupy insignificant or low positions in the agrarian hierarchy, which can results in a reduction in their visibility in both the statutory and customary systems, in order to resolve land struggles and disputes. This also results in a constant struggle by women to ensure that they balance reproductive household with agricultural activities and work-based jobs: the so called 'triple burden'. As a result, rural women can remain systematically closed off from the resources information and freedom of action to fulfil their potential. Equality and women's empowerment are human rights that lie at the heart of development (Davids, 2006:3).

This study is important because it serves as an eye opener regarding to the actual roles played by women in different areas of the Eastern Cape. It can illustrate how women potentially can be empowered by information, knowledge and the ability to make informed decisions. This study aims to show possible exception to customary expectations of female subordination. This study will also link women's work in rural areas to factors such as access to land, water and agricultural markets which will enable the state to recognise some of the state shortfalls of land policies to agriculture.

1.5. Literature Review

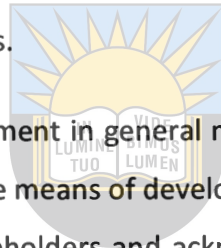
Based on a guide review of literature (which will be covered more comprehensively in the next chapter),the most quoted constraint to women in rural areas is the lack of access and

control of land. I will here shortly review literature that will provide an understanding of gender and development and research done on land policy and agriculture in South Africa

Development is designed to improve the quality of life of people, and also to alleviate the economic and social well-being of the rural poor. However, development has also historically functioned as a mechanism for the colonial and neo-colonial domination of the South by the North. It can be seen as an instrument of economic control over the physical and social reality of Asia, Latin America and Africa. In a negative sense development has been the primary mechanism through which the Third World has been imagined and controlled, though marginalizing or precluding other ways of seeing and doing (Afshar, 1991). This means that local or internal ways of production and development have often been ignored in favour of Western models.

Ostergaard (1992:2) argues that development in general must be a human centred process because people are both the ends and the means of development. The experts and planners of development need to involve all stakeholders and acknowledge the needs of both men and women. However since development planning is mainly based on Western planning theory, it fails to recognize that the position of the African woman within the family is usually subordinate to that of men. In this definition of a head of household, the man is perceived to be the financial supporter 'breadwinner' and all other members are defined as dependents (Akeroyd, 1991; Moser, 1993). This is the predominant pattern in much of Sub-Saharan Africa, a practice engraved in patriarchal norms.

In reality this does not apply to most rural areas in Africa as most households are actually headed by women. The lack of fit between reality (female headed households) and expected norms of male patriarchy makes women more invisible in development practise. The issue of gender equality is certainly given greater importance in national plans and documents (World Bank, 1979) but too often this only amounts to lip service being paid, without any real attempt to tackle the fundamental problem involved (Ostergaard, 1992:69). Too often women are hardly brought into the process of decision-making, decisions and assumptions are made about their interests for them (Hall and Midgley, 1988; Moser, 1993). Gender equality is often considered as key to development and poverty reduction efforts. Both women and men must participate equally in areas of development



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as long as their common goal is to develop their communities. However the ideological, economic and legal constraints on women's autonomy and the real economic nature of their labour time and activities are often not fully appreciated (Akeroyd, 1991:139)

1.6. Profile of Development in Africa

Today the focus of development is less on increasing gross domestic product and spreading modernization and emphasizing more on debt relief, reducing corruption, recognizing the importance of social as well as human capital and the overall reduction of poverty and diseases. As we enter the millennium the development focus is on alleviating world poverty, the empowerment of women and the promotion of gender equality is one of the internationally agreed Millennium Development Goals (MDG's)(Momsen,2004:9).

Land is central to sustainable livelihood in Africa- therefore African governments need to appropriate measures to ensure that land plays its primary role in the development process. In particular social reconstruction, poverty reduction, enhancing economic opportunities for women, strengthening governance, managing the environment, promoting conflict resolution and driving agricultural modernization (Walker, 2002).

If law and policy are to redress gender imbalances in land holding and use in Africa, it is necessary to reconstruct and reconceptualise existing rules of poverty in land under both customary and statutory law in ways that strengthen women's access and control of land while respecting family and other social networks. It is also the responsibility of African states government to protect women from wars and conflicts that forces people to flee from their homes and become destitute and vulnerable to diseases like HIV/AIDS, malnutrition and malaria (Framework and Guidelines on Land Policy in Africa, 2010:15).

1.7. Profile of Development in South Africa

In South Africa land dispossession began more than three hundred years ago, due to both colonialism and tribal wars. Europeans gained control over land through various agreements, conquests and direct appropriation (Walker, 2006:808). Regulation of acquired land was affected through the political administrative and economic management systems, which were grafted onto diverse range of indigenous economic and cultural practices. This led to dualistic indiscriminately land tenure and land administration regimes. The 1913 Land Act, The Native Land Act of 1936 and the Group Areas Act of the 1950's formed the

foundation for racial land dispossession to ensure that the bulk of the fertile land was in accessible to black communities (Cousins, 2010; Hall and Walker, 2003).

Apartheid clearly left a legacy characterised by severe inequalities and injustices, which are clearly evident in the distribution of land as well as in the dualistic nature of the agriculture sector. The white commercial agricultural sector was an important political constituent of the apartheid state. The apartheid government supported and subsidised production and made available large tracts of land, ample water supply and cheap labour while denying small-scale subsistence agricultural farmers the required support within the former homelands (Hall, 2010:9; Cousins, 2010). The effects of apartheid have also been structured by skewed gender relations, which have led to the higher levels of impoverishment amongst black rural women, with these women referred to as the “poorest of the poor”. The denial of land rights to black women was certainly only a part of broad legacy of centuries of land dispossession through racially discriminatory laws.

The democratic government of South Africa has since 1994 put in place policies and programmes to address the plight of rural smallholders in small scale agriculture, particularly by creating guidelines for equal rights to own and access land. These include Commission for Gender Equality Act No 39 of 1996 (CGE) whose main objectives are to support democracy and promote, monitor and evaluate all gender equality issues in all spheres of society (South African Bill of Rights, 1996).

The intention of the land reform policy of 1997 White Paper (DLA White Paper, 1997) was to redress the injustices and ills of apartheid and ease the poverty of poor black women and men. Its three major pillars are land redistribution, land restitution and land tenure reform. The White Paper (DLA 1997) envisaged a four-fold purpose for the land reform programme, to redress the injustices of apartheid, to foster national reconciliation and stability, to underpin economic growth and to improve household welfare and alleviate poverty (Weideman, 2004). To redress historical racial imbalance, the African National Congress led the government to set itself the target of transforming 30% of agricultural land from white to black ownership by 1999. However, only one per cent was transferred by 1999. By 2012 still less than 30% of land has been distributed to black farmers. The attention to gender equality within the land reforms has been patchy and uneven. No clear overall targets were

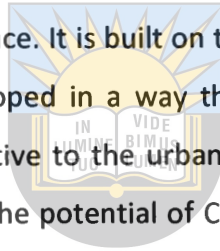
set for women, gender policy tended to disappear in implementation, and data collection was often not gender disaggregated (Hall, 2010; Walker, 2006 and Meer, 2010).

The first phase of land reform was Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD), which was instituted in 2000; it shifted away from poverty alleviation to a black economic empowerment agenda of developing a class of black commercial farmers. Walker (2002:16) however, argues that LRAD did not remove the final barriers for poor rural women as many women still had no knowledge of programme such as Women in Agriculture and Rural Development (WARD), a platform where rural women can share ideas regarding issues of land ownership, access to land and financial resources, participation in agricultural development to empower women. Land redistribution failed women due to its 'own contributions' known as sweat equity requirements. The second leg of land reform, land Restitution, is concerned with restoring land or providing compensation to people dispossessed of their land as a result of racially discriminatory legislation and practice. Walker points out that since restitution is about restoring former rights, it is usually men as former owners who are entitled to make claims and likely to be key beneficiaries. The third pillar, tenure rights aims to redress the discrimination experienced by people on commercial farms and in the former homelands. In commercial farming areas tenure reforms seeks to balance the rights of land owners and farm dwellers, while in the former homelands it seeks to clarify who has rights to what land, the nature and content of these rights, how they are to be allocated, administered, recorded and adjudicated. Since tenure reforms like land restitution is concerned with upgrading informal rights (traditionally held by men) to formal legal rights, tenure reforms also tends to exclude women. This is because women's access to land in the former homeland is informed through men: their fathers, husbands and sons. Land is understood as being the property of the husband and his natal family. Divorced and widowed women are often evicted by their former husband's families and women who return to their natal homes can be evicted by their brothers (Walker, 2003; Cousins, 2005)

South Africa's 1996 Constitution promised accountable, democratic local government and ensured that the gender equality clause would override rights to tradition and custom. However, both of these have been compromised in rural areas by post-apartheid legal reforms, including the Transkei Leadership and Governance Framework Act (TLGFA) of 2003, the Communal Land Rights Act (CLRA) of 2004 and, most recently the Traditional Courts Bill

of 2008. These illustrate the enduring power of traditional authorities and the relatively powerlessness of other social groups and poor rural women in particular (Ntsebeza, 2005). By vesting power to the traditional leaders, the state is encouraging corruption and women are the most vulnerable group exposed to this abuse of power by traditional leaders. One example is that for single women to access land heavy fines are asked whilst their male counterparts pay less (Cousins, 2010).

In 2009 the Comprehensive Rural Development Programme (CRDP) was approved by the Cabinet (Rural Development and Land Reform, 2012). The CRDP aimed at mobilising and empowering rural communities to take initiative and control of their own destiny with the support of the government. It proposes an approach that addresses the needs of a person, household, community and particular space. It is built on the premise that rural areas in the country have the potential to be developed in a way that generates jobs and economic opportunities, thus providing an alternative to the urban centres, and contributing to the reduction in rural urban migration. It is the potential of CRDP that has get to be realised in the Eastern Cape.



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1.8. Profile of Eastern Cape

The research project is set within the Province of the Eastern Cape. The Eastern Cape is a former homeland of the apartheid era; it is predominantly a rural area and is considered one of the poorest in South Africa. Eastern Cape is one of the reserves that provided South African government with labour for mines and farms ,as is still the case today. Eastern Cape as a South African province came into being in 1994 and incorporated areas from the former Xhosa homelands of the Transkei and Ciskei, together with what was previously part of the Cape Province. The Eastern Cape is divided for local government purposes into two metropolitan municipalities (Buffalo City and Nelson Mandela Bay) and six district municipalities. The district municipalities are in turn divided into thirty seven local municipalities.

Eastern Cape is fast becoming known as South Africa's most poverty stricken province. This is mainly because of increasing burdens on women as the sole household breadwinner, despite earning much less than men. Women secure more menial jobs than men, they are paid less for doing same work as men, and there is still a huge out migration from the

province as skilled workers (mostly men) leave for greener pastures. This creates a disproportionate economic burden on women and coupled with customary forms of gender imbalances remain to be an issue of major concern.

1.9 Research Methods

This study formed part of a greater project for the Water Research Commission (WRC) on water use¹. The study has used a mixed method approach of quantitative and qualitative work. According to Creswell (2014:218) mixed methods are chosen because of its strength of drawing on both qualitative and quantitative research and minimizing the limitations of both approaches. Mixed method has been defined as “a type of research design in which qualitative and quantitative approaches are used in types of questions, research methods, data collection and analysis procedures and inferences” (Tashakkori and Teddie in Creswell 2014: 711). Mixed method research questions guide mixed method investigation and are answered with information that is presented in both narrative and numerical forms. Here I intended to develop a more complete understanding of changes needed for female crop farmers through the combination of qualitative and quantitative data.

Qualitative research stresses studying human action in its natural setting and through the eyes of the actors themselves, together with emphasis on detailed description and understanding phenomena within the appropriate context. A qualitative study is derived from the direct observation of behaviour in a particular society. The researcher used qualitative forms of data collection, analysis and interpretation. Semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions, observations and focus groups

1.10 Conclusion and Ethics

In summary it is suggested that if one is to conduct research in a particular society, then it is extremely useful for one to know what that society considers ethical and unethical. If one is doing social research, then one need to be aware of the general agreement shared by the researchers about what's proper and improper in conducting of social inquiry (Babbie: 1998:438). Social research often requires that people reveal personal information about themselves. Secondly social research requires that such information be revealed to strangers. No one should be forced to participate. It is, however, common practise that the

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researcher is aware of his/her role in making sure that all ethical procedures are met , to protect and make sure that the rights and welfare of all participants will be protected at all times during the project (Babbie, 1998:439). All participants were informed about the purpose and the goals of the study. Informed consent was requested and re-negotiated with each individual participant. The researcher triangulated different data sources of information by examining evidence from the sources and using it to build a coherent justification for themes.

This study is going to cover five chapters: what follows in chapter two is a more comprehensive literature review; chapter three will contain a methodology and ethics; while chapter four looks at data analysis and chapter five covers the recommendations and conclusion.



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CHAPTER TWO: A LITERATURE REIVEW OF WORK, AGRICULTURE AND GENDER

2.1 Introduction

Ostergaard (1992:20) argues that development, whether national or international, has traditionally been gender neutral or even gender blind. This is due to lack of information about women and their contribution to their regions and because aid organizations were administered with very little insight into gender roles. This chapter intends to review literature on work, knowledge and agricultural production, and the changing roles and responsibilities of women in rural areas. This chapter considers literature from other parts of the world and also Africa but will focus on the South African context. Most literature on women and development focuses on socio-cultural factors which affect women's participation in agriculture. As literature suggests, women are inhibited from participating in activities they desire and their rights are denied to them by the social norms and customs of their societies. This chapter therefore begins by exploring the frameworks of gender inequality and equality, and the idea of gender as a complex and non-homogeneous social construct. I will review literature that will provide an understanding of gender dynamics as well as reproductive and productive work.

This chapter aims to show that women as rural producers (in Africa) experience constraints that make it difficult for them to be successful crop-farmers. In an attempt to do this, the chapter discusses major factors which affect women in agricultural development in rural areas, such as access to land, access to credit, access to water and health care systems. The chapter seeks to highlight the challenges that women in rural areas are facing, challenges that may often cripple the progress of women in agricultural development. A variety of sources were used to review literature including research reports, textbooks, journals, government publications and thesis.

2.2 History of rural Development

Rural development was originally designed to improve the quality of life of people, and to advance the economic and social well-being of the rural poor (Singh, 1986:20). However development has historically functioned over the twentieth century as a mechanism for the

colonial and neo-colonial domination of the South by the North. It can be seen as an instrument of economic control over the physical and social realities of Asia, Latin America and Africa. Development has been the primary mechanism through which the Third World has been imagined and imagined itself, though marginalizing or precluding other ways of seeing and doing (Escobar, 1994; Afshar, 1991)

The aims and objective of development is to eradicate poverty and it focuses mainly to Third World countries. The 2010 Millennium Development Goal (MDG) Summit concluded with the adoption of a global action plan to achieve eight goals by 2015. The action plan reflects the belief of the international development community that gender equality and women's are development objectives in their own right (MDG 3 and 5), and serve as critical channels for achieving other MDG's and reducing income and non-income poverty. Gender equality and women empowerment help to promote universal primary education (MDG 2), reduce mortality (MDG 4), improve maternal health (MDG 5) and reduce the likelihood of contracting HIV/AIDS (MDG 6) (Momsen, 2004:9).

Rural development is a strategy to enable a specific group of people poor rural women and men, to gain for themselves and their children more of what they want and need. It involves helping those who seek livelihoods in rural areas to be able to demand and control more of the benefits of rural development. Rural development encompasses commercial farmers, small scale farmers, tenants, subsistence households and all of those who find themselves in rural areas. As Singh (1986; 21-22) argues, for the purpose of economic growth there must be a change in popular attitudes, customs and beliefs, and here the 'true' meaning of rural development is shaped by self-respect, political, ideological and economic freedom.

Ward and Brown in Chigbu (2013:813) identify rural areas as 'places of tradition rather than modernity, of agriculture rather than industry, of nature rather than culture, and of changelessness rather than dynamism'. I totally disagree with this assertion; rural areas do undergo a slower pace of change, whether spatial, in land use, demographic, economic or social. Rural areas are changing in response to technology and globalization. The constant moving of people between rural and urban areas influences changes in traditions, norms and customs associated with rural life.

Ostergaard (1992:2) argues that development must be a human centred process because people are both the ends and the means of development. The experts and planners of development need to involve all stakeholders and acknowledge the needs of both men and women. However since development planning is based on Western planning theory, it fails to sometimes recognize that the position of the woman within the family is subordinate to that of man. In this definition of a head of household the man is perceived to be the financial supporter 'breadwinner' and all other members are defined as dependents (Akeroyd, 1991; Moser, 1993). This is does not apply to most rural areas in Africa as most households are headed by women.

The purpose of this study is thus to explore the gender gaps within systems in rural areas. The issue of women is certainly given greater importance in national plans and documents (World Bank 1979) but too often this only amounts to lip service being paid, without any real attempt to tackle the fundamental problem involved. Gender equality is often considered as key to development and poverty reduction efforts, and this means that both women and men must participate equally in areas of development as long as their common goal is to develop their communities. The ideological, economic and legal constraints on women's autonomy and the real economic nature of their labour time and activities are often not fully appreciated (Akeroyd, 1991:139).

2.3 Profile of Development in Africa

Today the focus of development is less on increasing gross domestic products and modernization, but rather on debt relief, reducing corruption, and about recognizing the importance of social as well as human capital, and the overall reduction of poverty and diseases. As we enter the millennium, the development focus is also about empowerment of women and the promotion of gender equality, as one of the internationally agreed Millennium Development Goals (Momsen, 2004:9). Greater gender equality is also smart economics, because it removes barriers that prevent women from having the same access as men to education, economic opportunities and productive inputs which can generate broad productivity gains.

In Africa 80% of the agricultural production comes from small farmers, who are mostly rural women. Women comprise the largest percentage of the workforce in the agricultural sector,

but do not have access and control over land and productive resources. Despite the important roles women play in agricultural economies, rural women in Africa suffer from the highest illiteracy rates and are the most visible face of poverty.

Access to and use of land is central to sustainable livelihood in Africa. Therefore African governments need to appropriate measures to ensure that land plays its primary role in the development process and more particularly in social reconstruction, poverty reduction, enhancing economic opportunities for women, strengthening governance, managing the environment, promoting conflict resolution and driving agricultural modernization (Walker,2002).An effective public policy is needed to intervene in order to close gender gaps. If law and policy are to redress gender imbalances in land holding and use, it is necessary to deconstruct, reconstruct and reconceptualise existing rules of poverty in land under both customary and statutory law in ways that strengthen women's access and control of land while respecting family and other social networks. It is also the responsibility of African states government to protect women from wars and conflicts that forces people to flee from their homes and become destitute and vulnerable to diseases like HIV/AIDS, malnutrition and malaria (Land Policy Framework, 2010).

2.4 Profile of Development in South Africa

This dissertation is about women and their contributions to agricultural social issues in rural areas of South Africa, and makes sense of the so called 'triple burden' that rural women experience. This section can discuss this problem in relation to the history of land dispossession and apartheid in South Africa. In South Africa land dispossession began more than three hundred years ago, due to both colonialism and tribal wars. Europeans gained control over land through agreements, conquests and appropriation. Regulation of acquired land was affected through the promulgation of variety of European laws and establishment of political administrative and economic management systems which were grafted onto diverse range of indigenous economic and cultural practices, thus leading to dualistic land tenure and land administration regimes. The 1913 Land Act, The Native Land Act of 1936 and the Group Areas Act of the 1950's formed the foundation for racial land dispossession to ensure that the bulk of the fertile land was in accessible to the black communities (Hall, and Ntsebeza, 2005).

Apartheid clearly left a legacy characterised by severe inequalities and injustices, which is clearly evident in the distribution of land as well as in the dualistic nature of the agriculture sector. The established white commercial agricultural sector was an important political constituent of the apartheid state. The apartheid government supported and subsidised production and made available large tracts of land, ample water supply and cheap labour while denying small-scale subsistence agricultural farmers the required support within the former homelands. The effects of apartheid have been structured by skewed gender relations, which have led to the higher levels of impoverishment amongst black rural women (Lahif, 2002:69). The democratic government of South Africa has since 1994 put in place policies and programs to address the plight of poor women in small scale agriculture particularly by implementing land policies that give women equal right to own and access land (White Paper, 1997).

In 1994, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) were adopted. Its aim was to reduce poverty afflicting the country's 40 million people, thereby redressing the inequalities and injustices of the past. Access to water jobs land, education and healthcare were the priorities highlighted (Sadie and Loots, 1998:98). The RDP was later substituted with the programme of Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) which was criticised as being neo-liberal 'sell-out' by the African National Congress (ANC), as well as being an inappropriate approach to solving the country's most pressing economic problems - such as unemployment and poverty (Sender, 2002:67).

The government has also launched various land reform policies, and resources, including the Commission for Gender Equality Act No 39 of 1996 (CGE) whose main objectives is to support democracy and promote, monitor and evaluate all gender equality issues in all spheres of society. However, as Walker (1995: 58-69) suggests, one of the main obstacles for rural women is the contradiction between governments commitment to gender equality and its persistent engagement with politics of traditionalism. Walker goes on to say that South Africa defines itself as non-racial and non-sexist society, but the government concedes that rural society is patriarchal in its functioning and that rural women are disadvantaged by patriarchal control. This suggests that the state should take firm stand towards the implementation of gender equity policy. This has not always been the case with land reform policy measures.

The intention of the land reform policy of 1997 was to redress the injustices and ills of apartheid and ease the poverty of poor black women and men. Its three major pillars are land redistribution, land restitution and land tenure reform. The White Paper (1997) envisaged a four-fold purpose for the land reform programme, to redress the injustices of apartheid, to foster national reconciliation and stability, to underpin economic growth and to improve household welfare and alleviate poverty. To redress historical racial imbalance, the African National Congress led government set itself the target of transforming 30% of agricultural land from white to black ownership by 1999 and yet only 1% was transferred by 1999. By 2012 still less than 30% targeted has been distributed to black farmers. The attention to gender equality within the land reforms has been patchy and uneven. No clear overall targets were set for women, gender policy tended to disappear in implementation, and data collection was often not gender disaggregated.

Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD) was instituted in 2000; it shifted away from poverty alleviation to the black economic empowerment agenda of developing a class of black commercial farmers. Again, as Walker (2002:16) points out, LRAD did not remove the final barriers for poor rural women. Many women still have no knowledge of programme such as Women in Agriculture and Rural Development (WARD). Land redistribution has thus failed women due to its 'own contributions, known as 'sweat equity' requirements (Walker, 2002). This means that tenants have to give free labour in order to get land from commercial farmer's land. This also applies to the second leg of the land rights and restitution programme, which is concerned with restoring land or providing compensation to people dispossessed of their land as a result of racially discriminatory legislation and practice. Walker points out that since restitution is about restoring former rights, it is men as former owners who are entitled to make claims and likely to be key beneficiaries, and not women.

The third pillar of land reform - tenure rights - aims to redress the discrimination experienced by people on commercial farms and in the former homelands. In commercial farming area tenure reforms seeks to balance the rights of land owners and farm dwellers, while in the former homelands it seeks to clarify who has rights to what land, the nature and content of these rights, how they are to be allocated, administered, recorded and adjudicated. Since tenure reforms like land restitution is concerned with upgrading informal

rights traditionally held by men to formal legal rights, tenure reforms also tends to exclude women. Women's access to land in the former homeland continues through men, their fathers, husbands and sons. Land is understood as property of the husband and his natal family, as divorced and widowed women are often evicted by their former husband's families. Women who return to their natal homes are evicted by their brothers (Walker, 2003:297-315).

Ntsebeza (2005) claims that it is this insecurity of tenure that has created conditions for the exclusion of rural inhabitants from the administration and management of what is essentially their land. Ntsebeza (2005) rightly argues that although rural inhabitants are de facto owners of land, in the sense that they have lived in these areas for long periods of time, land holding based on the Permits to Occupy (PTO) system does not provide them with legally secure title deeds This is because the (PTO) only give a person a permit to occupy land but not to own land. PTO's had severe limitations on the rights of the holder; one man one lot; restrictions on plot size; a rigid system of male primogeniture to govern inheritance; and non-recognition of female land rights (Cousins, 2010). South Africa's 1996 Constitution promised accountable, democratic local government and ensured that the gender equality clause would override rights to tradition and custom.

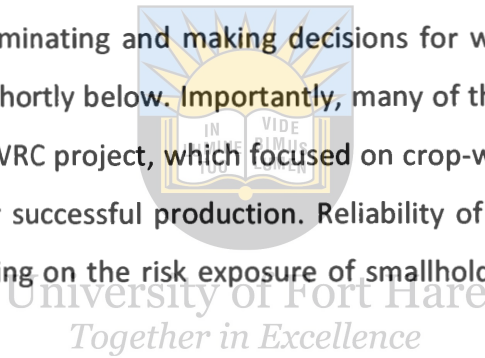
However both of these have been compromised in rural areas by post-apartheid legal reforms, including the Transkei Leadership and Governance Framework Act (TLGFA) of 2003, the Communal Land Rights Act (CLRA) of 2004 and, most recently the Traditional Courts Bill of 2008. The process of passing these bills into law illustrate the power of traditional authorities and the relatively powerlessness of other social groups and poor rural women in particular (Ntsebeza, 2005).By vesting power in traditional leaders, the state is encouraging corruption. Women are the most vulnerable group to this abuse of power - of single women to access land, for example, heavy amounts are usually levied by leaders, whilst their male counterparts pay less.

2.5 Eastern Cape Rural Development Strategy

The Eastern Cape Rural Development Strategy has six pillars -land reform, agrarian transformation and food security, non-farm rural economy, infrastructure, social and human development and enabling environment. Of these the WRC project and this thesis has

focused on food security and social and human development. Here the Eastern Cape department of Agriculture has made efforts to organise and mobilise communities through community based initiatives for subsistence food production, and included programmes like Siyazondla Homestead Gardens and Siyakhula and Massive Food Production. These have been geared around the provision of basic equipment and infrastructure and have been rolled out in areas like Mdantsane, Ducats and Willowvale.

However, it is clear that with the exception of a few Siyazondla initiatives, these have achieved little success (Denison and Manona, 2007). According to Blaai-Madolo (2009) and Kalazani-Mtya (2012) this is due to the failure of government to monitor and evaluate programmes, and Kalazani-Mtya goes on to say that the Siyazondla Project was meant for women; men were actually dominating and making decisions for women (2012:39). I will discuss each of these projects shortly below. **Importantly**, many of these programmes were evaluated by and through the WRC project, which focused on crop-water availability as one of the critical requirements for successful production. Reliability of water-supply is thus a key factor that has direct bearing on the risk exposure of smallholder farmers, and is one focus of this project.



2.5.1 Siyazondla Homestead Food Production

The Siyazondla Programme is a homestead food production programme targeting the poor, vulnerable and food insecure households who have access to a small piece of land within the homestead boundary. The programme was limited to a direct subsidy of basic pieces of agricultural equipment (rakes, spades, and wheelbarrows) and ad-hoc support on seedlings, fertiliser and insecticide and was not driven through a whole system approach. Despite this potential limitation, Fay (2011) somewhat surprisingly found that in the very traditional areas around Cwebe and Willowvale, Siyazondla did contribute to the expansion and intensification of rain fed garden cultivation (i.e. wet season production). It is significant that he suggests that it is not the dissemination of basic tools, but the formation of knowledge sharing institutions (Siyazondla clubs) that are the likely primary factor behind the marked gains of participant households. Fay does not address details of dry season productions and the challenge of critical water deficit in the dry season (Umhlaba, 2009).

2.5.2 Siyakhula step-up Food Production Programme

Siyakhula Programme was the provincial flagship programme which aimed to facilitate farmers to move from Siyazondla Food Production into commercial production, with emphasis on maize. The programme is a rural economic development initiative that targeted increased grain production from small-scale operations through subsidising input supplies, mechanisation, marketing and agro-processing by means of a conditional grant scheme. The department invested over R325 million, which reportedly benefited 1,458,848 individuals and farmers in the province (Department of Agriculture and Rural Development, 2009). This figure amounts to 25% of the estimated 4 million black landholders in the Eastern Cape Province, the majority being men.

The outcomes of Massive Food Programme have been disappointing in both development and financial terms, and highlighted unrealistic programme design assumptions and capacity limitations of the Provincial Department (Hesjedaal and Ntshona, 2009, in Umhlaba Deliverable 2). However government efforts to develop the small-scale agricultural sector, from Betterment to the Massive Food Production Programme have largely resulted in failure. This is because of a tendency towards top-down, high-modernist interventionist programmes that fail to take specific contexts into account. The Betterment programme vigorously implemented in the homelands during apartheid is an example of such an intervention which sought to consolidate land holdings and control land usage (Minkley and Westaway, 2005:106) by designing particular land use zones for housing, grazing and crop production. In 2008 the Department handed over the programme to the Eastern Cape Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative of South Africa (ASGISA) programme, who simplified the arrangement into one of a kind of a parastatal-landowner partnership. This new approach is essentially a state-run farming effort, driven top-down by centrally housed bureaucrats who have little commercial farming experience, no requirements to achieve returns on investment and no evident interest in building local farmer capacity, or supply chain linkages for small farmers. The irony of the Massive Food Programme is that the initiative is driven by ASGISA which is underpinned by free-market principles of GEAR, yet it deploys centralist, state-funded programme modalities at substantial financial cost to the fiscus, and with no attempt to increase capability of the target landholders. In reality landholders are not farmers, but observers of external contractors usually white commercial

farmers) operating on their land in lucrative contracts, under state-brokered arrangements (Umhlaba, Deliverable 2:50)

2.5.3 Livestock Production Improvement Programme

The Livestock Production Improvement Programme is an economic development initiative based on live stock through application of best practice farmers. It aims at providing enabling conditions (infrastructure and technology) for the emergence of commercial livestock farmers from the communal farming and developing agricultural sector. Water supply for livestock is critical, to limit walking distances and to reduce concentration at watering points and subsequent erosion. However while spatial aspects of stock water supply are of importance, the requirements are insignificant compared with crop water demands (Umhlaba, Deliverable 2:51).



2.6 Gender and Development (GAD)

As written above, the majority of agricultural initiatives aimed at small scale agricultural sector in the Eastern Cape have failed because little attention was paid to the social and cultural fabric of rural people, and women in particular. Young (2002:322) argues that the term gender is often used as a mere synonym for woman/women. Gender refers to the socially determined division of roles and responsibilities and power between men and women. These socially constructed roles are usually unequal in terms of power, decision-making, control over assets and events, freedom of action and ownership of resources. Gender inequality and poverty are fundamental issues in development work and empowerment of women and girls is central to the eradication of poverty.

Thus the themes of “poverty”, “women”, “the poor”, and “empowerment” are complex and linked. Based on the concept of gender (the socially acquired ideas of masculinity and femininity) and gender relations (the socially constructed pattern of relations between men and women) analyse how development reshape these power relations. Gender analysts explicitly see women as agents of change (Momsen, 2004:13). They argue that women cannot be treated as homogeneous category and also emphasize the important influence of differences of class, age, marital status, religion and ethnicity or race on development outcomes. Momsen (2004:8) argues that gender equality means equality of opportunities and a society in which women and men are able to lead equally fulfilling lives. Its aim is to

recognise that men and women often have different needs and priorities, face different constraints and have different aspirations. He further maintains that women and men are affected differently by economic change and development and thus on active public policy is needed to intervene in order to close gender gaps (Momsen, 2004:11). Blaai-Madolo (2009:62) states that if we wish to succeed we have to acknowledge that it is difficult to change rural men; therefore we had to develop viable strategies. Rural women are sometimes also submissive to accepted cultural norms, through indoctrination. This implies a challenge to change rural women's attitude towards culture.

Within the theme of gender, development must therefore focus on examining issues that affect women, in relation to the experience of their male counterparts, in order to succeed (Chant 1991:1). The problem with development programmes, in the first place, is that they often ignore women or attach them to males, and they are not analysed as a social group. The developers ignore the fact that the majority of household in rural areas in South Africa are headed by single women and not men, as in a nuclear family unit, where a man is a breadwinner (Akeroyd, 1991:147). In fact, it was found during research that some men and women allocated household duties relatively equally, and some felt it is was not taboo to do duties which were traditionally allocated for each gender. Chant also highlights a second problem of development - the problem of time constraints. This is due to 'double burden' of productive work and reproductive work done by women and a failure by census takers to recognize the importance of women's reproductive labour. Reproductive labour encompasses, all the tasks associated with supporting and servicing the current and future workforce, and this is a vital component of agricultural production (Chant, 1991:58). At times development planning represents an intrusion, or an 'outsider' influence, so that the outcome becomes unfavourable. It is important for development planners to find out what women do, how much time they spend doing it and what value it places on their work.

Here one can use a few examples from the rest of the continent that illustrate how the social and gender needs of communities are sometimes ignored (Moser: 1993). During the resettlement in the Lake of Volta in Ghana, for instance, people were not compensated for the loss of their fertile land and crops, and instead were relocated to poor land, the new houses constructed took no account of polygynous family structures, were more than one wives were forced in a four roomed house. Inputs were also given to household heads who

were assumed to be men and therefore female headed household tended to lose out on development gains.

Development must therefore take cultural constraints into consideration. In Gambia for example, women were responsible for cultivation of rice, but with outsider's stepping in, (de Groot in Afshar, 1991:107) women were pushed out of rice production, which was their main basic source of economic security. In Kenya (Brydon, 1991:108) development was relative success because rural women took an initiative and formed cooperatives for both market and farm work. In Mali (Brydon 1991:109) poor women used their voice and connection to middle class women in order to get government support for cloth-dyeing and soap making schemes. In Sri Lanka (Brydon, 1991:111) women had access to credit for the purchase and processing of cashew nuts and the support all their family members. Brydon (1991: 111) also notes that there was a case in Nigeria where successful women traders were accused of being prostitutes and witches due to their success (Brydon, 1991:111).

In sum, these successes and failures of development projects in the Eastern Cape and African means that one must consider the interrelationship between all factors that contribute to the well-being of rural people. Charlton (1984:180) argues that this is integral to the concept of Integrated Rural Development (IRD).

These cases also illustrate the need to understand the dynamics of capitalism and imperialism to grasp the complexities of the structures that shape the subordination of women (Afshar, 1991: 3). Afshar argues that the process of development in the Third World has, largely marginalised women and deprived them of their control over resources and authority within the household, without lightening the heavy burden of their 'traditional duties'. Akeroyd (1991:146) argues that many practices that are longstanding 'traditional' were constructed during the colonial period, through the formalization of customary law. Women do much of the cultivation work but have no entitlement to land; and still have a double burden of production and reproduction carried by women. In sum, little is known about gender because, too often women are hardly brought into the process of decision-making, and decisions and assumptions are made about their interests. This confinement of women to a minor status may still constrain their freedom of action and their economic and decision-making powers (Akeroyd, 1991:146). Moser (1993) also argues that because

development planning is based on Western planning theory, it fails to recognise the position of the woman within the family is subordinate to that of man. Another assumption made by macro-economic planners is that the household functions as a natural socio-economic unit and that there is equal control over resources and power of decision between adult household members (Moser 1993:18). Moser also sees the triple burden as a major constraint in the women's capacity to develop or expand income generating enterprises.

2.7 Conclusion: gender and agriculture

Women generally in rural areas are cultivators of land and providers of livelihoods of their families. Generally, women are considered the backbone of rural and national economies worldwide. They comprise 43% of the world's agricultural labour force, which rises to 70% in other countries. In Africa, 80% of the agricultural production comes from small farmers, who are mostly rural women. Women comprise the largest percentage of the workforce in the agricultural sector, Agriculture is the primary source of women's livelihoods in most developing countries, and therefore the way in which agricultural bureaucracy institutionalises gender policy and planning functions is particularly important for poverty alleviation. Both the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) and the Food in Agriculture Organization (FAO) support the establishment of gender units that specifically serve the rural sector as part of a country's broader machinery for the promotion of gender equity.

In relation to land, in most countries water rights are closely related to agriculture, although water is often a public good and its use is therefore associated with permits, concessions and other tenure systems. Irrigated and rain fed land is the main source of livelihood for many rural populations, although women have much less access to this essential asset than men. The distribution of water and land is a major determinant of poverty, because many small scale farmers do not have secure and regular access to water storage facilities or irrigation. Social customs dictate, moreover that women, especially rural women should in addition to their agricultural roles be responsible for cooking, fetching water and collecting wood, limiting their participation in decision-making processes and exposure to economic opportunities.

CHAPTER THREE

3. METHODOLOGY AND ETHICS

3.1 Introduction

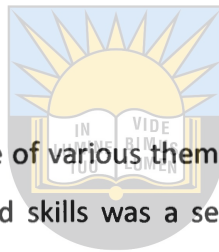
This section reviews the research method that was used in collecting and analysing data from women who participated in agricultural production in three rural areas of the Eastern Cape. These areas are the villages of Lutengele in Port St John's; Sirhosheni in Willowvale and Mbekweni in Whitelesea. A mixed method approach was used to collect data from women crop farmers, based on a household survey of thirty people and in-depth interviews and focus groups with ten women farmers in each village. The interviews collected data about work knowledge, agricultural production and the changing roles and responsibilities of rural women. The research was conducted as a case study for Umhlaba Consulting Group, which was appointed in 2011 by the Water Research Council (WRC) to look at the theme of women's empowerment in relation to productive use of land and water resources. The title of the project was: "Empowerment of women through water use security, land use security and knowledge generation for improved household food security and sustainable livelihoods in selected areas of the Eastern Cape".²

As a whole this assignment extends over four years and aims to be completed in March 2015, but I worked with Umhlaba from June 2013 until June 2014. Umhlaba's objective during this year was to ensure a comprehensive understanding of the constraints, challenges, opportunities and interventions required for empowerment of women to promote household food security and rural livelihoods through increased water productivity, with the focus on crop cultivation at Lutengele, Sirhosheni and Mbekweni in the Eastern Cape.

² Project number K5/2083

This dissertation intends to explore why women's livelihoods in rural areas are not improving and what could be done to change it. I am also concerned about how the differences between men and women have changed over time with regard to access to land, agricultural production, access to and control resources, education and access to knowledge or skills development, decision making and the balance of labour. I want to explore the understanding of rural women's experience of their 'triple burden' and their challenges in obtaining land and accessing specific items such as water, machinery and financial assistance. Furthermore I would also like to gain an understanding of how traditions interpret or integrate the constitution in relation to cultural practices.

3.2 Background to the project



The general WRC project involved the use of various themes, of which water resources and uses was the first, Agricultural assets and skills was a second theme, institutions of land access and control was a third land assets and perceptions of land value was another. A last theme was Social learning capabilities and empowerment. I only dealt with the contemporary roles and responsibilities of women. Working in pairs, we embarked on fieldwork, and specifically looked at the constraints, needs, aspirations and goals of women for food production, within the context of local rural culture, tradition and custom in the project areas. I observed the existing water uses in crop cultivation, and different activities undertaken by women in homestead food gardens or crop lands. We also observed the existing levels of knowledge, identified gaps in knowledge and isolated some requirements of skills development for women. These will be discussed later. The deliverables generated for Umhlaba included the following:

- Deliverable 2 (K5/2083//4)
- Deliverable 4 (K5/2083//4)
- Deliverable 12 (K5/2083//4)
- Deliverable 13 (K5/2083//4)
- Deliverable 14 (K52083//4)

There are many variables that were covered in the wider research project. The research

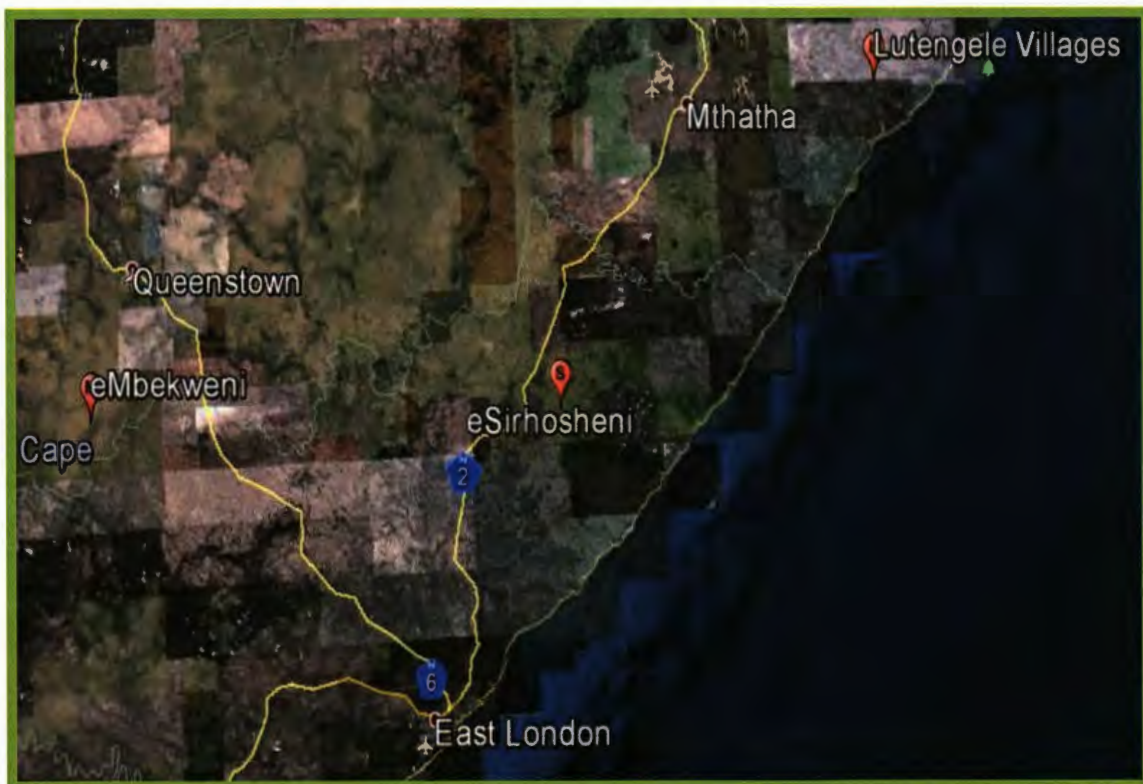
team adopted three basic frameworks for the research effort: one for sustainable livelihoods; one for gender and the third for institutions. Umhlaba adopted these with the intention of understanding how the numerous elements of the agricultural production system fit into the household's livelihood strategies, using a gendered analysis. The research team took time to evaluate and find out about women's knowledge in relation to their household profile, decision-making capabilities, and income per household and per capita monies. How women access land and water was very important, as was the farming practices used by women at the household level. The dissertation draws from various WRC publications in 2014, including deliverables no. 4, 14 and 3 (K5/2083//4).³

3.3 Overview of research sites and participants

The selected research sites cover different geographic and climate locales with different histories of settlement. Lutengele villages (Qoboshendlini and Tyityane) are in the wetter and minimally resettled area of Pondo people. Sirhosheni village is located in the 'maize-belt' some 50km inland in 'Bomvana' near Willowvale while the third site Mbekweni (west of Queenstown) is drier and was settled during the Ciskei formation in the 1970's.

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Figure 1.1: Project sites in relation to major towns in Eastern Cape. (Deliverable 12:11



3.4 Notes on terminology

During the fieldwork it became clear that participants related to and used different portions of land differently. Respondents widely used the Xhosa spatial terms of 'umzi' when referring to the boundary of the household, including the homestead and the kraal as well as different kinds of fields. 'Isitiya' is an intensive kitchen garden usually watered by hand as it is close to the homestead; 'igadi' is the larger and more extensive rain fed farming area for crops such as pumpkins, potatoes, beans and maize still within the 'umzi'; and 'intsimi' is located far away from the homestead boundary and is rain fed, and usually contains maize (WRC14: 12). These categories informed my analysis and data collection instruments.

3.5 Research Methods

A method is a procedure, tool, or technique used by the inquirer to generate and analyse data (Shwandt, 2003:158). The researcher used both qualitative and quantitative methods to collect and analysing data. Mixed method has been defined as “a research in which the investigator collects and analyses data, integrates the findings, and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches and methods in a single study or program of inquiry” (Tashakkori and Creswell, 2007:4). According to Creswell (2014:4) the combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches provides a more complete understanding of a research problem than either approach. Here the dominant method was qualitative research methods, namely in-depth interviews, focus groups and observations.

I interviewed ten women in each village who are crop farmers. These were women comprised of married, young brides (*makoti*), widows, divorced and single women. The researcher interviewed thirty women from the three villages, ten in each village. One on one interviews were conducted in each village over a period of five days in each village. The interviews were conducted in the respondent's households with their consent. I used both closed-ended questions because they were straight forward to answer, and open-ended questions gave the respondent the opportunity to give an answer to the question in their own words. Open-ended questions allow for elaboration on a response and so can provide insight into the meaning which respondents attach to their actions and beliefs (Miller and

Brewer, 2003:249). I also used a recorder and questionnaire as guide and field notes were collected during interviews. I made some observations of the behaviour and conduct of the respondent and photographs of 'igadi' and 'isitiya' (gardens) were taken. After interviews the researcher went back to the study areas for focus groups which took one day in each area.

3.5.1 Research Instrument

When I started at Umhlaba I was asked to develop my own instrument or research questionnaire. My guiding interest was to understand the differences, perspectives and concerns related to experience of rural women's productive versus reproductive activities within the household. The questions I asked looked at the significance of what it means to be a woman from both a traditionalist versus a more contemporary point of view. I aimed to ask informants what they perceived to be the expectations placed on them by the communities that they live in. The questionnaire also explored experiences and current ritual practices in each of the households to determine whether these events were expected duties for women, but this was not a large part of the project. Most questions were directed to understanding the time required to carry out household tasks and the investments made by each household. The questionnaire also aimed to understand the changes taking place which could give women more power and control over their lives.

I combined my particular focus with that of Laura Conde-Aller, a colleague from Umhlaba Consultant Group (WRC 14). The result was a combined questionnaire that was informed by the Women's Empowerment in Agricultural Index (WEAI) and the Cultural and Historical Activity Theory (CHAT) techniques, but also by my own focus on the constraints, capabilities and aspiration of women farmers practising crop production and how this improved their livelihoods. In this dissertation I used data with the view to looking at women empowerment in relation to agricultural practice, influenced by a wider context of traditional norms and contemporary development.

There were two phases in conducting research (WRC 14, WRC 4). The first phase was the planning and formulation of open-ended and closed-ended research questions for ten women farmers in each village. I conducted the semi-structured interviews in IsiXhosa, which I later transcribed and translated to English. During the interview we observed the

process and also took photos of gardens. Interviews were conducted in the respondent's households in order for them to relax and it generally took one hour to complete the interview. We spent five days in each village conducting semi-structured interviews. I conducted two interviews per day and spent most of the day observing day to day activities in the lives of women crop farmers and taking photographs. Observation was useful as this method allows the researcher to obtain a detailed description of social settings or events in order to situate people's behaviour within their own socio-cultural context (Hennink, Hutter and Bailey, 2011:170). During the second phase I went back for one day sessions for focus groups of five to four women in each village, in order to discuss women's aspirations, beliefs and their access and control of land. We went again as a group for a day workshop to discuss typologies of farming for future plans for Umhlaba project.

3.5.2 Sampling

Sampling is defined as a process of selecting units from a desired population. According to Schwandt (2001; 232) there are two general strategies or logics for selecting units to study in qualitative work: an empirical or statistical strategy and a theoretical or purposive strategy. An empirical strategy means that units are chosen based on their representativeness of some wider population unit. Purposeful sampling means that units are chosen not for their representativeness but for their relevance to the research question. The latter was used with two main criteria in mind. Firstly half the households were selected because they were women headed households and secondly, there was to be a reasonable spatial spread across the village to obtain a balance in terms of those who access to land and water resources, and those who did not. Umhlaba had previously conducted a village scoping survey, which was used as data set, within which the sample of 30 households took place (WRC 4). The table below gives an indication of the sample size of this initial survey (WRC 14: 12):

Thus women crop farmers were chosen as the basis for this study. Multiple sites were chosen in order to facilitate comparison either because these different units are likely to yield predictable contrasts in understanding the definition of social action or because they are likely to show the same or similar definition of social action (Schwandt, 2001:233). In this study women were also chosen as they shed light on the issues that the researcher is seeking to elaborate on (Shwandt, 2001:233).

Table 1: Population and Sampling for the village scoping livelihoods survey. Umhlaba WRC14

Initial Stratification	Mbekweni/Shiloh HH			Sirhosheni HH			Mbekweni HH		
	Population No	Sample No	Sample %	Population No	Sample No	Sample %	Population No	Sample No	Sample %
Group 1	380	57	15%	263	51	19%	202	30	15%
Group 2	19	19	100%	None			70	21	30%

3.5.3 Household Interviews

The main function of interviews is to provide a framework in which respondents can express their own thoughts in their own words. Interviews are conversations with a purpose to collect information about a research topic, and they are planned and deliberately set up and follow certain rules and procedures (Miller and Brewer 2003:166). Here, I interviewed women in their households and this allowed respondents to participate in a relaxed environment. The interviews were conversational and respondents had a chance to talk freely, in isiXhosa. I observed that in all areas I was viewed and accepted as a woman and women responded freely to my questions. I also used a recorder to allow the interviews to flow without interruptions of writing down and missing important statements, gestures and tones.

a) Semi-structured interviews

Interviews were generally semi-structured, which involved deciding in advance what broad topics were to be covered and what main questions could be asked (Miller and Brewer, 2003:167). I used both closed and open ended questions to collect data from respondents. Theoretically, semi-structured interviews enable the interviewer to have more latitude to probe the answers and thus enter into dialogue with the interviewee providing an

understanding of the personal context within which women are located, subject coverage (Ritchie and Lewis, 2003:36, Hennink, Hutter and Bailey, 2011:110).

b) Focus groups

According to Miller (2003:120) focus groups are a research approach whereby a group of individuals are selected to discuss together, in a focused and moderated manner, the topic under research. I aimed to discover what people believe and feel by actually asking their opinion in a group setting. Focus groups that were conducted generally rely on the interaction within the group itself to generate data because they allow the group members to give their opinions on social issues. A wider discussion of three basic questions took place: opinions on cultural expectations, access to land and role of traditional leaders were generated. It emerged that elder women believed that food production and care giving is solely a woman's role, while younger ones claimed that household task must be equally distributed between husband and wife. Four to five people at a time were interviewed in each area and sessions lasted for three hours.

3.5.4 Observations and notes

Observation is a research method that enables the researcher to systematically observe and record people's behaviour, action and interactions (Hennink, Hutter, Bailey, 2011:170). The method also allowed me to obtain a more detailed description of social settings or events in order to situate people's behaviour within their own socio-cultural context. I entered the study communities as a non-participant observer and started my observation from an outsider's perspective, observing the silent norms and values of the communities. I observed the respondents talking about their experiences, and their interpretations of the challenges they experienced while participating in food production.

Observation allows the researcher to experimentally explore how people act rather than how they say they act. At Lutengele, for instance, I observed that women gave chairs to men and went to sit on the floor, at Si'ho'sheni women sit on the right side of the homestead and men on the left side. I also made personal observations of the conditions of the households, gardens, fields, farming tools and methods used to collect water. I observed that at Lutengele 'igadi' were fenced and secured tightly to discourage animals from entering. I also observed that stakeholders like Wessa were concerned with poverty alleviation in this

village, but, poverty levels were still on the increase, despite successful projects of this nature. Secondly, gestures such as eye contact and facial expressions, body movement postures were observed during one on one interview. Thirdly, the physical location was important and here, I observed how women irrigate their *'igadi'* and *'isitiya'*. Lastly, I listened to what people said and how they said it - women mostly said they 'did not have time to rest' but I noticed that they do rest and have time to take a nap. During the group discussion a woman refused to respond in public in the presence of her husband about crop farming. These observations made me more aware of cultural norms and expectations about how women should behave, but also how they behaved without a male presence.

3.6 Research Framework and Motivation Research Methodology

In general, this dissertation has been influenced by a largely qualitative research methodology approach concerning work, knowledge and agricultural production. According to Hammersley (1996:17) qualitative methods are viewed as being sensitive to women's experience as seen in their own terms and sometimes strengthen women in their efforts to work for change (Duelli Klein, 1983, Griffin, 1986). The aims of qualitative research are generally directed at providing an in-depth and interpreted understanding of the social world, by learning about people's social and material circumstances, their experiences, perspectives and histories (Ritchie J, 2003:7). According to Babbie and Mouton (2001) qualitative research always attempts to study human actions or behaviours from the 'insider's' perspective with a purpose of focusing on the process rather than just the outcome. This type of research entails getting closer to the research in their natural setting in order to describe and understand the world through their eyes.

3.7 Ethics and research constraints

One research constraint was language. Despite the advantages of being able to speak and understand isiXhosa, I had to do back to back transcription and translation of the results of the research questionnaire – first I had to transcribe it into Xhosa, and then back to English. This doubled my effort and as a result it took up a lot of time. Secondly, the fact that I was working as a pair, and that I had to combine my questions with that of another person, limited my data collection. I felt that I had to compromise on data collection of certain issues, particularly related to access to land by women. At times, sampling and the research

process was controlled by Umhlaba, which limited my work and put me of the control of portions of the project. Thirdly as researcher I had a responsibility to the research participant but also to my colleagues from Umhlaba and Fort Hare Institution of Social Economic Research (FHISER).This complicated things because I have to accommodate and compromise and spend a lot of my time translating.

As a researcher I needed to respect the rights of the individual and not harm respondents. Everyone who participated in this study gave their consent freely without being coaxed or unfairly pressured. A woman who refused to be interviewed at Sirhosheni, for example was allowed to do so and replaced by another. Participants were all well informed about what their participation entailed and reassured that declining would not affect them negatively. Verbal consent was given as written consent may have frightened participants .Lastly the identity of the participants was protected. The researcher assured the respondents of confidentiality and anonymity and that they could have access to the information after it had been compiled. I also made sure that the respondents were safe and comfortable and interviews were too long and that privacy could be respected to give honest answers.

3.8 Conclusion

In conclusion, the qualitative method was the most important method used in this study for gathering, analysing, interpreting and presenting narrative information. Quantitative methods were only used to look for significant differences among women crop farmers and households. The use of mixed methods was useful for analysing the data obtained during the research. The next chapter is going to give a profile of the research areas and will also discuss my research results comprehensively.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE CHANGING ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE

4. DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

In the next two chapters I intend to analyse the data I collected at Lutengele, Sirhosheni and Mbekweni. This chapter provides an interpretation and discussions of the findings of this study. Data analysis is the activity of making sense of interpreting or theorizing data (Schwandt, 2001:6). Analysis begins with the processes of organizing, reducing and describing the data and continues through the activity of drawing conclusion or interpretation from the data and warranting those interpretations. These findings are then linked to the literature review in chapter two. Here I seek to get answers to the problems facing women in agriculture and how can this be overcome and also how women can benefit from development in the rural areas of the Eastern Cape. Given the decline of agriculture and the increase of reliance on a cash income, this chapter will focus on problems and opportunities for women small holders and farmers in rural areas of the Eastern Cape. In this study, the data collected through observation, interviews and focus groups were analysed through an embedded mixed analysis approach.

In this chapter I will firstly begin by giving a brief background of the research areas, secondly analyse the findings of all researched areas and also look at the similarities and differences, while the third section will look at the constraints and aspirations of women in the research areas.

4.2 PROFILE OF THE EASTERN CAPE PROVINCE

Eastern Cape was divided into two regions prior 1994, the Ciskei between Fish and Kei River; the Transkei which is between Kei and Mzimvubu Rivers in the north. Both areas are occupied by Xhosa speaking people. Eastern Cape is predominantly a rural area and is the poor of the poorest in South Africa. The 1913 Land Act and 1936 Land Reforms championed homelands and the force removals. The election of the National Party government in 1948 saw the establishment of the semi-independent homelands, which were based largely on these reserves and sought to 'consolidate segregated land holdings as well as to define

South Africa by Ethnicity' (Beinart, 2001). This self-determination policy of Dr Verwoed was aimed to make sure that the economy of Africans did not grow beyond that of peasants. Both Transkei and Ciskei were reserves for labour for the former apartheid government.

The majority of people in these homelands were women and children as men worked in the mines for hut tax. The people in rural areas solely depended on agricultural farming for livelihoods. This responsibility was left to women and children to fulfil. Both areas were affected by Betterment Planning in the 1950's onward, which dispossessed Africans of arable and grazing land. According to de Wet (1989) betterment plans were implemented in the homeland areas from the 1930 until around 1960, in an attempt to regulate these areas and control use of land by Africans. Under Betterment designed areas were divided into distinct land use zones, for residential, arable and grazing usage and all people were forced to move into demarcated residential zones (De Wet, 1989:326). The betterment and rehabilitation schemes had a negative impact on women, as fields were further away and people had to walk long distances.



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After independence Africans in homeland were highly dependent on the central apartheid state. Dependency was another strategy used by the government of controlling Africans by giving financial aid as a development process. The two homelands in the Cape were fully funded and managed by the apartheid regime until 1994. The first democratic government in South Africa was elected in 1994; both areas Ciskei and Transkei were joined together and formed what is called today the Eastern Cape Province. According to Bank and Minkley, it is here that the bulk of rural poverty is concentrated and that the greatest challenges for rural development exist (Bank and Minkley, 2005:3). Homelands were proof of government neglect over population, poor infrastructure and poor facilities.

4.2.1 Transkei

In 1976 Transkei became the first of the four homelands to be granted independence by the government of National Party, in South Africa. Transkei like the Ciskei was a rural area occupied by Xhosa speaking people who relied on agricultural farming for their livelihoods. Agriculture was funded by the apartheid government, and it opened agricultural colleges in the 1930s and 1940s and agriculture was taught as a subject in schools. The South African government of the National Party, however, supported white farmers with land, farm

equipment, finance and cheap labour which came from the reserves and neighbouring African countries. Agriculture in the reserves was funded but not like white farmers were, and black farmers were provided with machinery still had limited access to finance for agricultural farming. The majority of people living in this area were labour reserves for mining areas - women and men migrated to the cities in search of jobs in order to be able to pay taxes and support their families. Traditional leaders were custodians of culture and tradition, land, resources and water.

4.2.2 Ciskei

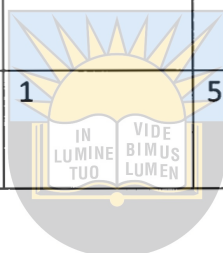
This became a self-governing territory in 1982 under the leadership of President Lennox Sebe and it was fully funded by South African government. Here too, agriculture was offered as a compulsory subject in schools and agricultural colleges were opened. Ciskei was comparably worse affected by forced removals and betterment, more than the Transkei. Ciskei was one of the most neglected areas of South Africa. Jobs were limited to government or government sponsored projects and South African sponsored factories. Most of these factories were neither economically viable nor legal entities in terms of labour practices. They were mostly owned by Taiwanese who ignored the labour laws and forced people to work for long hours and paid them less. This was an effort taken by South African government to attract foreign investment with promise of cheap labour. These factories became a popular anger in the final days of the apartheid regime when trade unions flourished. Influx Control and forced removal created townships like Mdantsane, Dimbaza, Sada and Mbekweni in Ciskei, often in order to dump blacks who were regarded as 'idle' in urban areas. Industrial areas were built to create jobs and to control and keep many blacks in the homeland.

4.3 Profile of the study areas

This section will give a basic description of the study sites in relation to basic data that was collected, starting with the below table.

Table 2 Household size and dependants: [WRC Deliverable 13]

Area	HHold size	No of HH with Pension	No of HH with Grants	No of HH who have made Investments	No of HH with water tanks	No of HH who have loans	No of HH who run a Spaza shop
Luthengele (10)	7.1	8	32	5	24	2	1
Sirhosheni (10)	5.5	7	25	5	6	1	1
Mbekweni (10)	5.7	10	32	1	5	1	0



The table above (Deliverable 13) reflects that the majority of people in all three villages, especially Mbekweni and Luthengele, derive the majority of their income from child grants, which amount to around R300.00 for a single grant per child, which is relatively small. Up to 100% of people (in Mbekweni) have an income from pensions which amounts to around R1300.00 per pensioner, and this also dominates the income of all households in Sirhosheni and Luthengele. Seemingly households in the village of Mbekweni have the least opportunity to invest into resources such as water tanks and other investments. These investments are usually, water tanks and tractors. Water tanks are the most popular in Lutengele, where people have ample rain but not to irrigate or tap water. Mbekweni also has the least agricultural activity and the smallest arable land size.

Household size in Sirhosheni and Mbekweni is similar with 5.5 and 5.7 members respectively, while Lutengele (amaMpondo) is significantly higher at 7.1 members (Umhlaba Deliverable 13). On average across the three study sites, number of dependents is also high with between 85% and 93% of household members being unemployed and dependent (including children). This clearly puts a heavy burden on those earning income. Across the three sites the average household income is approximately R20 349.00 per annum for all 10,

which means per month an average household receives about R1695.75 per month. This would mean that if total income at Sirhosheni is R1696.00, with an average household. Land size of 5.92, this gives one adult an equivalent income of R394.00. Considering that these incomes cater for multiple household needs such as subsistence, health care, tuition and home maintenance, little is often spared for investing in farming inputs (fertilisers, seeds, and pest control and irrigation equipment) and farm labour.

Table 3 Sizes and main crops of available land (WRC; Deliverable 13:40)

Site	<i>Isitiya</i> Size and main use	<i>Igadi</i> Size and main use	<i>Intsimi</i> Size and main use
Lutengele	Ave: 570sq.m Cabbage, spinach, carrots, onion, pear, Butternut and pumpkin	Ave: 0,3 ha Emphasis on maize, beans and pumpkin	Few HH have distant arable lands but none are used due to large sizes of <i>igadi</i> and security issues linked to working in remote locations
Sirhosheni	Ave: 441sq.m Cabbage, spinach, butternut, potato, carrots	Ave: 0.72 ha Maize, pumpkin and beans	Ave: 2.6ha Utilization of rain fed fields is low but where cropped is mainly rain fed maize
Mbekweni	Respondents does not meaningfully differentiate from <i>igadi</i> and <i>isitiya</i> due to smaller size of <i>igadi</i> generally	Ave 0.08ha Maize, pumpkin, spinach, cabbage and oats	Ave; 1.2ha Maize and oats' generally under utilized

a) Lutengele Village

The Lutengele village cluster includes Qoboshendlini and Tyityana, and is 330km from East London, and about 25km from Port St John's. Lutengele is an area of the amaMpondo and is located on steep sloping ridges that make crop farming difficult and vulnerable to soil erosion. The AmaMpondo were known for resisting apartheid and betterment laws. The battle of Ingquza Hill was fought to resist the Bantu Act of 1951 and the Bantu Education Act of 1953. This battle called for the representation of all in parliament, the abandonment of the rehabilitation and Betterment Scheme relief from increased taxation and stoppage of cattle culling (de Wet, 1989:326-345). Importantly Lutengele was not subject to Betterment and was not a recipient of support under the Massive Food Production Programme or the subsequent ASGISA initiative. It thus seems to be a good location in which to investigate the phenomena of r farming and changing agricultural behaviour.

Like most of the villages of the former Transkei, Lutengele is characterised by extreme poverty. The area is classified as ultra-poor with 59% of the household interviewed in an income bracket of less than R400 per month. Saldrú (1995) as cited in Denison and Manona (2007) states that women headed households are typically poorer than male headed families. Infrastructure and basic services are poor, unemployment is high and male migrancy to mines and cities for employment opportunities is common. Agricultural production is prevalent in this area, and food production is very high as the land is fertile. Women are producing various vegetables like, spinach, carrots, sweet potatoes, potatoes, butternut onion unlike the other two areas, where they still farm maize and beans. There is a mix of traditional farming skills and new technical skills method of farming used in the area. Traditional leadership plays an important role in decision-making processes. The chiefs are still the rulers and tradition is dominant, land is owned by the chief, and he appoints a headman for each village to supervise.

Igadi are prevalent and intensive in Lutengele and they are combined with '*amasimi*' fields, because women struggle to cultivate due to steep terrain and dispersed settlement patterns. In fact *intsimi* fields do not exist because they are combined with *igadi*, unlike the other two villages. The source of water is *Umzimvubu* River which is 20km from the residential areas with 250ml uphill walk, and there are highly suitable river terraces alongside the underutilized river. There is a piped water supply at Lutengele, but all

households rely on a combination of communal and rainwater harvesting sources for their domestic and crop production water. Very little piped irrigation is practiced because women use intensive hand irrigation, Water tanks are located at home and this feeds household gardens that are located around domestic areas.

Figure 2.1 *Umzimvubu* River looking downstream from Lutengele (taken from Umhlaba Deliverable 12:41)



The *Umzimvubu* River is 1.5km to 2km walking distance of the village with an average climb of 250m. Loaded with a 20 litre bucket of water this trip takes approximately 45 minutes uphill and 1hr 30min round trip. Rainwater tanks, drums and buckets are a high priority and widely used by all households. People in general in Lutengele are in a state of water deprivation. They allocate significant labour and productive time to water collection. Rainwater harvesting tanks are a priority asset, people invest in them. Cost of water is

extreme for those who have to get water for cultural celebrations, building, and funerals or due to old age. Cost of water range between R1000 to R2000 for a full tank.



Figure 2.2 Water Harvesting tank (taken from Umhlaba Deliverable 12:45)

Due to the resistance of apartheid system Lutengele was never affected by Betterment Planning. Land is communal and in abundance. Traditional leadership plays an important role in decision making processes, and such leadership has shown integration within other forms of local authority, given that local civic organisations have gained strength by their structured authority. At Lutengele land is accessed through a headman, and it is not measured equally but according to the individual needs of each household. Each homestead is allocated *igadi*, *isitiya* and *intsimi*. In sum, Lutengele has vast amount of fertile land and women are equipped with farming skills, but poor access and control of resources like land, water and farming equipment and lack of access to finance severely hampers their progress.

b) Sirhosheni Village

Sirhosheni village is 155km from East London and is a traditional area situated in the Willowvale area, in Mbashe Local Municipality (Amathole District) in the former Transkei. This is an area known for its cultural richness and their strong adherence to amaBomvana

traditional practices. Compared to Lutengele, Sirhosheni has a high population density, but also unemployment, under-development and substantial poverty. Infrastructure and basic services are poor. Traditional farming is prevalent in this site and people still use hard labour of cattle draft cattle (oxen used for ploughing) and saved seeds. Food production is low. Traditional leadership is hierarchical and male dominated but influential and generally respected by the majority. Land is communal and owned by the chief and is accessed through headmen's appointed by the chiefs. Each homestead is allocated *igadi*, *isitiya*, and *intsimi*. Gender inequalities are generally entrenched in rural communities and Traditional Authorities routinely make decisions for the community on development issues which is both the norm and accepted by both men and women. As mama Nophumzile said, "*Asiyi kwezantlanganiso zivivayo, siya kwezikaMhlophe*" – "we do not attend the comrades meetings; we only attend headman Mhlophe's meetings". The councillor is supported by the youth and old people support the traditional system. In this area of study, our group meeting took two hours discussing the legality of the meeting, the people wanted to know whether the chief was informed about the meeting (which he was).

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In this region during apartheid regime Betterment Planning was imposed, and thus land is divided into square plots and has been subjected to resettlement. Thus plots of *isitiya*, *igadi*, and *intsimi* which are far from the households. Sirhosheni is in a fertile maize- belt area and the soils are predominantly deep Hutton formation (Umhlaba, Deliverable 14) and '*intsimi*' are spread widely around the periphery of the village in large blocks each allocated to a household. Within the *umzi* there are maize gardens (*igadi*) and vegetable gardens (*isitiya*). Outside the homestead in allocated areas there are summer rain fed crops growing in '*intsimi*' and '*igadi*' near the homestead is widespread but irrigated gardening during the dry season is nearly absent. Farming is still traditional and rain fed, there's limited irrigation opportunities given local water resources. Crop farmers still farm maize, pumpkin and beans, gardens in general are available but are in limited use, fields are available but underutilised. People lack skills and knowledge of crop farming. Roof water collection is evident and there is quite a number of springs around. Government is in a process of installing taps in this community. Compared to Lutengele land is not as widely available but agricultural activity is still relatively popular – again outlying fields are not popular.



Figure 2.3 Collecting Spring Water at Sirhosheni (taken from Umhlaba Deliverable 12:46)

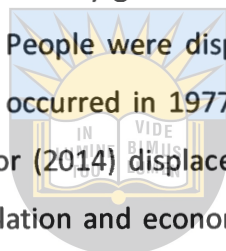
There are three systems of Ubuntu in this area that are used to assist in agricultural production; '*ilima*'; '*indibano*'; '*inkampani*' are still prevalent. Firstly, *inkampani* is a group of young men who have failed to get work or are unemployed from the cities and then go back home and create jobs for themselves. They assist in building houses, work in people's gardens and fields in return for remuneration. Secondly, *indibano* is formed by families who join their capabilities and labour in farming and assist each other by working in each other's gardens and fields. Thirdly *ilima* is an old tradition practised around Eastern Cape, where people come and assist with labour in crop farming in return for *umqombothi* traditional beer. As we know that agricultural farming demands labour and the majority of people living here are old and young children. Intensive garden farming requires the traditional way of farming hard labour using draught cattle and oxen which excludes women and hoeing. Women traditionally are not allowed to handle cattle; this puts a constraint on their production and explains the popularity of *igadi* and *isitya*. Thus women's access to farm and non-farm assets remains limited.

Ilima (work parties) are prevalent at both Sirhosheni and Lutengele, but not everybody could meet this demand. This was because the preparation of *umqombothi* needs money and uses lots of water, thus poor elderly women who live and support their grandchildren would often miss this opportunity. *Ilima* would work well as gesture if there was nothing to be spent or invested. Those who can afford the costs of *ilima* offer people expensive food and alcohol, which cannot accommodate everyone. As mama Sitwa at Lutengele mentioned:

“Masihlakula senza ilima lo mqombothi nelebila amarhewu neti nesonka abangaseli tywala”: “when you have *ilima* you have to prepare umqombothi, amarhewu; and tea and bread for those who do not drink. Tea must have milk, you must take care of your people, sometimes you buy a pig and people will come in good numbers”. Those who cannot afford all the above lose out on this free service and therefore they produce less crops or not at all.

c) **Mbekweni Village**

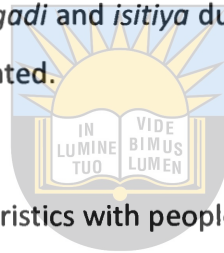
This is a peri-urban area situated close to Whitlesea and Queenstown, and is about 240km from East London. It is an area of Xhosa speaking people and is in the old Ciskei. Compared to the other two villages, Mbekweni came about as a result of forced removal and territorial consolidation that dominated the National Party government’s agricultural and settlement policies and programmes in the 1950’s. People were displaced from fertile areas in Lady Frere and Herschel. The forced removal occurred in 1977 during the rule of Lennox Sebe (Ciskei government). According to Connor (2014) displacement disrupts established social relationships, which for many means isolation and economic impoverishment. People also experience a distinct lack of autonomy and lack of control over their daily lives, political decisions being out of their control. Informants have told me that when they arrived at Mbekweni it was a huge field without houses and infrastructure, they were forced to build shelters to sleep under, until the Ciskei government allocated them plots in later years.



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The Ciskei government was also fully funded by South African government, the department of agriculture of homelands supplied small farmers with tractors and irrigation schemes, which functioned well for them. During the reign of Sebe people were also working in subsidised factory areas, such as Dimbaza, locally, which created dependence. Presently, the majority of men are working in urban areas. After 1994 the African National Congress (ANC) led government terminated all the services that were provided by the homeland governments to farmers. The coming of freedom brought further frustrations to the people. This was a gross mistake from the government as these services are still needed in order to sustain livelihoods of the people and this termination has caused poverty in these areas. Many people started moving to the cities after 1994. There is high poverty, high unemployment rate and the high incidents of male labour migrancy to the cities and mines living behind women, the elderly and children.

Currently, farming is expensive in this area, the hiring of a tractor cost R 940.00 per month. The majority of people prefer to buy household food from the retail shops at Whitlesea and Queenstown. *Igadi* are small and utilised for lamb pasturing and as *isitiya*. Amasimi are rain fed by summer rains and used for maize and oats. Roof water harvesting is evident, but the kind of water storage, like tanks, is limited compared to the other two villages in this sample. Irrigation was an extensive system but is now grossly underused; there is unused old commercial irrigation equipment on Trust land from the old Ciskei incorporation. Many people seems to prefer the 'old days' of the Sebe regime than the new democratic government of South Africa because they at least had agricultural investment. Compared to the other villages Mbekweni has the least land and agricultural producers. In fact, respondents did not differentiate from *igadi* and *isitiya* due to the smaller size of *igadi*, and their outlying lands are not very well planted.



Mbekweni has some peri-urban characteristics with people living in a resettled village; it has a typical layout and relatively smaller plots of land for use for the homestead. A very small number of the local population is employed at the local town Whitlesea. In preparatory work under Water Research Commission (WRC) project a livelihood survey showed 81% of residents were grant dependent, with majority being women. Although agriculture is the dominant economic activity it is not the sector which is most reliable in terms of income or livelihoods. The majority of the food consumed in households is purchased from chain-stores in Whitlesea or Queenstown. Food production is very low and women continue to play an important role in sustaining livelihoods of their families.

4.4 Findings of Lutengele in Port St John's

In this section I intend discussing my findings by focusing on one issue at a time. I will begin by giving the family background of each household in the study of the three villages.

Table 4: household composition and marital status at Lutengele (WRC: Deliverable 13:49)

Name	Marital Status	Age	Head	Husband Employed	Dependants
1.Mambuyiswa Zinyuse	Married	60yrs	Male	Pensioner	8
2.Noyolile Mngcetwa	Married	50	Male	Pensioner	8
3.Mabonisile Zinyuse	Married	56	Male	Pensioner	8
4.Mcingelwa Sitwa	Separated	65	Female	None	8
5.Olwethu Kenya (makoti)	Married	24	Male	Employed	5
6.Nomvano Nogwado	Married	33	Male	Employed	4
7.Gertrude Ndabeni	Widow	61	Female	None	4
8.Nolundi Zibandayo	Widow	39	Female	None	6
9.Mbizelwa Sadina	Married	57	Male	Pensioner	10
10.Lindiswa Madolweni	Single	31	Female	None	9

4.4.1 Profile of Respondents

Majority of women I interviewed in Lutengele are old and married, living with husbands and grandchildren. The ten women were trained by Wessa in farming skills. Mrs Zinyuse is a skilled farmer striving to be a commercial farmer, her garden is well kept and she is farming with intent to farm. She has four green water tanks to sustain her garden which is big. She lives with her husband, two children and grandchildren. Mrs Ndabeni is a widow who is a Sotho speaker; she has been living in Lutengele for more than thirty years. She is the one heading the projects in this area. She has a big garden which has an underground tank and five green water tanks. Gertrude's intentions of farming are to be a commercial farmer as well. Lindiswa Madolweni the only single woman in this project is living with her mother and sisters and grandchildren. She has two children of her own, and she is striving to be a commercial farmer. Lindiswa has two big gardens which she uses for fruit and vegetable. Mama Sitwa is separated from her husband, who lives with another woman in the same village. Her husband moved out and left her and the children in the household. She is living with her two sons, makoti and grandchildren. Her son who works in Welkom is building her household that is dilapidated. Mrs Sitwa cannot read or write, she relies on her makoti. Her

garden is small because she has no fence and no water tanks as a result she farms for food consumption.

4.4.2 Farming

Given the decline of agriculture and the increase of reliance on a cash income, in general there are specific problems and opportunities for women small holder farmers in different rural areas of the Eastern Cape. I observed that the ten women crop farmers who were selected for interview at Lutengele had a better knowledge and training of crop farming. Their farming standards were higher compared to other villages and women had more knowledge and empowerment due to training given by WESSA. There is high productivity in crop farming in Lutengele and surplus is sold locally. However, women have no means to access markets due to poor infrastructure and lack of transport. There is intense use of *igadi* because of their proximity to the households; *intsimi* (fields) are abandoned because they are far and not fenced. Hand irrigation is prevalent due to lack of irrigation schemes. Farming occurs right through the year in this village and they produce various vegetable like carrots, beetroot, butternut, spinach, potatoes and sweet potatoes. This is proof that women are not the supporters of men in crop farming they are, and can be productive just as men are. All the women I interviewed at Lutengele says, "*oko safundiswa ngu WESSA ukulima abantwana bethu abalali bengatyanga*" – "*ever since we started crop farming training by WESSA, our families do not go to bed without food*". The household headed by Ms Lindiswa Madolweni, for example, produce fruit like yams, pineapple, banana, oranges and avocado and she aspires to be a commercial farmer.

4.4.3 Household income

The majority household sources of income in Lutengele are pensions, grants and financial support from family members who are working in the cities. Women also make extra income by selling surplus vegetables, *ukutena* (or plastering) and *amagoqo* (collecting wood), selling sweets and clothing to complement their grants. So women too are breadwinners in rural areas as majority of household are headed by females. It is also observed that majority of women invest in educating their children and grandchildren. Women do not save money in the bank, they say; "*incinci imali siyafundisa sithenge ukutya iphele*" – "*it is too little, instead we use it to pay school fees and buy uniforms for our children*". Two families are banking and they both have external support from husband and

a sibling who are working in the cities. But many women are scared of making loans because they lack knowledge of how to go about it. Loans are mainly made by men for funerals of the family members, one built a house; women were surprised and expressed shock when asked about loans, '*zange ndayenza kuthiwani*' – "I've never done it", was a common response.

4.4.4 Agricultural activities

The ten women I interviewed preferred to work in their own gardens alone since cooperatives created problems for them because of time constraints and reproductive responsibilities to the group. Older generation are less able to farm as they no longer have the strength to do so in all three areas. They lack strength to fence, to weed, to plough and to harvest. Weeding happens in August, earlier at Lutengele than in other areas, because Port St John's is quite fertile with harvest for maize happening a few months ahead of other villages. The months of weeding (*ukuhlakula*) are October to December. Other work parties happen in August to plant beans (*ukutyala imbotyi*) or to plough for maize. There is intense use of *igadi* which are nearer to the household and are big and most tightly fenced and secured from animals. *Amasimi* are far away and not fenced, and are underutilized. Women rely on *ilima* (which I have discussed extensively previously) for labour in the gardens and fields for those who use them. Households that utilize '*amasimi*' are those usually headed by males and those who have male support. The lack of male labour has a heavy impact on crop production for women. Women spend a lot of time doing their daily chores, doing productive work, working as crop farmers; as well as reproductive work, doing house chores – cleaning, cooking, taking care of children and frail care, fetching water, and community activities, when there are cultural activities and traditional expectations. This busy schedule takes away their leisure time and shows that women work long hours than men in rural areas. (Moser, 1993: 27; Momsen, 2004:2).

4.4.5 Decision making

As cited in Ostergaardt (1992), that too often women are hardly brought into the process of decision-making, and that decisions and assumptions are made about their interests. Women's decision making powers may thus only end up as agricultural production and labour in Lutengele. Despite this, it is their use of indigenous knowledge which is vital in traditional farming. Women do participate in community meetings and they are allowed to

discuss, but are not elected to executive positions where they can make informed decisions. They only serve in executive committees in women's "manyano" Women Christian associations in church. I also observed that women make decisions about crop farming but their decision making powers are limited when it comes to animals. Women have to consult their husbands, brothers or brother in-laws or their sons when they want to sell their livestock especially cattle. Mama Getrude a widow said that, "*Ndixelela ubhuti nonyana bam abaseGoli phambi kokuthengisa inkomo*" – "I have to inform my brother-in-law and my sons who are in Johannesburg" (if I want to sell cattle). Mama Zibandayo also a widow sighed in shock in response, "*Yhu! Sisi andikwazi kwenza nto apha ndingaxelelanga ubhuti*" – "there's absolute nothing that I can do here without consulting my brother-in-law". Political decisions are made by men and very few women serve in these structures. Women are free to participate in 'imbizo' public meetings called by the headman, but final decisions are made by men. "*Thina mama siyaxelelwa izigqibo ezithathwe ngamadoda kwimiba yamanzi nezi zokwakhiwa kwendlela*" – "we are only informed by the decisions taken by men in issues concerning water and road development" (Olwethu). In Lutengele I did observe that women are employed to work with men in the development projects of the community, like road development and building of toilets.

4.4.6 Access to land

Walker (2003) argues that women's access to land is through their husbands, and their sons. In Lutengele, all the women who were selected for interviews were married or widows. The majority of women are in their fifties and sixties, and have been married for a long time. When asked about ownership of land and inheritance they said, 'Umzi ngowendoda uzakusala kwinkulu' – "the household belong to the man and will be inherited by their first born son". The land is also owned by the chief, and every household is allocated three plots - *isitiya*, *igadi* and *intsimi*. I observed that land is not a problem in this area because the amaMpondo were not as directly affected by the Betterment Planning due to the resistance in the area. Their *igadi*, *isitiya* and *amasimi* are huge and are not divided in squares. If someone wants to extend a garden they just do so without going to the headman. When we arrived at Madolweni homestead, for example, their daughter Lindiswa, who took over crop farming from her mother because she is ailing, was extending her garden by fencing a third one. I asked her how she acquired that land because it was across the road opposite

her homestead; she explained that she did not need anybody's permission to extend her garden since everyone was entitled to do so. Akeroyd (1991) argues that without direct access to (or better control of) land, women's access to opportunities for investment credit and marketing may be limited or none existent.

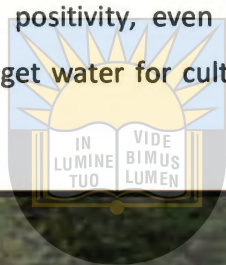
4.4.7 Access to water

At Lutengele, both arable plots and homestead are situated on steep sloping ridges that extend from *Umzimvubu* river valley, so the rain water instead of running down to the river, fills up underground tanks. Households who have no water tanks struggle to get water they collect 20 litters of water for household consumption, cooking and drinking, for irrigation and animals. In winter people buy 25 litres of water for R10, 00 and it cost R300, 00 to fill up a green water tank (or Jojo) with water. This puts their health at risk because the amount of water is little, and is used for cooking, drinking and washing. Women have to collect water for their domestic animals too. The Jojo tanks and underground tanks were supplied by WESSA's one for each household in the project; as a result household who were not part of the unit approached us for Jojo's and seedling, the latter are expensive at R3500. While conducting interviews at mama Sitwa's household, for instance, I observed *umakoti* (young married woman) washing four children in a basin with dirty water. According to the Department of Water Affairs (DWA) 1999, the main aim of the new water legislation, the National Water Act (NWA) No 36 of 1998 is to address rural poverty and inequalities inherited from the past apartheid regime. Households that have both underground and two to four jojo tanks have more production and are aspiring to be commercial farmers.

Water collection is everybody's task at Lutengele - women, young boys with donkeys carry 20 litres and 50 litres, in wheelbarrows and men transport water in cars. There is a change in the social division of labour because water is no longer the sole responsibility of women. In all societies tasks and responsibilities are typically undertaken by either women or men. This allocation of activities on the basis of sex is known as sexual division of labour, and is learned and clearly understood by all members of a society (Young, 1997:51). Change in the gender tasks usually takes place when the society is under some form of stress, which in Lutengele is because of water. Water tanks do assist a lot and reduces the amount of time spent by women in collecting water and also decreases production in crop farming.

Ostergaardt (1992) argues that in the Third World countries the 'poorest of the poor' are those rural and urban household that are headed by women. Female headed households have to struggle against many barriers that exclude women from earning a livelihood; these women live below the limit where the basic human needs are satisfied without sufficient nutrition, clean drinking water, simple shelter, basic education or primary health care. The collection of water is time consuming and crop farming needs water for irrigation, so it becomes a burden to women to walk the long walk to collect water.

People in Lutengele thus seem to live in a general state of water deprivation. They allocate significant labour and productive time to water collection, although this is combined with social interaction and conducted with positivity, even by elderly. The cost of water is extremely high for those who have to get water for cultural rituals, funerals and building purposes.



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Figure 3.1 Water collection at Lutengele (Umhlaba Deliverable 13)

4.4.8 Education and health care

Majority of women in Lutengele have primary education, but some none at all. During casual talk Ms Nickelwa Sitwa whispered that her mother-in-law was not educated, as a result she was teaching her to write. She showed us the book she used to teach her. This

explained why mama Sitwa wanted her daughter-in-law to be present during interviews. Education is thus still a problem in Lutengele, there are no pre-schools for young children, and women have to look after them while doing their daily chores. The only school is a primary school and older children are forced to leave their families and live in areas where there are high schools. This takes labour away from home and also forces children to be independent at a very early age. Unfortunately the majority drops out because of early pregnancy and lack of financial support mechanisms from their parents. In Lutengele, young brides (makoti) complained about looking after young children and the frail, and suggested that Nikelwa should open a crèche because she had a grade 12 education. There are no health care centres in this village; women have to travel to Port St John's.

4.5 Findings of Sirhosheni



Table 5 Household composition and marital status of Sirhosheni (WRC: Deliverable 13:50)

Name	Marital Status	Age	Household Head	Husband Employed	Dependents
1.Nodazini Qalani	Widow	72	Female	None	5
2. Mhlaba Amanda	Single	32	Female	None	5
3.Mqotololwana Nolusini	Married	50	Male	Pensioner	6
4.Vayisi Fuzeka	Single	35	Female	None	4
5. Nolingene Qiyo	Married	42	Male	Pensioner	6
6.Nophumzile Mrongo	Widow	68	Female	None	5
7. Nonathi Fetman	Married	46	Male	Commercial Farmer	7
8.Nonyameko Mpetha	Widow	66	Female	None	4
9.Nokhekeletshe N.	Widow	64	Female	None	5
10. Nolindile Ngqumba	Married	54	Male	Pensioner	4

4.5.1 Farming

Sirhosheni has been affected by betterment planning but this only resulted in the division of arable land from residential plots and did not result in extensive forced removals. Like

Lutengele, Sirhosheni also has three plots for each household, *isitiya*, *igadi* and *intsimi* – but the village has been divided up into smaller parcels due to betterment. The majority of households that I interviewed are headed by old women, mostly widows. Many men, too, seem to have retired from working in the cities because of age and illnesses, and were focusing on farming. In this village men are more involved in agricultural schemes and are accessing finance for farming. I observed that the households headed by men have a higher rate of production than those headed by women due to labour. Female headed families rely more on *ilima*, *indibano* and *inkampani* work parties for labour. Notably, unlike other villages, young men have formed groups to sell their services for farming production and building. There is a strong participation of young people unlike the other two villages. This means that women have to hire labour which hinders their production. Women lack farming machinery they have to hire tractors when available.

In Sirhosheni there is a more intense use of *igadi* because they are closer to households and much bigger than Lutengele. Traditional farming (rain fed) is the norm in this village, and only maize, beans and pumpkins are farmed. Crop farming is chiefly for household consumption and very few sell their surplus. Hand irrigation is prevalent in this village, and there are no irrigation schemes and few water tanks.

4.5.2 Household income

The basic household income is pension and child grants and financial support from family members that are working in the cities. One woman Mrs Mpeteta owns a spaza shop but claims that she is not making much profit; her shop is there just to provide people with daily needs, like bread, tea and coffee. I did observe, however, that she was also selling alcohol. Like Lutengele, women in this village have no knowledge of accessing credit from banks. They all (also) screamed in shock when I asked them about loans, some showed concern of paying back money and asked me, how on earth they would be able to pay back the money. One lady, Nolungile, admitted using '*Matshonisa*' (loan sharks) for loans – and not banks, banks are for "educated people", she said. Again it is only men who access credit for farming and building of their household.

4.5.3 Agricultural activities

Work parties are common in this area as traditional farming is prevalent. People use cattle for crop farming and this practise excludes women as cattle are taboo. People still use the hard labour of cattle and oxen for farming which also excludes women. Women mostly have to hire labour for ploughing as there is no machinery, or rely on work parties. Women also still use the indigenous way of farming, by saving seed and using cattle manure as fertiliser, but it is evident that they lack the knowledge and skills of modern farming. There is a local farming scheme that is run by the government but women in Sirhosheni are not keen to leave their household gardens and work away from home. Most prefer to work in their own gardens and are willing to learn as they see a need to develop their farming skills.

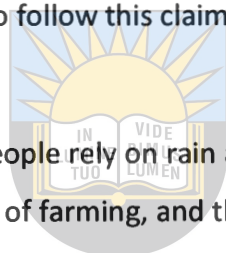
4.5.4 Decision making

Sirhosheni is a traditional village culture and tradition governs the everyday lives of the people. Tradition and politics in this area do seem to hinder development and production. For example, it took us more than an hour to discuss the legality of the group workshop. Members were concerned that the headmen and the chief should be informed about the meeting. Tradition and cultural rituals are also still observed and practiced by all in this village – for example, there is a cattle horn in every undlunkulu (main hut) of each *umzi*. I observed that during a group discussion that women would sit on the right side of the hut while men were sitting on the left side. One old man, due to lack of space on the left side, took a sit on the right hand side and he was called to order by women saying "*uyasibhudisa*" "you are confusing us now". I noticed that my fellow student, Adam (a white person), was not subjected to this order as he was sitting on the right too. These women were claiming their traditional space.

In Sirhosheni women do not serve in decision making structures, although they are informed about the decisions taken by men for development in the area. This subordination of women to men was exposed in the group discussions when Ms Nolindile Ngqumba refused to talk in a meeting; she said her husband ought to be the one to answer questions when asked about her reasons for crop farming. In the group discussions, women whose husbands were present were not contributing to the discussion at all (Afshar 1991:1; Moser 1993:15; Akeroyd 1991:144).

4.5.5 Access to land

In Sirhosheni, land is owned by the chief and he allocates land to those who are in need at a cost - a bottle of brandy and twenty rand. Most women are married and access land through their husbands, and their elder sons inherit it event of their death. Ms. Nophumzile said; "I want to make sure that before I die both my girls are educated as their brother's won't be able to do so, because their wives won't allow them to pay for their education". This means that the brother who inherits a household is not always assured of taking care of his new family. Two single women, Fuzeka and Amanda, did claim that they had the right as single women to own land if they so wished. All they had to do was to go to the headman 'sibonda' and ask for land, and provide a payment of one bottle of brandy and twenty rand, like other people. I did not have chance to follow this claim as my scope was limited.



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5.7.6 Access to water

There is no irrigation in Sirhosheni and people rely on rain and there are few water tanks. Women also lack knowledge and training of farming, and they often struggle with hand irrigation for *isitiya* and *igadi*. It is not difficult to access water in this area, since there are quite a number of springs, but during dry seasons these dry up. The government do provide taps in the village, but women complain that water is not available every day and that pipes break regularly and it takes time to have them fixed. Sirhosheni obviously has a problem with water, similar to Lutengele.

4.5.7 Education and Health Care

Most women in Sirhosheni only have a primary education; as a result education is very important to local women. All women say that they are working to educate their children, especially girls. Health care is also a problem in this village, women have to go far and hire transport to other villages for clinics. There is evidence of alcohol consumption and abuse in this village, I observed women sitting down drinking beers outside the spaza shop during the day. Women complain about the high rate of crime in the area, old people who live alone are sometimes victimised and killed.

4.6 Findings of Mbekweni

Table 6: Household composition and marital status of Mbekweni (WRC: Deliverable 13:51)

Name	Marital Status	Age	Household Head	Husband Employed	Dependents
1. Mnyombolo N	Single	25	Female	None	4
2. Kibido N.	Widow	76	Female	None	4
3. Bizwaphi N.	Married	42	Female	Employed	6
4. Jada Ivy	Single	35	Male	None	6
5. Mthini N.	Married	48	Male	Pensioner	6
6. Magelekwane B.	Single	34	Male	None	6
7. Minembi	Divorced	52	Female	None	6
8. Tshoniswa B.	Widow	65	Female	None	6
9. Makeleni	Widow	66	Female	None	7
10. Tuskushe	Married	66	Male	Pensioner	3

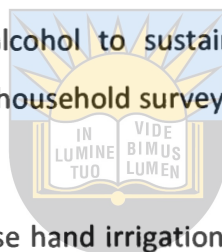
4.6.1 Farming

In Mbekweni most households are headed by women and there is very low crop production compared to Lutengele and Sirhosheni. The fields have a water supply, and are not far from homesteads, unlike other villages discussed previously - but are not utilized by the people because they are not fenced. Animals trespassing and thieving are a big problem in this village. Crop farming is very expensive because women have to hire a tractor and labour at a high cost. Women as rural producers (Brydon 1989:79) are not enthusiastic about crop farming in this site. I also observed that farming has deteriorated drastically in this area; gardens are very small and not utilized for household food consumption because farming is expensive. Mbekweni is really a peri-urban area; most people prefer to buy food from the chain stores in Whitelesea. Their gardens are mainly used for Lucerne growing and fodder for feeding their animals. Farming is seen as a backward activity here - young people are not interested, one woman (Ncumisa) said, “abantu abatsha bayonqena” –“young people are lazy”. This is very different from Lutengele but especially Sirhosheni. Thus the aspiration of the youth and the freedom they enjoy, have had a major impact on patterns of culture and

cultivation. Another informant (Boniswa), argued that today's children do not possess much of the practical knowledge that their parents have about ploughing and planting, and that they have not learnt through experience. In the past, she said, children were important members of the household labour structure, engaging in ploughing, looking after cattle as herdboys, and collecting wood and water for the family.

4.6.2 Household income

Majority of households in Mbekweni are female headed and the source of income is pensions, child grants and financial support from family members who work in the cities. Women try and invest in education of their children but they have very little money to save. Women in this village do not access loans because they cannot afford them. I observed that one family (the Jada's) were selling alcohol to sustain themselves and this was not mentioned as a source of incomes in the household survey.



4.6.3 Agricultural activities

At Mbekweni women lack rely on intense hand irrigation for their small gardens. Women have no access to farming equipment and resources like seeds and fertilizers, since they cannot afford to buy them. Politics has had a huge impact on agricultural farming in this area. The former government of Ciskei used to supply the community with tractors and irrigation schemes, so people tended to rely on the support of the government, and once this was removed, it has created a problem of dependency and high expectation. In 1994 the democratic government terminated all the services that were provided by the Ciskei government and this led to the destruction of the irrigation scheme and frustration in this community. Bonelwa, a widow who was no longer farming, I asked her why she did not use their cattle for ploughing and she replied that, "*linkomo zethu zange zaqheliswa nabantwana bethu abakwazi ukubopha*"—"our cattle's were never trained and our kids are not trained to draft the cattle". This was shocking to me. Farming is clearly expensive and women cannot afford to hire tractors and labour and most of them are old and frail and have no capacity to farm. *Ilima* is still practiced in this village but has become costly, as people expect to be given food and alcohol. The Tuskushe couple, for instance, who were both old and frail, were still farming and using both their garden and fields,. Mr Tuskushe hired tractors and labour at R1200.00 and Mrs Tuskushe did the rest of crop farming and

selling. The political withdrawal of funding in this area has clearly demoralized people and they need intense motivation from external forces and the government.

4.6.4 Decision making

In Mbekweni women are active in political structures, but decisions are made by men. One informant Ncumisa, who served as a member of the water committee said that decisions were made by men, who just come to inform them about the way forward. As a committee member she has no knowledge about local issues, and she referred me to the chairperson, Mr Lili Noduno. People in Mbekweni do have taps but these only produce water for three days in a week, and thus they have to save water in buckets and water tanks, but only those who can afford them. Farming is limited here - those who are farming are utilizing small portions of their gardens for food consumption and to feed their domestic animals.

4.6.5 Access to land

Women in Mbekweni primarily access land through marriage. People have Permission to Occupy (PTO's) which they think are title deeds. PTO is one of two forms of tenure under Proclamation R188 of 1969 and they are usually issued by a traditional authority on behalf of a local magistrate. PTO's have had severe limitations on the rights of holders: it has restricted plot size to one person per land parcel, and has enforced a rigid system of male primogeniture to govern inheritance; consequently there is little recognition of female land rights (Cousins, 2010). PTO's were mainly issued during the homeland government and this has not been corrected as the new constitution proposes. Ntsebeza (2002:3) rightly argues that although rural inhabitants are *de facto* owners of land, in the sense that they have lived in these areas for long periods of time, but land holding based on the PTO system does not provide them with legally secure title comparable to freehold title. He claims that it is this insecurity of tenure that has created conditions for the exclusion of rural inhabitants from the administration and management of what is essentially their land. Here too land is owned by men, and women only inherit through marriage. An informant in Mbekweni, Ncumisa, confirmed this, since both her parents had since passed away and her brother is the head of the family. This was irrespective that his elder sister was maintaining the family financially and Ncumisa was the one looking after the household.

4.6.6 Access to water

Water resources in Mbekweni are available but they are underutilized for various reasons. Irrigation schemes, firstly, were destroyed because the present democratic government stopped all the programmes that were supported by the Ciskei the government has provided the community with taps, but water is not available every day and is only for household consumption not for irrigation. With regard to education, majority of women in this village have secondary education and education is highly recommended. There are no clinic and toilets.

4.7 Similarities and differences between the three sites

Differences and similarities between the three sites can be discussed with reference to the constraints and aspirations experienced by people. Before this can be done, what is common to all sites, however, is that women still have access to land through their husbands and sons. Women still have no decision making powers when it comes to household assets and, they only make decisions about crop farming. Cooperatives are not preferred by most women crop farmers, because they are time consuming and draw women work away from their households. Women prefer to work in their own gardens while they receive training and empowerment for farming skills from NGOs such as WESSA. In all three sites women prefer share cropping and working together using traditional work parties than working for schemes. The chief reasons why 'amasimi' (fields) are abandoned in all three areas is due to lack of fencing and the fact that they are located far away – and for this reason there is intense use of gardens. Poor education makes it difficult for women to know how to access finance and their rights when it comes to access to land and resources and farming resources. Traditional activities still observed and practised in all three sites. Water provision and access to water is also a great problem in all three sites, but the provision of water tanks has made life a bit easier for some. In Lutengele, for instance, women struggle to access water from Mzimvubu River, during the dry season they are forced to buy water and this is costly for poor people and leaves them stranded without water. Water also limits the use of outlying fields. Lack of male labour, few draft cattle, and expensive equipment and seedling cost also restrict the use of larger areas of farming land, and plots that are located closer to homesteads are more manageable. Overall, it is a myth that people in the old Transkei homeland do not farm – in fact, many people are confident and enthusiastic

about crop farming, although there are regional differences – and it is also clear that women are the main farmers and providers.

Differences between the three sites are clear. Women in Lutengele have more adequate farming skills than women in Sirhosheni and Mbekweni, although Sirhosheni does have much more crop farming than Mbekweni. The effects of betterment and forced removal have been disastrous for Mbekweni, because plots are very small at Mbekweni, and *isitiya* are incorporated into the homestead garden. There is no crop farming in Mbekweni people are demoralised due to past removals and changes, and they lack farming skills.

4.8 Constraints

A constraint can mean anything that can limit or prevent one from achieving their desired goal. The constraint can be financial, institutional, technical (knowledge and skills) as well as natural. In the case of Lutengele, Sirhosheni and Mbekweni, the main constraints relate to low food security. The conditions faced by the food producers themselves are varied, but the types of farming activity seem consistent and similar.

With regard to economic constraints, there are very little financial resources to invest in and improve people's farming across the three researched areas. About 80% of the households depended on social grant including child, disability and old age as their major source of income. These sources of income catered for multiple household needs such as subsistence, health care, tuition and home maintenance, and little was spared to invest in farming equipment. Fields cultivation has substantially declined due to lack of fencing, this makes fields vulnerable to destruction by stray animals especially cattle and goats. The lack of fencing has resulted to people abandoning their fields that are in fertile areas next to *Umzimvubu* River at Lutengele, for instance. At Mbekweni, despite enjoying access to irrigation water, many people have also abandoned field cultivation because they are not fenced. Another contributing factor to low production is lack of a labour force. Most women are old and cannot afford to employ labour for cultivation. *Ilima* still functions in all three areas but it has become expensive nowadays. People prefer to work for people who are going to give them food and alcohol and not *umqombothi* (maize beer) only.

In all three areas there is a notable lack of farming equipment, tractors, cattle and irrigation machinery. Traditionally women are forbidden to use cattle for farming and this gives men

an added advantage compared to women. Tractors have to be hired at a price that most women cannot afford and these tractors are all driven by males. There also a lack of transport system to transport goods to markets in towns, which limits cash spends and cash cropping. Women are not provided with capital to improve their farming skills and invest in farming equipment relevant to their farming needs. Lastly, the fact that people are dependent on state grants and pension makes it difficult for them to become successful farmers as there are not enough funds to buy farming equipment, such as seeds, fertilizers and irrigation equipment.

(i) Natural constraints

Natural constraints in all three areas are primarily related to water. All three villages receive low rainfall quantities per annum, ranging between 450mm to 1029mm and rainfall usually start from the late months of summer to the first stage of winter. Each area suffers dry spells of close to five months during which farming is impossible without supplementary irrigation. Yet most of the farmers do not have access to irrigation water largely due to lack of money to invest in various irrigation technologies. At Lutengele for instance, there is no rain in winter, and people struggle to get water - they even buy water. In Lutengele there is intense hand irrigation due to lack of irrigation water, women have to collect from the river water for food consumption, irrigation and for animals. Households who have Jojo tanks collect roof water for household consumption. Two crop farmers have underground water tanks that help in irrigation of the gardens. In Sirhosheni there is very little winter cropping, including vegetables, and farmers mainly depend on rain for farming. The same applies to Mbekweni. Topography of the villages also does not help with farming activities. In Lutengele both homesteads and arable plots are situated on steep sloping ridges that extend from *Umzimvubu* river valley. This has placed a constraint on farming in at least two influential ways: sloping makes top soils susceptible to loss through erosion, and also makes it difficult to apply efficient and labour reducing technology like tractors. This has forced farming at Lutengele to depend on cheaper, but time consuming and labour intense technology such as animal draft and hand-hoeing. More than 70% of the respondents across the three sites reported that they invest in soil fertility and mainly in the form of animal manure and compost. In limited cases at Sirhosheni and Mbekweni people used industrial fertilizers in combination with manure, compost is a limited commodity.

In addition to these physical problems, there are severe physiological constraints in the three areas. Male labour migrancy to the cities and mines has largely left the burden of hard farming chores such as ploughing and clearing the land to women, children and the elderly. At Mbekweni old age and dissipating energy was cited as one of the reasons for abandoning fields and shifting to home gardens. At Lutengele and Sirhosheni some reported that they have stopped due to absence of husbands either through death or labour migrancy. Very few female headed households reported that they use their fields for farming, their primary interest is to farm within their *umzi* but with varied purpose and outcomes in mind, including food consumption and cash.

4.9 Aspirations

An aspiration is a mental drive to achieve a desired goal in the context of one's environment of existence and livelihood participation including education, career, politics and farming. Such an achievement often comes with it a sense of self-fulfilment and self-actualization, as well as self-expression in the joy that one has expressed and realized their full potentialities either free off or in spite of existing limitations. This section summarizes aspirations expressed by women crop farmers in direct relation to the farming livelihoods that they are currently pursuing.

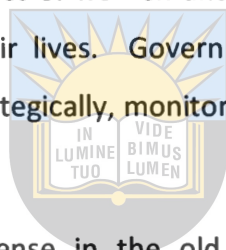
There is a common aspiration in all three areas of few women who want to be commercial farmers. For instance, Lindiswa in Lutengele expressed a desire to employ and train people and expand her small business. The prevalence of people, who aspire mainly to produce enough food with some cash surplus, is also evident in all three sites. It is that female crop production needs the most investment and attention as this is a productive and widespread activity in some regions. Most old women have aspiration of renovating their homesteads and educating their children and grandchildren. Younger women dream of becoming commercial farmers, while single women want to leave the rural area to go work in the cities.

The two *makoti's* (young brides) that I interviewed wanted to leave the homestead of their in-laws and build their own homesteads. During group discussions in Lutengele, village MrsOlwethu Kenya (a *makoti*) started building her homestead next to her in-law. Women also want pre-school and high schools at Lutengele and agriculture to be taught as a subject.

In Sirhosheni women do need health care facilities and security as attacks on old people are prevalent. In Mbekweni there is high demand for toilets and here women expressed a need to be trained properly about crop farming and empowered with knowledge of how to access finances and market.

4.10 CONCLUSION

The objective of this study was to obtain an understanding of the ways in which agriculture is changing in three rural areas of the Eastern Cape. Women are clearly the backbone of the development of rural areas, and they need to be taken seriously and involved in the planning and decisions that affect economy of their areas. For decades research has been conducted about roles and responsibilities of women and recommendations are made but, still very little is done to improve their lives. Government has good policies for rural development it needs to implement strategically, monitor implementation and evaluate the process



Agriculture and crop farming are intense in the old Transkei irrespective of all the constraints that women experience in farming. Women play a critical role in food security in this region by playing their role as food providers and they are responsible for production of most food crops. People in the former homelands have not abandoned agricultural activities, rather they have responded to incentives and pressures by adjusting their livelihood activities and changing their behaviour, altering the nature and extent of their agricultural activity. There is a rigid division of labour by gender in agriculture. This division is based on patriarchal norms that require women to care for the needs of the members of the household while men are involved in cash income jobs for the household. Gradually the distinction between men's and women work is quite blurred, as women may get help from men in clearing and preparing their plots. There is an increased participation of women in agriculture as men migrate to work outside of agriculture.

In rural areas traditional leaders are regarded as the custodians of the land, with its capacity to produce food and other resources. Traditionally land is allocated to community members by a headman. In rural areas women have access to land through males relatives, women's access to land affects productivity. Traditional leaders still have superior powers over their subjects. The gender roles and responsibilities in subsistence economies are dynamic and

change with new economic situations. When men move to non-farm activities, women become more involved in cash cropping. The new dispensation requires that communities appoint councillors and this cause tensions and overlapping of mandates, as chiefs are seen as custodians of land in these areas. Today it is accepted that both traditional and modern institutions are agents of development and change, and that their roles should be complementary. Women status is below that of men in rural areas. And Traditional leaders need to be active in transforming those mind-sets, values and belief systems which tend to use biological differences as the basis for oppressing rural women. Traditional leaders should be involved in organising civic education to position women on an equal footing in the division of labour in rural communities (Teffo, 2012). Traditional leaders need to mobilise their communities to challenge those areas of traditional beliefs which fail to take women's interest seriously.



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CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter ties up the entire project based on previous discussion by providing a summary of the key findings. Recommendations with respect to key findings are also provided in this chapter. The study found out that in both ex-homelands, development is currently booming, people are no longer building mud households, they are using bricks and their homestead structures are clearly becoming more modernised like urban areas. However, according to Chigbu (2013:812) the delivery of rural development in most rural communities has focused into transforming them into urban settlements, instead of making them more liveable rural areas. In all three areas there they have taverns, spaza shops and shacks. People are buying their basic foods like maize from the shops rather than cultivating them. Their diets have changed to eating vegetables and easy to cook food -this was confirmed by Mrs Mpeta, a spaza owner at Sirhosheni -which things like cooking oil, eggs, tomatoes and bread are bought daily nowadays. The CRDP is also bringing change to the rural areas making them more urbanised. Roads are developed to make towns accessible and increased service delivery is changing the lives of the rural people. The government is also building toilets and they are supplying communities with water taps and electricity.

It is clear that agricultural production is highly practised in rural areas despite all the problems they are experiencing; to rural people it is part of their culture to cultivate even if it is a small space during the rainy season. Traditional farming is mixed with modern farming, particularly the use of insecticides and purchased seedlings. In areas like Mbekweni in the Ciskei, areas that experienced forced removal, conditions are clearly the worst, and there is very little crop farming.

There assumptions made about the Eastern Cape that agricultural production has stopped or is not popular is not true, and I disagree with this. Regions and areas differ widely and women and producers respond in similar ways to these conditions. For example, the main

problem why outlying fields are not utilised is because of lack of fencing, water and labour. These have resulted in bigger homestead gardens and better produce in these patches. Agricultural production has not declined, it has just changed – women are fuelling this process.

5.2 Gender Equity

The study found that gender equity policy which advocate equal distribution of household responsibilities is still ignored in rural areas. Gender equity is based on the principles of human rights and social justice. It clearly recognises that gender equity and women’s empowerment are essential for addressing the central concerns of poverty and insecurity, and for achieving sustainable people-centred development. In the context of international human rights, the legal concept of gender equality is enshrined in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights as well as in the 1979 United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women. The governments of the world reaffirmed their commitment in 1995 to the “equal rights and inherent human dignity of all women and men” in the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. In South Africa most government departments have developed gender policies to enable gender mainstreaming to happen within their departments, some have established structures to coordinate gender mainstreaming and women’s empowerment programs, but fail to implement them. The government needs to make sure that it has capacity to implement its policies.

5.3 Land

The study set out to investigate challenges facing women such as access to land and agricultural resources. Redistributive land reform has been carried out across the world. The democratic government of South Africa is also busy with land reform programmes. The study found out that land is still under the jurisdiction of tribal authorities in rural areas. However, the distribution of land in most cases has directly benefited male household heads by adjudicating land to them and ignoring their wives and, in some cases, even single women household heads. Recently, some land reforms programs have attempted to integrate gender equity into their efforts. In South Africa, although national agrarian reform policy articulates the importance and need for gender equity, district and local level offices often do not have the mechanisms, capacity and tools to implement this gender policy (Walker 2003). The South African government need to ensure that there are women serving

in each traditional structures in the rural areas. Formalizing the institution of traditional leaders through the TLGFA can be seen as allowing them to continue to practice cultural laws in their areas of jurisdiction, which regulate access to land by women and their involvement in land administration structure. After implementation of the policies the government must ensure that monitoring and evaluation take place.

5.4 Women empowerment

Empowerment is about people, both men and women. It involves both individual change and action, and in many cases collective action in the different domains of action, including social, production and institutional. Women's empowerment means developing their ability to individually and collectively take control over their own lives identify their needs, their own agendas and demand support from their communities and the state to see that there is a response in their favour of their interests. The study also found that women empowerment is ignored in rural areas. Women still lack power of decision making regarding valuable assets like cattle, land and loans. The government needs to run awareness programmes on how to access credit and marketing skills. In most cases the empowerment of women requires transformation of the division of labour and of social invisibility in the development process. Policy responses and interventions have focussed on women as a separate group, resulting in women's concerns being "added on" and peripheral to mainstream development efforts. Focussing on women in isolation means that unequal gender relations in various social and economic settings remain unaddressed.

5.5 Agricultural Institutions

Because agriculture is a primary source of women's livelihoods in most developing countries, the way in which the agricultural bureaucracy institutionalises gender policy and planning functions is particularly important for poverty alleviation. Both the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) support the establishment of gender units that specifically serve the rural sector as part of a country's broader machinery for the promotion of gender equity. The government needs to train women and equip them with modern agricultural techniques that are tailored to local conditions. Women have a right to be equal partners in the agricultural sector and to that end the Convention for the Elimination of Discrimination against Women protects women's equal access to land, credit and income. In most countries land and water rights are closely

related, although water is often a public good and its use is therefore associated with permits, concessions and other tenure systems. Irrigated and rain-fed land is the main source of livelihoods for many rural populations, although women have much less access to this essential asset than men. The distribution of water and land is a major determinant of poverty and even in industrial countries. Government programmes are to be monitored and evaluated after implementation.

5.6 Interventions

(i) General Interventions

To improve agriculture in order to be the major source of income in rural areas the government needs to empower women with skills of farming and provide them with machinery that is gender sensitive and will cost less. Government could send trucks to deliver water in winter at Lutengele and provide similar irrigation schemes in all areas. This will reduce the 'triple burden' on women and increase crop farming production. Availability of water will also improve health care and livelihoods of these communities. The use and installation of underground tanks in the gardens, (*isitiya*) and fields can also help to save water.

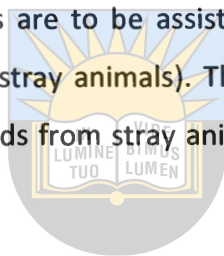
(ii) Government Intervention

Government can provide plant nurseries in rural areas and educate and provide training for crop farming. Knowledge about human rights access to land, water resources and capital should be available to all areas. Workshops to empower women on how to link them to markets and knowledge of how to access finance and their land rights should be provided by government. The government can use TV and radio programmes to educate women about markets and crop farming training or use cell phones like in Tanzania for networking. Agriculture should be introduced as a subject at schools from primary to high schools. There above mentioned methods can be used to inform women about the financial assistance that is available from the government. The systems of knowledge should be accessible to women in all areas.

(iii) Gender Policies

Policies on gender equity should be implemented with strong government involvement to oversee the process in the rural areas and women must be represented fully by women who

are capacitated in decision-making structures. Land insecurities ownership through marriage is common in all areas and is not legitimate it is usually a handshake deal between traditional leaders and husbands. Government need to formalize this process there must be a standard way of accessing land applicable to all irrespective of gender. We need to work out how to formalize it. Women in Mbekweni have PTO's which they mistake to title deeds. The government needs to strengthen the network of public services in rural areas including health, education and welfare services. The government must protect the rights of women as our constitutions say, not give absolute power to the traditional leaders. Women in the rural areas still till the land and plough the soil. In this regard our government (also) needs to establish policies that will protect women against the effects of climate change. Stray animals destroy the fields Communities are to be assisted in formulating policies to safeguard their fields (from destruction by stray animals). The three communities seem to be struggling (with this)to protect their fields from stray animals and from receiving attention from village chief.



(iv) Labour Laws

Similar Labour laws that apply in commercial farms should be considered for small rural farmers. Families that have large fields and employed community members on regular basis should not be exempted from these labour laws

Labour opportunity costs need to be looked at as farming strongly relies on labour force and women in these areas cannot afford it. As the majority of households are headed by female and are crop farmers they need assistance with labour as majority of them are old and frail and their source of income is pension. The South African government reaffirmed their commitment in 1995 to "the equal rights and inherent human dignity of all women and men" in the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. The South African Bill of rights advocate gender equity and women access to land and resources must be a priority to Department of Rural and Land Affairs.

5.7 Recommendations

Based on this study, the Department of Land and Rural Development (with Department of Water Affairs) do need to implement the democratic policies adopted in our constitution. These department need to employ skilled people and equip their departments with high skilled equipment to assist the processes of implementation. The government must make

sure that women are employed in all the structures of government that represent women in rural areas. The government must abandon the system of betterment and bring the fields nearer to the households. In this way production would be high. Women should be trained and empowered to serve in the traditional structures. The departments of education and health should also be involved in the planning and development of rural areas. There is a strong need for schools and health care centres in the research sites'

In order to increase production in rural areas the government need to create seasonal employment of labour to assist with cultivation or provide mechanisation that can be used by women as well. The '*ilima*' work parties which are supposed to be a gesture of '*ubuntu*' should be abolished – why? In some cases they do work, in other cases they don't – if they feed people alcohol then it is bad. White farmers were using a similar system which was called a 'dop' system, and it was abolished. This system was abusing workers by giving them alcohol in return for their labour. Similarly, *ilima* puts a heavy burden on women who have reproductive and productive responsibilities. One must not forget that the majority of people living in rural areas are women, children and old people due to migrancy of men to the cities. Again women who are sole providers of livelihoods are exploited by doing farm labour 'free' in return are given '*umqombothi*' as standard. I strongly recommend that in this new dispensation the democratic government of South Africa and the Department of Rural Development and Land Affairs abolish this system of '*ilima*' work parties instead employ the people and give them remuneration. In that way production in crop farming will be high in rural areas while also controlling the mass movement to the cities. Young men who formed '*inkampani*' should be equipped with farming skills and given proper training in building and maintenance of their areas in order to create jobs.

One would have thought that with the new dispensation things would be better for women, with new policies that promote equity to all and new gender policies. The South African government adopted policies that promote gender equity and acknowledged women's rights. On the other hand they contradict themselves by implementing Traditional Leaders Bill of Rights that promotes patriarchy which undermines women rights. Traditional leaders in Africa have a tendency of ignoring women rights because women are subordinates of men and men are head of families. There are traditional and cultural roles that women are expected to play in these communities so that women are often not taken serious by their

male counterparts.. Women still access land through marriage and inherit it as widows to be inherited by their first born sons. The statement made recently by Chief Mtirara (Daily Dispatch: 2014), against Winnie Mandela's claim of Qunu house that "amaDlomo family would only entertain Madikizela- Mandela's claim only if it came from her son. Since she has two daughters she does not have a leg to stand on". This reveals the highest level of sexism and patriarchy in the amaDlomo family and abaThembu nation (Daily Dispatch, 2014). This statement is equal to telling women that they have no rights only their sons have rights. Many of my respondents were widows who cannot sell their livestock and homestead without informing their brother-in-laws or sons. This means that the final decisions on financial matters are made by men. One respondent at Mbekweni Ncumisa claims that her elder sister working in Cape Town, who is financially supporting the household, is not the head of the household. Instead, their unmarried young brothers are regarded as the true household heads, are to be informed for every decision that needs to be taken. In Sirhosheni a single woman who is looking after her family household, was experiencing the same thing - her two elder sisters are financially maintaining the homestead and her brother (who is working but does not send money) is seen as the head of the family and is consulted for every decision to be taken. Thus, until rural women are given equal and meaningful representation on traditional councils, this does not free them from their oppression and minority status.

Instead of treating rural women as mere beneficiaries, women should be viewed as experts who possess knowledge which complement expert's formal knowledge. Participation of women in policy formulation can ensure truthful answers being given to this vulnerable group. Empowerment of women is an important step towards poverty alleviation in order to increase the levels of production and productivity. Government support is needed in the organizations that are focusing on development of women in rural areas. The government projects must be monitored and evaluated regularly and women to be equipped with modern technique equipment that suits their environment and cultural roles. It is extremely important to note the role that rural women play and the contribution that they make in the development programmes that enhance women's role in agricultural production.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRES

Checklist of questions for interviews with women farmers

This questionnaire forms the basis of a conversation between the researcher and the women farmer practicing crop production. Its format is formed by the Women's Empowerment in Agricultural Index (WEA) and the Cultural and Historical Activity Theory (CHAT) dimensions. It intends to generate data on women empowerment and agency in relation to agricultural and everyday practice in the household influenced by a context of traditionalists and contemporary worldviews, cultural rituals and religious beliefs. It will be contextualised in the household and community with the intention to establish the current contradictions in the activity system and trace their root causes in an effort for women to identify ways to overcome obstacles and constraints for improved livelihoods. This information will be used in subsequent change laboratory workshops to single out key learning and structural issues among women farmers in their different context and how they may be overcome as well as tracing individual empowerment over time. Ten farmers will be interviewed per area.

1. Household composition and marital status

- 1.1 What is your marital status?
- 1.2 Who is the household head?
- 1.3 How many members of your family stay in your household and who are they?
- 1.4 What is your clan name?

2. Decisions about agricultural production and income generation

- 2.1 Do you participate in food crop farming for household food consumption?
- 2.2 Do you participate in cash crop farming?
- 2.3 How much input did you have in making decisions about food crop and cash crop farming?

- 2.4 How much input do you have in decisions on the use of the income generated from farming?
- 2.5 Would you like to improve your participation and input on crop farming and income generation?
- 2.6 Do you make any other income contribution to the household?
- 2.7 How much input do you have in decisions on the use of income generated from these contributions?
- 2.8 How would you like to invest your income contribution?

3. Access to and decision-making power about productive resources

- 3.1 What kind of resources are owned by your family (e.g. agricultural land, water tanks, livestock, farm equipment, cell phone, transport, etc.)
- 3.2 Who would you say owns most of these assets?
- 3.3 Who decides whether to sell them or give them away?
- 3.4 Who would you say would keep the majority of these assets in the case a marriage is dissolved because of death or divorce/separation?
- 3.5 When decisions are made regarding the following aspects of household life, who is it that normally takes the decision?
- 3.6 To what extent do you feel you can make your own personal decisions regarding these aspects of household if you wanted?
 - Agricultural production
 - What inputs to buy for agricultural production
 - What types of crops to grow for agricultural production
 - When or who would take crops to the market
 - Livestock raising
 - Non-farm business activity
 - Your own wage or salary employment

- Major household expenditure (such as large appliances for the household like refrigerator)
- Minor household expenditure (such as food for daily consumption or other household needs)
- Whether or not to use family planning to space or to limit births

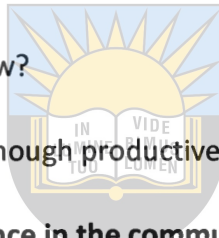
Note: Does the respondent have an option, feels she could get into trouble with someone if she acted differently.

3.7 Who contributes most to decisions regarding a new purchase?

3.8 Has anyone in your household taken any loans or borrowed cash?

3.9 Who made the decision to borrow?

3.10 Do you feel you have access to enough productive resources at your disposal?



4. Individual leadership and influence in the community

4.1 Is there a group in your community? (e.g. farmers group, water users group, religious group, etc.)

4.2 Are you an active member of this group?

4.3 How much input do you have in making decisions?

4.4 Why are you not a member of this group/

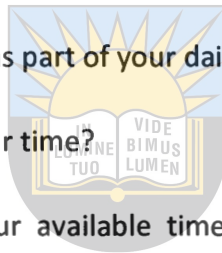
4.5 Do you feel comfortable speaking up in public to help decide on infrastructure (like small wells, roads, water supplies) to be built for community?

4.6 Do you feel comfortable speaking up in public to ensure proper payment of wages for public works or other similar programs?

4.7 Do you feel comfortable speaking up in public to protest the misbehaviour of authorities or elected officials?

5. Role of women and time allocation to agricultural production and domestic life in the household

- 5.1 What daily farming activities are you involved within the household?
- 5.2 How much time you spend in farming related activities in your everyday life?
- 5.3 Are there any difficulties in accessing your fields in terms of distance, safety or other?
- 5.4 Who is responsible to fetch water for farming and other household activities?
- 5.5 Are there any difficulties in accessing water in terms of distance, safety or other?
- 5.5 What other activities do you do as part of your daily routine?
- 5.6 How would you like to spend your time?
- 5.7 How satisfied are you with your available time for leisure activities like visiting neighbours, watching TV, listen to the radio, attending religious ceremonies?



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6. The role of culture and religion in women's farming practices and everyday life

- 6.1 What are the cultural expectations placed on you to perform your farming and household duties?
- 6.2 Do you see a change in the gender cultural choices you have now compared to what it will be in the future?
- 6.3 Are things changing for women for the better or worse?
- 6.4 Do you believe in lobola and has it affected you fairly?
- 6.5 Have you relocated after marriage and how was your experience?
- 6.6 How do your religious and worldviews beliefs influence your life?
- 6.7 Do you still practice cultural rituals?
- 6.8 Documenting cultural change/social expectations from birth to death:

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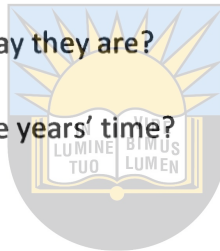
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- Imbeleko
- Intonjane
- Ulwaluko
- Ukwenda
- Ukucela
- Ukukhapha
- ukubuyisa

7. General expectations and aspirations

7.1 Are you happy with things the way they are?

7.2 Where do you see yourself in five years' time?



(Adapted from international Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI), 2012. Women Empowerment and Agricultural Index)

APPENDIX B

GUIDELINE QUESTIONS FOR FOCUS GROUPS

Introduction

The researcher introduces herself to the group of informants on the situation and setting. The researcher explains to the informants that she seeks to understand the socio-cultural factors that inhibit them from fully engaging in agricultural activities. Questions below were guiding questions asked to informants.

1. Opinions on cultural expectations
2. Access to land
3. Role of traditional leaders



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