

**GENDER CONSTRAINTS TO INCREASED AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION  
FACED BY RURAL WOMEN IN KWAZULU**

**CAROL MURPHY  
1990**

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for  
a Master of Arts Degree in Environmental Science  
at the University of Cape Town.

The University of Cape Town has been given  
the right to reproduce this thesis in whole  
or in part. Copyright is held by the author.

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

## ABSTRACT

It is well known that women are constrained by their gender role, which is imposed on them by the gender relations they experience. This role allocates them the direct responsibility for maintenance of the household and subjects them to patriarchal relations of male domination and female subordination.

There is little understanding, however, of how gender-specific constraints operate. This study records the gender-specific constraints affecting the lives of black, rural women in a homeland in South Africa (KwaZulu). An analysis is given of the extent to which these gender-specific constraints affect the agricultural productivity of these women.

An integrated methodology, combining elements of qualitative observations, key-informant interviews and quantitative surveys was used to identify gender-based constraints to agricultural production experienced by rural women in the study area (the Nhlangwini Ward, Umzumbe District, southern KwaZulu).

This information revealed that the lives of women in the Nhlangwini Ward are severely affected by gender-specific constraints that arise out of: their involvement in various activities that constitute their multiple work role (survival tasks, household tasks and income generation); their access to different resources (land, capital and training) and their perception of their gender role and the patriarchal relations they experience.

Women in the ward adapt to these constraints by: using child labour and hired labour to assist them in conducting survival tasks and household tasks; allocating some shopping (for clothes) to male household members who have greater access to urban centres; membership of community gardens to gain access to arable land and agricultural expertise; hiring private arable land for farming and adopting poultry farming as a favoured agricultural activity.

Recommendations are made for types of projects and policy changes that could work to overcome these constraints and the broader subordination of women in rural areas. As gender and rural development is a pioneering research field in South Africa, more research of this type is urgently required because at present the development process takes little cognisance of gender issues.

### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A large number of people contributed to the production of this dissertation. I am very grateful for their assistance.

I owe thanks to the people of the Nhlangwini Ward, particularly the women, for their friendly co-operation and hospitality during the survey period. I hope this report contributes to improved conditions within the ward.

For permission and encouragement to operate in the Nhlangwini Ward and hospitality in allowing me to reside in the grounds of the tribal court, I thank iNkosi L G Dlamini and his family.

Patrick Meyiwa, Jane Harrison and Herman Dlamini were responsible for collection of the survey data used in this study. I would like to thank them for their hard work and diligence. Nomsa Ndele and Phineas Mkhize also provided assistance in the field.

Dr Gillian Cook and Dr Rob Fincham supervised my work and I thank them for their valuable input.

Dr Mary-Anne Green provided some useful criticism and guidance which I appreciated.

Various members of the academic staff of the Institute of Natural Resources provided me with assistance and I would like to thank them. They are Raymond Auberbach, Alastair McIntosh, Michelle Friedman, Sue McClintock, Philip Johnson, Tessa Cousins and Dirk Muir.

I would also like to thank the Director of the Institute of Natural Resources, Professor Charles Breen, for his support and members of the Institute's administration staff, particularly Su Barnard and Martha.

At the beginning of this study, I sought the advice of a number of academics and researchers at the University of Cape Town and the University of Natal (both Durban and Pietermaritzburg campuses). They are Ann Collings, Dr Ramphele Mamphela, Professor Eleanor Preston-Whyte, Peter Derman, Fransie Lund, Aki Stavrou, Jo Beale and Malcolm Draper. I would like to thank these people for their input.

Some financial assistance for this study was obtained from the Institute of Natural Resources, and the Department of African Studies at the University of Cape Town assisted with travel expenses.

My sister, Allison proofread the draft of this dissertation. I would like to thank her, and my parents in Wales, for continual support and encouragement during the two years taken to complete this work.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE</u>
ABSTRACT	i
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
List of Tables	viii
List of Figures	ix
List of Appendices	ix
<u>CHAPTER ONE : INTRODUCTION</u>	1
1.1 BACKGROUND	1
1.2 A CLARIFICATION OF THE RESEARCH TERMS	2
1.3 AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH	3
1.4 THE NEED FOR GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH IN SOUTH AFRICA	4
<u>CHAPTER TWO : THE STUDY AREA</u>	8
2.1 JUSTIFICATION OF CHOICE OF STUDY AREA	8
2.2 DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AREA	8
2.2.1 <u>Physical Characteristics</u>	11
2.2.2 <u>Socio-economic Characteristics</u>	14
2.3 CONCLUSION	20
<u>CHAPTER THREE : A MIXED METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH</u>	22
3.1 INTRODUCTION	22
3.2 PROCEDURE	22
3.2.1 <u>Literature Review</u>	22
3.2.2 <u>Qualitative Research Methods</u>	23
3.2.3 <u>Quantitative Research Methods</u>	28
3.3 PROBLEMS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY	33
3.3.1 <u>Cross Cultural and Gender Research in Rural Areas</u>	33
3.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SURVEY RESPONDENTS	38
3.4.1 <u>Farming Survey</u>	38
3.4.2 <u>Time Use and Housing Survey</u>	39

	<u>PAGE</u>
<b><u>CHAPTER FOUR : GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT - A THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK</u></b>	40
4.1 INTRODUCTION	40
4.2 WOMEN'S INVISIBILITY IN DEVELOPMENT THEORY	40
4.3 GENDER THEORY AND FEMINIST THEORY	42
4.3.1 <u>Gender Theory</u>	42
4.3.2 <u>Feminist Theory</u>	43
4.4 GENDER AND FEMINIST THEORY'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY	45
4.5 THE HISTORY OF GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH	46
4.5.1 <u>Introduction</u>	46
4.5.2 <u>Pre-1970 Literature</u>	47
4.5.3 <u>Research in the 1970s and Early 1980s</u>	50
4.5.4 <u>Recent Developments</u>	52
4.6 GENDER AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT - THE SOUTH AFRICAN CASE	55
<b><u>CHAPTER FIVE : GENDER-SPECIFIC CONSTRAINTS AND THEIR EFFECT ON WOMEN'S AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIVITY</u></b>	59
5.1 INTRODUCTION	59
5.2 SURVIVAL TASKS	63
5.2.1 <u>Feeding the Family - Women as Subsistence Farmers and Shoppers for Food</u>	64
5.2.2 <u>Managing Water</u>	67
5.2.3 <u>Working for Wood - Women as Suppliers of Fuelwood</u>	68
5.2.4 <u>Providing Care</u>	70
5.2.5 <u>Manufacturing for Home Use</u>	71
5.2.6 <u>Effects of Survival Tasks on Women's Agricultural Productivity</u>	72
5.3 HOUSEHOLD TASKS	74
5.3.1 <u>Effects of Women as Household Workers on their Agricultural Productivity</u>	77
5.5 INCOME-GENERATING TASKS	78

5.4.1	<u>Effects of Women as Income Generators on their Agricultural Productivity</u>	<b>PAGE</b> 81
<b>CHAPTER SIX : GENDER IMPLICATIONS OF STRUCTURAL CONSTRAINTS</b>		84
6.1	<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	84
6.2	<b>GENDER CONSTRAINTS ON ACCESS TO RESOURCES</b>	84
6.2.1	<u>Women's Access to Agricultural Training and Extension Services</u>	84
6.2.2	<u>Women's Access to Land</u>	90
6.2.3	<u>Women's Access to Capital</u>	91
6.3	<b>WOMEN'S EXPERIENCE OF PATRIARCHAL RELATIONS</b>	92
6.3.1	<u>Access to Decision-Making in Farming Activities</u>	92
6.3.2	<u>Perception of Gender Roles and Relationship with Tribal Authority Structure</u>	93
6.4	<b>CONCLUSION</b>	97
<b>CHAPTER SEVEN : COPING WITH GENDER CONSTRAINTS TO AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION</b>		99
7.1	<b>THE MANNER IN WHICH WOMEN IN THE NHLANGWINI WARD COPE</b>	99
7.1.1	<u>Use of Child Labour</u>	99
7.1.2	<u>Use of Hired Labour</u>	101
7.1.3	<u>Rationalising Water and Wood Collection</u>	102
7.1.4	<u>Organising Male Shoppers</u>	102
7.1.5	<u>Belonging to Community Gardens</u>	103
7.1.6	<u>Hired Land</u>	104
7.1.7	<u>Poultry Farming</u>	105
7.2	<b>INSIGHTS FOR DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS AND POLICY</b>	106
7.2.1	<u>Recommendations for the Study Area in the Nhlangwini Ward</u>	106
7.2.2	<u>Recommendations for Development Policy</u>	110
<b>REFERENCES</b>		116
<b>PERSONAL COMMUNICATION</b>		125
<b>APPENDICES</b>		126

## LIST OF TABLES

		<u>PAGE</u>
1	FEMALE RESPONDENTS : INVOLVEMENT IN SURVIVAL TASKS	63
2	FEMALE RESPONDENTS : INVOLVEMENT IN HOUSEHOLD TASKS	74
3	HOUSEHOLD TASKS PERFORMED IN THE STUDY AREA	74
4	INVOLVEMENT OF MEN IN VARIOUS ACTIVITIES RELATED TO THE HOUSEHOLD	76
5	INCOME-GENERATING ACTIVITIES OF THE FEMALE RESPONDENTS IN THE FARMING SURVEY	80
6	INVOLVEMENT OF FEMALE RESPONDENTS (FARMING SURVEY) IN FARMING DECISION-MAKING	93
7	THE INVOLVEMENT OF CHILDREN IN SURVIVAL AND HOUSEHOLD TASKS	100
8	SUMMARY OF GENDER CONSTRAINTS EXPERIENCED BY WOMEN IN THE STUDY AREA	107
9	TOPICS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH	114

**LIST OF FIGURES**

		<b><u>PAGE</u></b>
1	LOCATION OF THE NHLANGWINI WARD, KWAZULU	9
2	LOCATION OF THE STUDY AREA IN THE NHLANGWINI WARD	10
3	ACTIVITY PATTERNS OVER 24 HOUR PERIOD	60

**LIST OF APPENDICES**

		<b><u>PAGE</u></b>
1	CONTRADICTORY PAIRED STATEMENTS	126
2	FARMING SURVEY	127
3	TIME-USE AND HOUSING SURVEY	128

## CHAPTER ONE : INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 BACKGROUND

The origin of this work is to be found in the Institute of Natural Resources' Village Industry project that was initiated to assess the possibilities and constraints of promoting rural industry within KwaZulu. During the course of the project, researchers recognised the importance of gender constraints affecting craft producers. This highlighted an urgent need for specific investigations into the effects of gender relations in rural development, particularly as it has been pointed out that "the institutional and cultural constraints under which rural women operate in KwaZulu are formidable" (Bembridge, Steyn and Williams, 1983, 144).

As a result of these findings, research into the role of women in relation to agricultural production and rural services provision was initiated at the Institute of Natural Resources. This research is a component of the broader study which is entitled **Gender, Agricultural Production and Rural Service Provision**. The broadly based investigation has two main aspects: one a research function that is aimed at the collection and collation of data and the second an action research function, aimed at facilitating the implementation of recommendations derived from the initial research. The purpose is to suggest implementable and sustainable strategies for upgrading living standards in rural areas and not to impose development initiatives that fail to accommodate the particular needs of women.

This research is an attempt to document directly the gender constraints under which women in KwaZulu operate. Special attention is given to the extent to which these constraints affect the women's potential for increased agricultural productivity. The study is intended to inform both aspects of the Gender, Agricultural Production and Rural Service Provision project. It also makes a more general contribution in terms of gender and feminist theory as it considers the extent to which traditional gender roles influence women's agricultural productivity in a Third World context. By straddling the boundaries between feminist/gender studies and those on rural development, it contributes to the work on gender and development.

## **1.2 A CLARIFICATION OF THE RESEARCH TERMS**

It is important to clarify the meaning of the different terms used in the research.

**Gender constraints** refer to the limitations or obstacles that are imposed on women as a result of the gender relations they experience. Gender relations refer to the social relationship between women and men.

**Agricultural production** includes crop production and animal husbandry and covers both subsistence and commercial production.

**Increased production** is a term used to avoid the common assumption that women are not already engaged in productive work (Jacobs and Howard, 1987).

Rural women are not a homogenous group but differ according to features such as age, economic class and position in the life-cycle (May, 1987a). Their common feature is that they are permanent dwellers in rural areas and are not engaged in regular, waged employment.

### 1.3 AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH

The aim of this research project is to establish the major gender constraints experienced by rural women in KwaZulu in carrying out increased subsistence and commercial agricultural production. The research is motivated by a desire to expose the constraints as a deliberate consciousness-raising exercise, in order to inform policy-makers so they may take steps to overcome both these constraints and the broader subordination of women in rural areas. There are thus two main objectives to be achieved, namely:

1. To identify gender-specific constraints experienced by rural women in KwaZulu.
2. To consider the extent to which these gender constraints affect women's agricultural productivity (both subsistence and commercial).

In order to achieve the research objectives, the study focuses on women living in the Nhlangwini Ward, Umzumbe District in southern KwaZulu.

Of necessity, the study is broad in scale and generalised in nature. It is nevertheless intended to lay the foundations for more detailed research on the gender-specific constraints to

agricultural production experienced by rural women in South Africa.

#### **1.4 THE NEED FOR GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH IN SOUTH AFRICA**

The central role women play in rural areas in Third World countries has at last begun to be recognised. However this work has received little recognition in South Africa. This lack of awareness of the social effects of gender relations in rural development in South Africa is a symptom of a lack of awareness on a much broader front. This is a situation which may be due in part to the absence of a strong feminist movement in South Africa and a historical situation where race takes precedence over gender as a means of discrimination.

This low priority allocated to rural women's issues in particular can also be attributed to South Africa's non-membership of the United Nations (UN) and the International Labour Office (ILO), two organisations that have sponsored research and programmes focusing on rural women. Publications by the ILO (1984); Kandiyoti (1985) and CIRDAP (1987) provide examples of the work produced by these organisations. A further reason lies in the fact that many First World countries that have acted in a sponsorship and advisory role are not involved in South Africa's development. An example of such involvement is provided by the USAID (United States Agency for International Development) Women in Development (WID) Office. This organisation has an office in Maseru, Lesotho and Gay's (1982) work is an example of a project undertaken by this office.

Another reason for the neglect of gender research in rural development is a strong urban, masculine bias in social research in South Africa. There is little acknowledgment of the international literature that exists on the subject of gender and development (which is often not readily available in this country), nor of the fact that this research field is relatively well developed in other countries in Africa and abroad. At a national government level in South Africa, women and gender issues receive no formal acknowledgment.

In academic circles, feminist research and debate is generally poorly developed and exhibits an urban bias. Only one South African paper based on gender issues in a rural context, that is Nene (1984), has appeared in an international publication. The majority of contributors to gender and rural development literature are women themselves and it is claimed that, "most academics and development experts (the majority of whom are men) hold the view that anything concerned with women and development is a peripheral topic which can be safely left to caucuses of 'women's libbers' to discuss while they get on with the important issues" (Nelson, 1981, 8). The paucity of literature in South Africa therefore also reflects the small number of females involved in rural development work, especially its research aspects.

Although it is "not to say that a feminist tide has swept the country" (Walker, 1987), this situation is changing slowly. Some of the South African universities are offering postgraduate

courses in gender studies (for example, the University of Natal, Durban and Pietermaritzburg). There is a South African journal of women's studies (Agenda) that provides a forum for comment, discussion and debate on all aspects of women's lives, specifically in order to understand the position of women within South African society.

Furthermore some development practitioners also believe that much grassroots progress has been made with women in rural areas that has not been documented (Ms M Friedman, pers. comm.). In addition, it has become popular for authors of agricultural reports to make recommendations for the assistance of rural women, for example, in Tapson (1982) and Bembridge et al. (1983).

Despite these changes, there is still a real need to carry out research into gender issues in rural development in South Africa in the face of this history of neglect and ignorance. The need is particularly urgent as the heavy male migrancy rates from rural to urban areas means that women make up the greatest proportion of adult, rural dwellers. Also severe environmental problems face women who live permanently in the South African homelands, which are greatly in need of development. Some of these problems are deforestation, drought and soil erosion (Timberlake, 1988).

Feminist academic and development practitioners in South Africa cannot rely on external agencies to take the initiative in gender and rural development issues. This initiative must come from within. This project directly addresses the need to research

gender issues and their significance in rural development. By investigating the gender-based constraints to agricultural production experienced by black rural women, it hopes to make a much-needed contribution to the field of gender and rural development in South Africa. With this in mind, the following chapter describes and accounts for the selection of the area (Nhlangwini Ward in the Umzumbe District of southern KwaZulu) where the study was conducted. **Chapter Three** presents an outline of the research methodology. The theoretical and historical context within which to locate rural, Third World women is provided in **Chapter Four**. Research findings are discussed in **Chapter Five** and **Six** with **Chapter Five** concentrating on gender-specific constraints and **Chapter Six** on structural constraints associated with the patriarchal nature of society. The work is concluded in **Chapter Seven** with some insights gained by this gender study that can inform development projects in the Nhlangwini Ward itself and development policy in general.

## **CHAPTER TWO : THE STUDY AREA IN THE NHLANGWINI WARD**

### **2.1 JUSTIFICATION OF CHOICE OF STUDY AREA**

The objective of this study is to identify gender-specific constraints to agricultural production experienced by rural women in KwaZulu. As investigating rural women in the whole of KwaZulu is beyond the scope of one individual study, it was decided to focus on one specific area in detail. This selected area is part of the Nhlangwini Ward in the Umzumbe Magisterial District of southern KwaZulu.

The study area was chosen because it is typical of rural areas in KwaZulu (Auerbach, 1989). It exhibits a high level of male migrancy (a female/male ratio of 3:1) and contains a limited amount of agricultural land that is densely populated and shows signs of environmental degradation (Colvin, 1987). It has also recently (in 1982) been extensively surveyed by the KwaZulu Department of Agriculture (KDA) and is presently in the process of implementing the recommendations for "betterment planning". In addition, a project is already underway in the area. This is the community based, self-help, rural development project which is a joint venture between the Family Planning Association in Natal and the Institute of Natural Resources in Pietermaritzburg. It is called the Nhlangwini Community Development Project.

### **2.2 DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AREA**

Most of the information below has been obtained from the KDA "betterment planning" document (KDA, 1982).

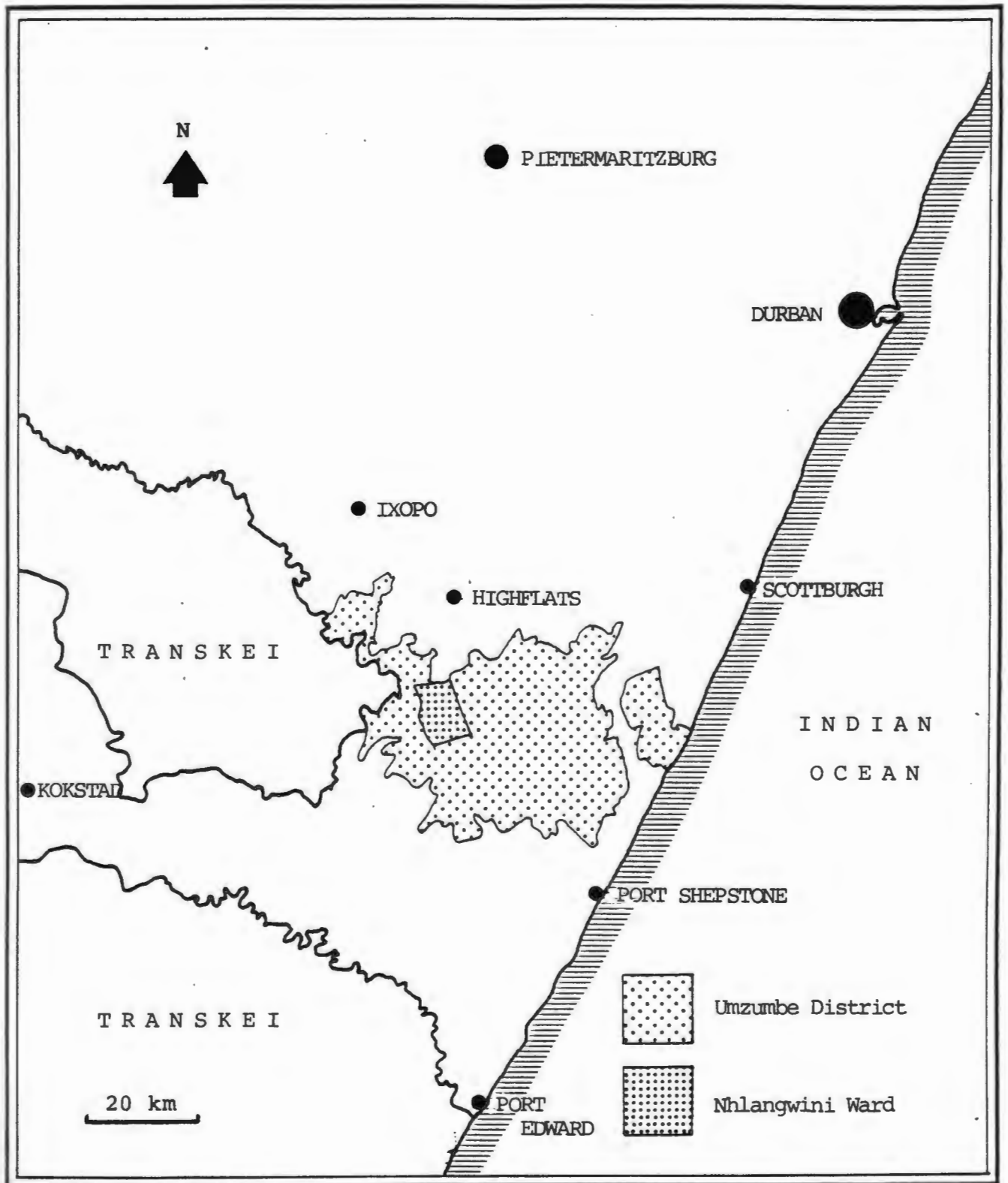
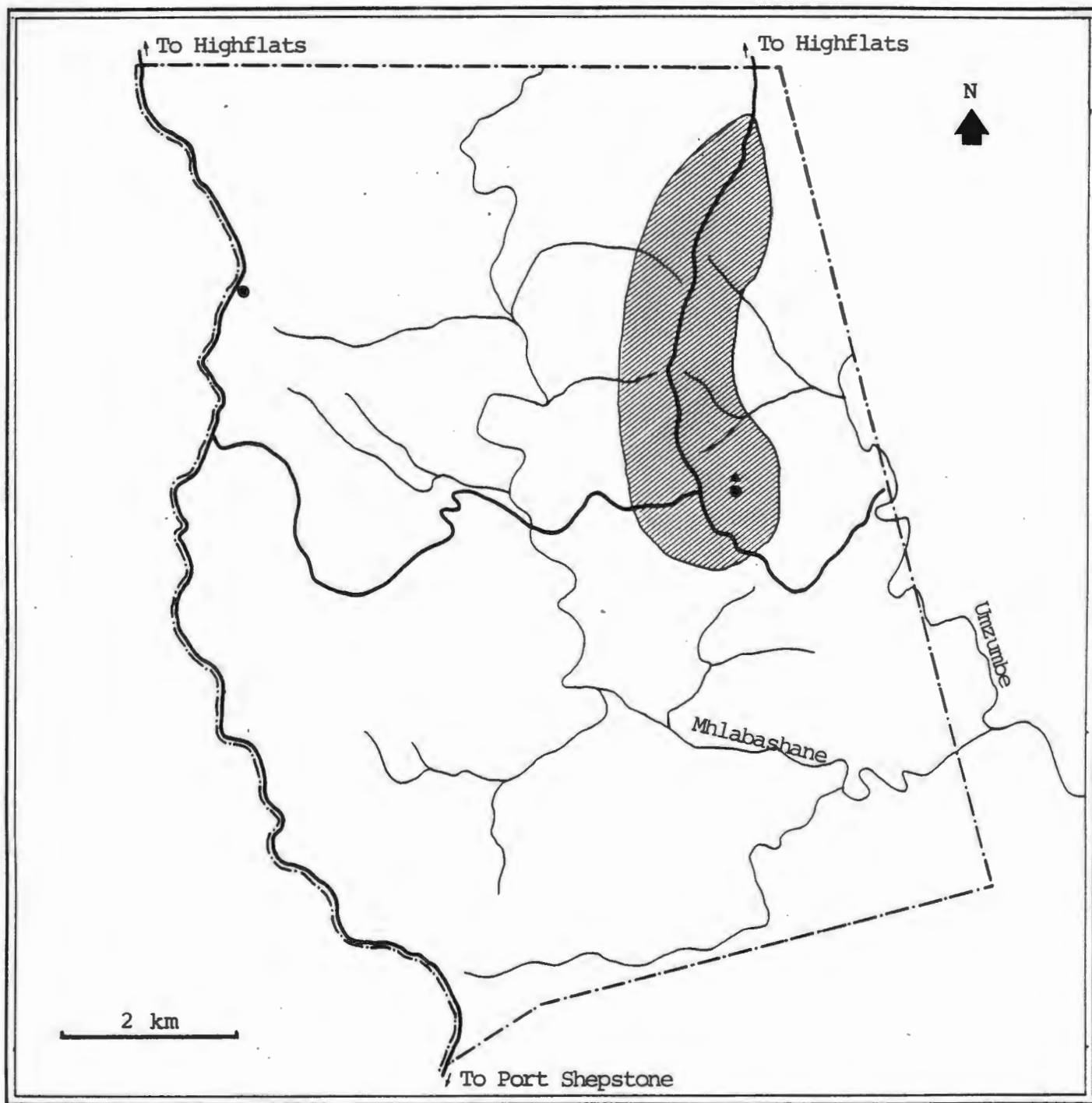


Figure 1 : Location of the Nhlangwini Ward, KwaZulu



--- Nhangwini Ward boundary

▨ Study area

~ Secondary roads

▲ Tribal court

~ Rivers

● Clinic

Figure 2 : Location of the study area in the Nhangwini Ward

The Nhlangwini Ward is situated 20 km south-east of Highflats in southern Natal (FIGURE 1). Due to the large size of the ward (7 230 ha) fieldwork was limited to the Ndwebu sub-ward (FIGURE 2). Settlement in this area has been classified as transitional between rural and urban (Inkatha Institute for South Africa, 1987). As the crow flies, the ward is only 70 km from the Indian Ocean and the heart of the Natal South Coast. As there are no easy road access routes, the study region shows little integration with the coastal zone.

#### 2.2.1 Physical Characteristics

##### Topography, and its Effect on Settlement and Land Usage

The topography consists of deeply incised river valleys separated by narrow ridges. The altitude ranges from 300 to 800 metres above sea level. The ward is divided by two rivers (the Mhlabashane and the Umzumbe) into three distinct areas. Roads have been constructed along the crests of the ridges. Settlements are concentrated along these and other tributary roads as a result of "betterment planning".

This distribution of settlement also coincides with that of the deeper, more favoured, arable soils and as a result most agricultural development has occurred here. The topography drastically limits the amount of arable land available and as population density increases, there is a corresponding shortage of arable land. Significant amounts of soil erosion have occurred on steep slopes in the ward.

Overgrazing is a serious concern and the steep slopes, erodibility of soils and poor vegetative cover have necessitated the introduction of grazing management. This has consisted mainly of allocating and fencing grazing land. Homesteads have been relocated from the valleys, which have been fenced for grazing.

### Bioclimate

Temperatures in the study area are moderate. The average temperature varies between 19 and 21 °C. The average summer temperatures are 24 to 26 °C and the winter temperatures are 12 to 14 °C. Only light frost occurs.

The study area has summer rainfall (October to March) that is relatively high (ranges from 800 mm to 1000 mm). This makes dryland farming possible. The probability of planting rains occurring by the end of October is 60 % and 90 % by the end of November. The growing season is 180 to 200 days.

The study area falls in the Bioclimatic Group Two (coastal hinterland) which is one of the four groups having the greatest production potential in Natal. (Thorrington-Smith, Rosenberg and McCrystal 1978). Although much of the natural vegetation has been transformed by agriculture, the predominant vegetation is grassland, the higher areas dominated by Ngongoni Veld while the lower valleys are covered by coastal forest and thornveld. The Ngongoni grassland area (Aristida Junciformis) could be "greatly raised in productivity" (Thorrington-Smith et al., 1978, 32).

There is heavy utilisation of the forest and bush growth due to the demand for fuelwood and building materials and as a result of the selective grazing of livestock. Fuelwood is very scarce and an inadequate local supply of firewood was a major problem experienced by all farmers in the "betterment planning" survey (KDA, 1982).

The carrying capacity of the vegetation is low (varies between 2 and 4 ha per animal). The region is considered to be 350 % above the recommended carrying capacity. An initiative by the agriculturists involved in the "betterment planning" survey to introduce a comprehensive destocking programme involving regular cattle sales in the area was rejected outright by the cattle owners (Mr D Rogers, pers. comm.).

### Water Supply

Although there are many springs in the ward, the water supply is unreliable. The inadequacy of local water supplies was the most common issue raised by farmers in the "betterment planning" survey (KDA, 1982), for 75 % of the 200 respondents experienced problems with the water supply. There is a preliminary planning report for water resources in the ward which identifies 51 dam sites (Scott and De Waal, 1982). Further water development is the responsibility of the community (Office of the Regional Director, Umzansi Region, 1982) which had not become involved at the time of the survey. Although eight storage dams were built in the study area under "betterment planning" for use in irrigation farming (mainly in the community gardens), the

financing and construction of the actual water supply system is the users' responsibility. Apart from being used by women carrying buckets of water from the dams to the gardens, none of the dams were being used for irrigation at the time of the survey (some are used locally as a supply of domestic water or for washing).

The quality of the water supply could be improved by protecting springs near residential areas to ensure a constant supply of clean water and to reduce waste (KDA, 1982). The "betterment plan" has focused on improvement of aspects of the physical infrastructure (that is, roads, storage dams, grazing camps). The KDA is responsible for spring protection but employs only one staff member in the Umzumbe District to undertake this task. At the time of the survey, although money had been collected locally to finance spring protection, nothing had been done because of the lack of skilled personnel.

#### 2.2.2 Socio-economic Characteristics

##### Demographic Features

In 1982, the 1 485 households in the ward were recorded as having a residential population of 9 670 and a total population (including residents and migrants) of 13 720. Over a third of the population are therefore migrant workers. A quarter of these migrant workers are female.

The proportion of resident female to resident male adults is 3:1. Only one quarter of households therefore have permanently

resident male heads. This means that three-quarters of households have either permanent female heads of household or non-permanent male heads of household (i.e. male heads of household that are migrant workers). Although the number of de jure female-headed households in the ward has not been calculated, it is estimated to be around one-quarter of all households. The percentage of the population younger than 17 is very high (60 %).

### Tribal Authority

The tribal authority in the Nhlangwini Ward is the iNkosi (hereditary chief) who is Prince L G Dlamini (Minister for Agriculture and Forestry, KwaZulu). Under the control of the iNkosi, there are five indunas in charge of six sub-wards (Ndwebu, Phungashe, Eluphepheni, Nkwazi, Ncengenzi and Dunuse).

The tribal authorities are responsible for all matters concerning the tribe (for example, allocation of residential and arable land), except for criminal matters which come under the jurisdiction of the KwaZulu legal system. The tribal authority exercises the powers and carries out the duties prescribed by various acts of parliament and proclamations as well as directives from the magistrate at regional authority level. Apart from the KwaZulu Department of Agriculture, the Family Planning Association and the Institute of Natural Resources, there were no other outside development agencies involved in the study area at the time of the survey.

### "Betterment Planning"

"Betterment planning" has taken place in the Nhlangwini Ward during the last decade. This government policy of agricultural reform arose out of the Tomlinson Commission's proposal in the 1950s to create a class of viable farmers in the African reserves. According to Yawitch (1981), this was never achieved and because of widespread opposition the policy was abandoned or became a compromise between facilitating planned agriculture and housing an increasing Bantustan population.

The latter seems to be the case in the Nhlangwini Ward where there are mixed feelings about "betterment planning". Aspects of "betterment planning" that have been implemented in the ward include the provision of roads; allocation of residential plots concentrated along these roads to free arable land for cultivation and grazing (and relocation of people to these plots); fencing of grazing camps and construction of storage dams for irrigation, livestock and domestic use. Whether or not these infrastructural developments reflect the major development priorities of women and whether they "would give a higher priority to having pure water piped to their houses than to building roads" has not been considered (IBG, 1984, 119).

### Land Tenure

The Nhlangwini Ward is part of the old Native Reserve system that has been in existence for nearly a century. The traditional communal system of land tenure (arable and residential land and grazing rights being allocated by the tribal authorities to men

on their marriage) has been tempered by "betterment planning". Under the communal land tenure system, few women are likely to have rights to land except in so far as they become and remain wives.

The residential plots allocated to each kraal (houses making up a family unit) as part of the "betterment planning" principle of concentrating residences are 0,06 ha in size. The recommended size was four times larger (0,25 ha) as "not every kraal will be allocated 0,88 ha of land in designated arable blocks, simply because of the shortage of arable land" (KDA, 1982). The procedure used in this ward to allocate the available arable land during betterment planning was not specified in the KDA report. However it appears that the shortage of arable land had been exacerbated since its implementation and there is a list of people still requiring arable land.

#### Community Characteristics

Many residents have lived all their lives in the area. Unlike other parts of peri-urban and rural KwaZulu, there are no serious conflicts within the ward or with neighbouring areas. On the northern boundary are mainly white farms and South African Development Trust land. Along the other three boundaries are four different tribal authorities. The white farmers interact with some of the people in the Nhlangwini Ward by using them as a temporary labour pool or selling (either for cash or labour) fuelwood and small livestock.

The Durban-Pinetown area, Pietermaritzburg and the north and south coast represent the major centres for outside employment of work-seekers. The KwaZulu Government Service is the most important source of local employment in the area (for example, employing teachers, nurses and agricultural officers). However there are few jobs available locally.

In 1982, the annual income per household in the Nhlangwini Ward (including outside sources and income from both commercial and subsistence agriculture) was calculated to be R 545 (KDA, 1982). The estimated income per household of the whole Umzumbe District (in 1985) is similar at R 600 (May, 1987b).

There appear to be no serious medical problems in this ward, the most common concerns being sandworm amongst the children and high blood pressure amongst older people (District nurses at the clinic at the tribal court at Ndewbu, pers. comm.). Although there is a permanent clinic at Phungashe, the clinic at the tribal court in the study area is only staffed once a week. The nearest hospital is at Ixopo, 40 km away. There is a general lack of amenities and services (for example, recreational opportunities, creches, permanent clinics, local shops) in the ward. Formal commercial activity is limited, thus creating a dependency on outside incomes and goods.

The level and type of community organisation in the area has been poorly documented. However various farmers' associations and farmers' unions, community gardens established by the KDA and church groups all exist. Members of the latter two are mainly

female. The Inkatha Women's Brigade (a women's organisation of the ruling political party in the KwaZulu Government) is also functional in the area. At the time of the survey, there were no savings clubs in the area (Ms N Ndela, pers. comm.). The schools are often used as venues for meetings and the children used as messengers to inform their households about meetings. The tribal court is also used as a venue for meetings.

### Agriculture

The use made of arable land shows that most households are engaged in subsistence production yet only a few households meet their food requirements. Commercial farming is undeveloped although there appears to be tremendous scope for the increase in vegetable and cereal production for the local consumer market. According to the KDA report (1982), any farmer prepared or able to produce these crops on a large scale could have a steady income. Approximately 5 % of people in the ward could be classified as full-time farmers (Mr M Lyne, pers comm.). The dominant food crops grown are maize, beans, sorghum and potatoes.

Traditional farming practices predominate. The land is prepared by draught animals (31 %) or draught animals and hand hoes (30 %). The KDA (1982) report mentioned the potential for tractor ploughing and use of tractors for ploughing has increased significantly over the past six year (Mr R Auerbach, pers. comm.). Sixty-two percent of farmers use kraal manure and commercial fertilisers. Ten percent use commercial fertilisers only. Irrigation is poorly developed. Eight percent of farmers

use hybrid seeds (KDA, 1982).

Depending on the availability of quotas and a reduction in present transport costs, there is potential for sugar cane production as a cash crop as cane is suited to local conditions. There is also potential for fruit production and for the establishment of woodlots in the ward (KDA, 1982).

Although the area is believed to have great potential for the production and sale of food crops, the agricultural support services (i.e. the provision of necessary inputs, credit and extension services and marketing outlets) are inadequate (KDA, 1982).

### 2.3 CONCLUSION

The characteristics described above provide the environmental context in which people in the study area are located. This context is significant to this study as it imposes a number of constraints and advantages that are relevant to the research focus. Some of these aspects that are related to the study area's administration, demography, natural resources, local economy and infrastructural development are:

- administration of the ward by an all-male tribal authority structure;
- the high male migrancy rate that results in the absence of permanent males so that three-quarters of the households have de facto female heads of household;
- the youthfulness of the population and large household size (average of nine members), making household maintenance an

important responsibility of the women remaining in the area;

- the lack of facilities and service provision required to maintain a household, although "betterment planning" has provided some physical infrastructure;
- the lack of indigenous forests as a potential source of fuelwood for the women to gather;
- the broken topography that limits accessibility and mobility and reduces the amount of arable land available;
- favourable rainfall and arable soils giving the area a high agricultural potential;
- the paucity of formal job opportunities available locally, together with high migrancy rates which produce a dependency in the area on outside incomes and informal income generation; and
- the limited commercial services that result in a lack of locally supplied goods to meet the household's needs.

## **CHAPTER THREE : A MIXED METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH**

### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

With the resources available (particularly the limited period of time) and the nature of the study, no single fieldwork method was found to be suitable to identify gender-based constraints to agricultural production experienced by rural women in the study area.

Instead, the study utilised an integrated methodology, combining elements of qualitative observations, key-informant interviews and quantitative surveys. This enabled the researcher to maximise on the fieldwork options available and, by involvement in a number of surveys, obtain data that is useful to practitioners in the area and makes a contribution to the field of gender and development.

### **3.2 PROCEDURE**

#### **3.2.1 Literature Review**

The following topics were surveyed for information that could inform the study:

- i) Gender and feminist theory;
- ii) Third World women and development issues from the 1970s to the present;
- iii) Approaches to development in Third World countries;
- iv) Farming systems research and intra-household dynamics;

- v) Rural development in South Africa's homelands;
- vi) Appropriate research methodologies;
- vii) The physical and socio-economic characteristics of the study area and proposed development plans.

### 3.2.2 Qualitative Research Methods

The following qualitative research methods were used.

#### Direct Observation

The direct observation of rural activities has been given the name Rapid Rural Appraisal by Chambers (1982). This technique was found by the researcher to be a good way of becoming familiar with the study area and exposing the sexual division of labour. Direct observation relies on the field experience of the researcher applied in planned but unstructured visits to a rural community. Visual indicators gained by driving or walking through an area are used to assess physical and socio-economic conditions.

Direct observation was used when the researcher accompanied staff of the Nhlangwini Community Development Project to the study area on a weekly basis in March, April and May 1988. During this period the researcher also carried out three independent trips to the study area and found that the procedure was greatly facilitated by an interpreter who was well informed about the area. On all these occasions, a field notebook was

kept to record information relevant to the research objectives.

To avoid obtaining a superficial view of the area which results from half day visits and which Chambers (1983) called "rural development tourism", the researcher resided in the area for approximately three weeks in July, 1988. During this period of residence, the process of direct observation was continued. In addition, involvement in planting experimental bean cultivar trials on a demonstration plot of land and attending local meetings enabled the researcher to carry out participant observation.

#### Informal Key Informant Interviews

Informal interviews were held in the Nhlangwini Ward with key informants who were selected because they had direct contact with a broad cross-section of the population over an extended period of time. These key informants were the headmasters of the local high school and primary school, a senior nurse at the Phungashe Clinic, agricultural extension officers, the home economics officer and other individuals encountered during the researcher's period of residence (shop owners, iNkosi Dlamini's wife, teachers and students).

#### Informal Group Discussion

Informal group discussion is a social survey technique based on the premise that many opinions expressed collectively are better than one. This method involves active debate on the part of the researcher and the participants. It allows the researcher and

participants a degree of flexibility and freedom denied by other survey techniques. It also enables the generation of information that the rigid structure of questionnaire surveys may not pick up.

Some of the drawbacks of the informal group discussion method are the same as those of committee meetings. These are the presence of vocal minorities or dominant individuals that have undue influence; the presence of individuals that are unwilling to publicly express their views or contradict persons in a position of seniority (Fuggle and Rabie, 1983, 498) and that the results are anecdotal rather than empirical (Sajogyo *et al.*, 1979). The first two problems can be solved by using a skilled facilitator in group discussions.

The researcher had the opportunity to engage in informal group discussion with local women's groups on three occasions. One occasion was during a meeting of the Khanyisani Community Garden on the 24 May 1988. On the two other occasions, the women interviewed in the time-use and housing survey (section 3.3.2) were invited to meet at the tribal court. These meetings took place on the 18 and 29 July 1988.

At the community garden meeting the researcher, who accompanied two Nhlangwini Community Development Project members, was introduced to the women by the agricultural officer who acted as the interpreter and chaired the discussion. Eighteen members of the garden were present.

At the two informal group discussions held in the tribal court,

the researcher was introduced by the home economics officer resident in the area who also acted as the interpreter and discussion facilitator. After discussion, two of the Institute of Natural Resources' documentary videos were shown illustrating the way that a rural community solved their wood and water collection problem. These videos were enthusiastically received. The meetings took between two and two and a half hours.

At the first of the two informal meetings held at the tribal court, 21 women were present. These included the abasizi or "helpers" working as community educators in the Family Planning component of the Nhlangwini Community Development Project. At the second meeting at the tribal court, approximately 40 women were present. The increase in number compared to the first meeting was attributed to the way the meeting was called. The fact that tribal police were used the first time may have dissuaded people from attending possibly because they thought that they would be required to pay tribal fees.

On all three occasions, the discussions were held in the mid-morning and, as is customary, were opened and closed with prayers. To initiate discussion the researcher posed the following question to the women,

**" What are the main problems that you experience when carrying out your everyday activities ? "**

This question was asked in order to find out directly from the participants the major constraints that they experienced, and their perceived needs and aspirations.

### Contradictory Paired Statements

Contradictory paired statements are used to indicate general attitudes by referring to people's responses to specific issues (Infield, 1986). This technique has been used successfully in rural areas in KwaZulu to record people's attitudes towards conservation and to correlate different variables (for example, demographic variables) to different attitudes (Infield, 1986).

Use of the method in this study was largely experimental and aimed to elicit the women's perception of themselves and their relationship with men.

Four contradictory statements were used (APPENDIX 1). The objectives of each one of the paired statements were as follows.

Question One. To explore the women's perception of the traditional female gender role of serving the domestic needs of men.

Question Two. To investigate the women's feelings of female inferiority and male superiority.

Question Three. To assess the extent to which the women feel that females are capable of taking on responsibilities outside the home.

Question Four. To examine the extent to which the women feel that females can perform in a role of tribal authority.

Respondents were told that each of these two statements had been made by two different people and they were asked to choose one that they agreed with and give reasons for their choice.

The same sample of women as in the time-use and housing survey described in the next section (section 3.3.2), was used.

This research technique was found to be successful in stimulating discussion, which the relative rigidity of the interview schedules did not allow. The respondents showed a great deal of enthusiasm and interest in answering the questions.

Problems encountered with this technique lay in the meaning of the questions. Ambiguity of words can elicit a different response. For example, the word "strong" in Question Three was interpreted by some respondents as meaning physical strength. It was also found that the choice of one statement over another precludes a conditional agreement with a response.

### 3.2.3 Quantitative Methods

The following quantitative research methods were used.

#### Farming Survey

A farming survey was conducted to obtain descriptive information about the characteristics of the farming activities in the study area (APPENDIX 2). This information was primarily intended to inform the Institute of Natural Resources' component of the Nhlangwini Community Development Project that has a strong agricultural focus. Eleven categories (given below in brackets) were chosen as they were seen to be potentially important factors influencing agricultural productivity. Demographic and social details of the respondent and other household members were recorded (Family Members, Age and Length of Residence, Schooling,

Employment, Membership of Organisations and Household Tasks). The characteristics of farming were also documented (Farming Activities and Decision Making, Formal and Informal Farming Training, Contact with Agricultural Officers and Loans and Land). Only those aspects of the farming survey relevant to this study were used in the analysis. APPENDIX 2 identifies the specific questions included by the researcher for analysis in this study and provides a justification for their inclusion.

The interview schedule was translated into Zulu. It was then retranslated back to English by an independent translator. Discrepancies with the original questionnaire were corrected. Using members of the Epitoli Community Garden as respondents, a pilot interview schedule was conducted a week prior to the major survey (5 July 1988). Where required, changes to the questionnaire were made.

The survey was conducted between 14 and 28 July 1988. The principal fieldworker was a trained Zulu agricultural extension officer. He had considerable experience in conducting questionnaire surveys and was the fieldworker who obtained data in a Institute of Natural Resources' development survey used to inform the Nhlangwini Community Development Project (Colvin, 1987). He was assisted by the Institute of Natural Resources' rural facilitator in the area and the Family Planning Association facilitator. Both these facilitators were male.

Selection of a suitable sampling technique proved to be problematic. Conventional sampling techniques were inappropriate

as there was no list of household heads. In addition, orthophoto maps could not be used to locate households as the pattern of settlement had changed dramatically as a result of the implementation of "betterment planning".

The most practical sampling technique was adopted to identify fifty one respondents. Most of the homesteads in the study area are located along tributary roads that branch off the main road running along the crest of the ridge between the Mhlabatshane and Umzumbe Rivers. The tributary roads were located on orthophoto maps and numbered. A random sampling technique was used to identify five of these roads and then select ten respondents along each road.

Fifty-one respondents were interviewed in Zulu. Forty-four were women and seven were men. The men were included to assist in giving an idea of the gendered characteristics of farming and an indication of the gender-specific division of labour. Unfortunately the correct 3 to 1 ratio of women to men could not be obtained. This is because of the small number of resident males and the time constraints of the survey. The time taken to complete the schedule varied depending on the amount of discussion involved. Most of the interviews took between half an hour and one hour.

A five point scale (ranging from very unsuccessful to very successful) was used by the interviewer at the end of the interview to record the level of success of the interview. (This was determined by the ability and willingness of the respondent

to answer the questionnaire). From this scale, it emerged that 92 % of the interviews were conducted very successfully. In only one case was the interview completely unsuccessful. The results of this interview had therefore to be discarded.

### Time-Use and Housing Survey

This interview schedule (APPENDIX 3) was compiled in conjunction with Dr Mary-Ann Green (Home Economics and Dietetics Department, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg). APPENDIX 2 identifies the questions relevant to this study and gives a justification for their inclusion. Analysis of the housing section of the schedule is not of direct relevance to this study.

The time-use section of the interview schedule was compiled by using a time-space framework. This framework acknowledges that time and space are the primary dictates of human experience and how they are used by various individuals and groups yields revealing information. It is a particularly useful methodological tool in investigating the gender-based constraints to agricultural production experienced by women as it is a "constraint-based" framework. As women are particularly vulnerable to time-related constraints (Knox, 1981) and mobility constraints, it has been used successfully as a tool in studies concerning women. An example of such a study is Murphy (1986).

The involvement of the respondents in a number of preselected activities relating to survival tasks, household tasks, income generation and social time was elicited by providing a list of

activities and asking them if they had engaged in these activities in the reference period (the previous week). This process relies on accurate recall of events.

An attempt was made to record the time, duration and place of the previous day's activities in order to construct time-space budgets. The sequence of the daily activities carried out by the women was recorded by use of a time orientated activity list whereby the women were asked to recall sequentially their activities of the previous day. Respondents experienced difficulty in recalling the time and duration of activities making this section of the survey largely unsuccessful. Detailed time-space budgets for many of the respondents could not be derived from the data obtained.

As "anecdotal evidence suggests that perception of time differs from society to society, and that in some societies less attention is paid to time than in others" (Deregowski, 1980, 79), this difficulty in gauging and recalling the duration and time of events could be because the respondents come from a culture that is not non-time orientated. Research has shown that time is seldom measured in rural societies in Africa; that estimating time duration is not often demanded in tribal life and that rural people in Africa may not think in terms of the frequency with which things happen (for example, once a week or twice a month), (Morris and Van der Reis, 1979).

The Institute of Natural Resources' rural facilitator was used to request the permission of the respondents to become involved in

the study, set up a time when the respondents were available and introduce the fieldworkers. This helped to minimise the potentially invasive aspect of survey questionnaires conducted in rural areas by strangers. As no female Zulu fieldworkers were available at the time of the survey, interviews were conducted in Zulu by a white female fieldworker. The fact that her father had been the local Anglican minister in the region helped considerably to gain the acceptance of the respondents.

The researcher accompanied the fieldworker in order to carry out direct observation and conduct the housing aspect of the survey that could be carried out by observation. This proved to be a particularly useful opportunity as the interviews were often conducted inside the women's homes and accompanied by tea and discussion. On all occasions the fieldworker and researcher were well received.

The same sampling technique was used as in the farming survey, except different random numbers were used to identify different roads (five) and respondents (six respondents along each road). The time use and housing survey was conducted simultaneously with the farming survey.

### **3.3 PROBLEMS AND LIMITATIONS**

#### **3.3.1 Cross Cultural and Gender Research in Rural Areas**

Very little gender research has been conducted in South Africa. This means that gender and rural development is a pioneering research field in which one can benefit from knowledge gained in

research conducted in other Third World countries.

The conditions in black rural areas in South Africa are unique in that they have been imposed by apartheid and the Bantustan policy. Rural areas therefore function primarily as dormitories housing the dependents of migrant workers (mostly male) living in urban areas. The result is that the rural areas are consumer-orientated rather than productive and exist in heavy dependence on First World urban areas.

Due to the difference in agricultural production in rural areas in South Africa and elsewhere in the Third World, a review of the international literature on gender and development was not directly useful in pinpointing research priorities for gender and development research in South Africa. In addition, the literature was sometimes misleading.

The cross-cultural nature of the research and the inability of the researcher to speak Zulu fluently necessitated a reliance on translators and fieldworkers. Every effort was made during the study to overcome this disadvantage. The researcher was present in the field throughout the survey period. The fieldworkers were informed about the nature of the study and alerted to recording additional relevant information that arose during spontaneous discussion. These strategies proved to be beneficial and much information of direct interest to the researcher was obtained in this way. In addition, there was a section at the end of the farming schedule for the interviewer to record the reasons why the interview was successful or unsuccessful and any relevant

comments about the interview. This provided the researcher with additional information relevant to achieving the research objectives that would otherwise have been lost.

It is frequently advisable to use female enumerators for surveys dealing with women. Where female enumerators are employed, Casley and Lury (1987, 118) report that "they are often more diligent, careful and accurate than their male colleagues". Due to a shortage of trained personnel, a white woman was used as a fieldworker in the time use and housing survey. However, in the case of the farming survey a Zulu male was used. Because of the nature of the farming questions (relatively impersonal) and the fact that men and women were interviewed, it was felt that the results would not be compromised if a male interviewer questioned female interviewees.

Bay (1982) draws attention to some of the methodological problems of cross-cultural gender research. There appears to be little consensus between African and Western countries on what women's roles should be. Therefore there is a danger of imposing Western feminist suppositions and regarding them as having a universal application. This could have been a problem in the choice of content for the contradictory paired statements.

The Western notion of the incompatibility among women's roles - mother, wife, worker - is reputed by Bay (1982) as not being applicable in the African context, where there is more of a notion of the interdependence of roles. In addition, Bay (1982) notes that the "Western-orientated question of women's status

vis-a-vis men's is largely irrelevant and women's achievements are measured by separate scales". This could explain why in the paired statement survey the women stressed the complementarity between male and female roles.

The research was conducted in one area at one particular time during the year. This does not take into account important aspects of rural areas such as the impact of seasonality on people's activities. To overcome this limitation, efforts were made to become familiar with the history of the area as well as the physical and human environment. The study area was visited over as long a period of time as possible (March to July 1988) and on important social occasions like pension days, clinic days and on the weekends. However it should be remembered that fieldwork took place in winter when there is less farming activity than in summer.

Simmons (1976) has explicitly acknowledged that no single research method is particularly suited to gender research. She has provided a special appendix detailing her research techniques in order to contribute to the development of methodological procedures in gender research. Sajogyo et al. (1979) likewise describe in detail the research methods used in a project on "Rural Household Economies and the Role of Women" and include some of the problems encountered such as the value of anecdotal information, but the difficulty in its presentation. Humanistic research methods such as life story or case study techniques are appropriate to adopt when conducting gender research. Another

innovative method is a visual technique that uses photographs taken by rural women themselves in order to illustrate various aspects of their lives, such as the activities that they find most difficult (Madsen, 1984).

Webster (1989) has probably used one of the best approaches to field research in his work in the Kosi Bay area in northern KwaZulu. As a trained anthropologist, he spent three years in close contact with a community. This deep approach, proceeding by inductive reasoning and prolonged observation is ideal for cross-cultural research, but is unfortunately not generally available to most researchers due to time and financial constraints.

In the context of this study, a questionnaire survey was the approach that dominated. Highly structured questionnaires were used that focused on points highlighted by previous research and theory. The problems associated with the "tyrannical" nature of formal questionnaires are acknowledged. These include imposing an alien theory on the data that predetermines results and excluding novel elements that can provide a better understanding of reality (Barnett, Bell and Hoffman, 1982). Because in some cases the use of survey questionnaires has been found to be inadequate when studying rural women (Swantz, 1985 and Stubbs, 1984) and feminist methodological approaches insist on the validity of personal experience (Eagle, 1986), this study relies on positivist analysis of survey data, tempered by some qualitative information, to build a picture of the gender constraints on agricultural production experienced by rural

women.

The variety of research methods used in this study enabled the collection of a broad spectrum of information but made interpretation and synthesis of these data time-consuming and difficult. Having laid the groundwork for gender research in the study area and in KwaZulu, there is a need for more open-ended approaches which are especially useful to gain an understanding of aspects such as women's perception of themselves; power relations between men and women or how gender ideology is produced and perpetuated in a particular culture.

### **3.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SURVEY RESPONDENTS**

This research incorporated two surveys that sampled two different groups of people. Some of the characteristics of these groups are provided below. Not all information gathered during these surveys was directly relevant to achieve the research objectives but was necessary to include as background to the analysis of the research.

#### **3.4.1 Farming Survey**

Fifty-one respondents were interviewed (seven men and 44 women). The average age of respondents was 49 years and the range in age was from 26 to 76 years. The average of the last standard passed at school by the respondents was standard four while the level of schooling ranged from none to tertiary levels. The average number of permanent household members was 6,8 with 2,3 temporary household members or migrants. This was very similar (6,5

permanent residents and 2,7 temporary residents) to the survey conducted in 1982 (KDA, 1982). The average period of residence in the ward was 36 years.

#### 3.4.2 Time-Use and Housing Survey

All thirty respondents interviewed were women. Their average age was 40 years and their ages ranged from 26 years to 66 years. The average standard of education of the respondents was up to standard five. The average number of members of the respondents' households was eight.

**CHAPTER FOUR : GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT - A THEORETICAL  
AND HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK**

**4.1 INTRODUCTION**

Research investigating the gender constraints to agricultural production experienced by women in the Third World finds its context in the literature on gender and development. This literature in turn derives its theoretical base from gender theory, feminist theory and development theory.

By reviewing the contribution these theories make to gender research in Third World areas, this section provides a conceptual framework with which to understand the position of women in the study area.

The framework has an important historical dimension that traces the development of literature on Third World women, a development that has taken place without a significant contribution from South African authors. This chapter concludes with a review of the present status of gender and development research in South Africa.

**4.2 WOMEN'S INVISIBILITY IN DEVELOPMENT THEORY**

The moves by rural women to organise effective strategies for basic survival are central to an understanding of the development process (Sen and Grown, 1988). Yet development theories, and policies and programmes based on these theories, have excluded aspects of gender as "most theories of development have little to say about women" (IBG, 1984). This exclusion (together with a

general lack of community participation and consultation) is a weakness that has contributed to the failure of many past development endeavours (Cernea, 1985).

In her review of women in the context of the food crisis in Africa, Staudt (1987, 38) goes so far as to say "the problem begins with the mainstream agricultural development literature. Treatises that make no mention of women farmers could fill pages of bibliography". That this gap should exist is particularly unjust as women in Third World countries have been credited with subsidising development initiatives that ultimately affect them negatively. Women fill labour gaps left by men who have departed from the agricultural economy, work harder to assist in the production of cash crops, provide capital for men's enterprises, and donate their labour to self-help projects, thus making development possible, even though they may ultimately be damaged by the economic transformations that result (Bay, 1982).

A comprehensive review of the women and development literature by Friedman (1989) shows the extent to which the different approaches to development (Modernisation, Redistribution with Growth and Basic Human Needs) have had different (and often inadequate) conceptions of women. These conceptions have affected strategies and end goals often to the detriment of women.

The approach to women and development most desired by feminists is the Empowerment of Women approach. This new approach (unlike the other approaches) takes direct cognisance of the central role

women play in Third World countries. It aims to help place women in a position to be in control of their own lives and to play an active role in the development process. This process is redefined to emphasise the need for grass-roots development that focuses on the human aspects of development rather than on conventional economic or technical progress. The Empowerment of Women approach emphasises the need to empower women because of the belief that as long as men dominate decision-making, women's position will not change substantially.

#### **4.3 GENDER THEORY AND FEMINIST THEORY**

A discussion is provided below of aspects of gender theory (section 4.3.1) and feminist theory (section 4.3.2) that are relevant to this study. The specific contribution that these two theories make to this study is then indicated in section 4.4.

##### **4.3.1 Gender Theory**

This study is a gender study based on the central tenet of gender analysis, which is that the present inferior status of women is produced by socialisation and not any biological causes (Mackinnon, 1982). The concept of patriarchy is used in gender analysis to explain how sex, which is a biological fact, becomes gender, which is a social phenomenon that determines what is feminine and what is masculine within a society. Patriarchy can be defined as a "set of social relations between men which, although hierarchical, establishes an interdependence and solidarity between them which allows them to dominate women"

(IBG, 1984, 26).

To date there have been very few attempts at theoretical analysis of gender relations within rural society (Little, 1987). However, gender theory does propose that gender is a primary organising principle in society, and provides a conceptual framework useful in the investigation of those features of gender likely to constrain activities such as agricultural production in rural areas. This framework allows for the identification of social phenomena such as the sexual division of labour prevalent in all societies that allocates certain tasks to the different sexes, and gender relations that function at a personal level and at a societal level. An example of a type of gender relations is the patriarchal relations of male domination/female subordination that produce differential access to resources and decision-making according to sex.

#### 4.3.2 Feminist Theory

One of the major challenges to conventional rural development thought has been feminism (Mackinnon, 1982). Feminist theory uses gender theory for a specific purpose: to expose the oppression of women at both personal and societal levels in order to overcome this oppression at both levels. Feminism is a political movement which is informed by feminist theory and "offers a holistic concept of how a society should be shaped in order to help all people realise their full potential (ISIS, 1983, 69).

Feminism makes a natural contribution to rural development as " a

feminist perspective is very relevant to development and development issues, that is, to issues such as supplying people's basic needs - food, water, shelter, health and education" (ISIS, 1983, 1). The reason for this is that women are directly responsible for supplying most of these needs.

Feminist theory explains the past "invisibility" of women in development by exposing a sexually-stratified system of male supremacy that permeates beliefs, norms, values and social structures to produce mechanisms to hide women's contribution to Third World agriculture and maintain women's dependency on men (Safilios-Rothschild, 1985). Western feminism crystallised out of the Women's Movement of the Sixties and thus embodies principles that are historically and culturally specific (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1983). However, all feminists criticise the division of labour by sex because sex-role stereotyping imposes relations of superiority and inferiority and limits individual freedom (Beneria, 1982).

Feminist theory counteracts the ideological and material undervaluation of women's work and recognises the long hours of labour that women put in. It stresses the need to bring use-value production into the economic realm and to account for women's unpaid labour within the home as active labour. Feminist theory exposes the invaluable part played by mothers and wives in terms of national survival as unpaid/cheap sources of home-bound labour. As this is to the nation's benefit, governments endorse the domesticity of women and it is never easy to initiate change

(Afshar, 1987).

#### **4.4 GENDER AND FEMINIST THEORY'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY**

Gender theory proposes that the two main aspects of gender that are likely to constrain women are patriarchal relations and the sexual division of labour. This study which investigates the gender constraints to increased agricultural production experienced by women, has therefore focused on these two aspects.

Feminist theory reveals that gender relations function at two different levels. There is a set that functions at a personal level and within the household and concerns the sexual division of labour/allocation of tasks. The other parallel and reinforcing set exists at a societal level and arises from the patriarchal relationship between males and females which leads to structural constraints in the form of differential access to resources and power bases for decision-making. This study has differentiated between the implications of these two levels in the analysis of the results.

The women that form the subject of this research are members of the Zulu tribe. Zulu traditional culture is based on a strong patriarchal society that possesses an elaborate system of respect that places women in a subservient role (Webster, 1989). Krige (1965) argues that this system of respect, which incorporated the concept of "ukuhlonipha", affects women far more than men. A married woman has to submit to the authority of her father-in-law and all his brothers, her elder brother-in-law, her mother-in-law and all the wives of her father-in-law. After menopause, women

are released from "ukuhlonipha" where they acquire the status of a man and no longer have to "hlonipha" men (Hassim, 1988).

In addition, it is traditional for Zulu men to regard agriculture as women's work (Webster, 1989). In the study area, the sexual division of labour that prevails allocates all farming activities except ploughing (by tractor and ox) and the tending of cattle and other large livestock, to women. The lack of access of women in the study area to farming technology means that agricultural activities are physically exhausting and time-consuming. These activities include hoeing, sowing, weeding and watering by hand.

The exodus of male labour in rural areas exacerbates this situation. Apart from the annual December holiday season, "the rest of the year the wives, children and the old men have to practise agriculture" (Dlamini, 1980).

According to the sexual division of labour, the work that rural women perform in Third World areas (and therefore in the study area) has been classified into three categories: survival tasks, household work and income generation (Dankelman and Davidson, 1988). This system of classification of rural women's work is used in this study (Chapter 5).

#### **4.5 THE HISTORY OF GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH**

##### **4.5.1 Introduction**

In order to place this gender study in a historical and global

context, a brief review of the international events that have determined the short history of the literature on gender and development is provided below. This shows the literature's progressive development.

#### 4.5.2 Pre-1970 Literature

Since the 1960's, an international focus on "development" in Third World countries has generated a wealth of associated literature. Literature focusing on gender issues in rural development is less well developed.

Pre-1970 literature about Third World women was of a non-critical nature. It was largely composed of descriptive case-studies produced by Western anthropologists and written from a male perspective. There was very little analysis in the literature and women's productive and reproductive spheres of social life were described uncritically. Women were described in terms of their relationship with men (Obbo, 1980). Aspects such as women's involvement in marriage and the family were emphasised. An example of this type of literature (although in this case written by female anthropologists) is edited by Paulme (1970).

In 1970, Ester Boserup's seminal work, **Women and Economic Development**, marked the first serious attempt to look critically at the affects of development (economic) on women's role in the Third World (Africa, South East Asia, the Middle East and Latin America). By comparative analysis, Boserup produced a typology of female labourers in the Third World : the veiled non-worker (Middle East), the domestic wife (Latin America), the family

farmer (South East Asia) and the African women that work independently from their husbands. This study deals with this last category of women.

Boserup documented the way the colonial, modernisation model of development had been implemented so that it adversely affected Third World women's productivity by increasing their workload and reducing their political autonomy.

Although women have never shared equality with men in traditional societies, it is thought that women were traditionally more independent of men than at present (Wilson, 1985), enjoyed greater control over economic resources and exercised a greater degree of political power (Bay, 1982).

This decline in status was facilitated by colonial developers ignoring women's traditional productive roles in society and the central role they play in the economies of underdeveloped countries. Instead values restricting women's productive roles were reinforced and patriarchal, Western views on what was appropriate work for women were superimposed on non-Western societies (Rogers, 1980). Colonialism and its "modernisation" approach to development thus served to lower the status of women while raising that of men. Colonial governments introduced policies based on male-female power relations in Europe (Bay, 1982).

Development officials inevitably focused on men in farming as farming was traditionally a male pursuit in the First World.

But in Africa south of the Sahara this approach is incorrect as farming is essentially a female pursuit. Women, in fact, produce 80 % of the food in sub-Saharan Africa (Dankelman and Davidson, 1988 and IUCN, 1989). This misplaced emphasis on men in farming has been called a "worldwide colonial blunder" (Yates, 1982). Yet the myth that farming is a male pursuit in Africa continues to be perpetuated. Even now Huntley, Siegfried and Sunter (1989, 57) contend that a "reservoir of able-bodied men must remain at home to tend the farms" in the homelands of South Africa if agricultural productivity is to increase.

This focus on men in farming imposed new patterns of sex roles on farming. New technologies were made available to men thus increasing their productivity and social status while decreasing their workload (for example, the advent of the tractor for ploughing). In comparison, women's productivity and social status declined and their workload increased (for example, they had to plant and weed greater areas made available for cultivation by tractor ploughing). With the advent of cash cropping, which was orientated toward men, the importance of women's subsistence agriculture (production of food for immediate consumption) was further overlooked and although women provided much of the labour in cash cropping, the proceeds went directly to men.

Before Boserup's work, the negative effect that colonial development had on women in the Third World had not been formally acknowledged.

#### 4.5.3 Research in the 1970s and Early 1980s

In the 1970s and early 1980s, there was no contribution by South African authors to the literature on gender and development. However, feminist authors elsewhere concerned themselves with collecting empirical data to verify claims made by Boserup (Buvinic, 1976; Hafkin and Bay, 1976; Tinker and Bramsen, 1976; Rihani, 1978; Obbo, 1980; Bay, 1982).

The work carried out by women in rural areas was previously "invisible" to development planners and policy makers and thus grossly undervalued. By documenting women's work (in both the reproductive and productive spheres of social life), this research showed the central role played by women in traditional rural areas and the extent to which women as unpaid family workers and low-paid production workers are actually subsidising the modernisation developmental process (Mies, 1986, 188). It also served to legitimise rural Third World women as a special category for social analysis just at the time when women-related problems were slowly becoming a valid academic pursuit. Inevitably the main body of research on women in the Third World was carried out by international agencies employing academics based in institutions in Europe and America. This was, and to a large extent still is the case, due to the lack of infrastructure and expertise in the Third World countries themselves.

The failure of modernisation development, with its reliance on the "trickle-down" effects of economic growth and development,

also encouraged an interest in rural women. Acknowledgment of this failure led to the adoption of the Basic Human Needs approach in the implementation of rural development initiatives. The latter approach emphasises the need to have a more directed approach to implementing development by identifying a set of minimum human needs and targeting specific groups that are disadvantaged. This includes rural women as they compose the majority of the poorest rural inhabitants (Clark, 1984).

Another impetus to the growth of gender and development research was the timely development of the Women's Movement. In the late Sixties and early Seventies, women in Europe and America publicly resisted their oppression both in the public and private spheres of social life. This political and economic struggle of women en masse fuelled the growth of academic debate and research on the subject of women's oppression on a global scale. This further encouraged the study of women and the functioning of gender in society. It also brought attention to the dual role imposed on women by their involvement in waged (productive) and domestic (reproductive) work. A new perspective was added to research by questioning the traditional sexual division of labour, the dominance/subordination relationship between the sexes and the economic value of childbearing and rearing.

The UN Decade for the Advancement of Women (1975-1985) and the three UN-sponsored conferences (Mexico (1975), Copenhagen (1980) and Nairobi (1985) stimulated further research and fostered international networks amongst those interested in gender issues. The UN decade was declared to give women the following: equality

in family and society, education and training, work and pay; free choice in marriage and family planning and full participation in the process of development, politics and maintaining peace.

Although the position of women had in fact worsened during this period because of the declining economic position of Third World countries, the Decade served to stress the need to include gender as a fundamental component in the planning and implementation of policies and programmes. The need to organise and empower women was emphasised, especially at a "grass roots" level.

The cultural heterogeneity displayed by women in developing countries has meant that the literature has taken the form of collections of descriptive case-studies of particular situations, for example, Hafkin and Bay (1976), Nelson (1981), Bay (1982), Beneria (1982) and Afshar (1985). Although Charlton (1984) provides a comprehensive text about women in Third World development, to date there has been little consolidation of material. This is a major limitation as it means that it is difficult to focus on generalisations. However, the literature clearly illustrates the universality of women's oppression even though this oppression takes many different forms.

#### 4.5.4 Recent Developments

The volume of research on rural Third World women and the effects of gender on development has provided a solid basis for advisory services and for the evaluation and initiation of programmes and technologies to benefit poor rural women (Beneria, 1982).

Examples of such literature include Dixon (1978), Anand (1983), Sandhu and Sandler (1986) and CIRDAP (1987).

The adverse effect of development on rural women is taken as a self evident truth and there is a movement away from descriptive case-studies to a combination of description with analysis. Some of the research themes that have evolved in the investigation of rural women in the Third World include :

1. The nature and terms of participation of rural women in agriculture
2. Women and rural industry
3. Women and rural services
4. The impact on rural women of agricultural modernisation and agrarian change
5. The prevalence, role and potential of organisations of rural women

(Beneria, 1982)

Given the study area, this particular work follows the first of these themes and researches women's involvement in agricultural production in rural areas and the factors (cultural and economic) that determine the form this involvement takes.

Women have been shown to be a key factor in attacking pressing social issues in Third World countries such as illiteracy, high fertility and low productivity (Kandiyoti, 1985). The investigation of how different political systems have tried to take cognisance of the needs and strengths of rural women has also formed a part of recent studies about gender and development (for example, Croll, (1981) reviews the situation in the Soviet

Union, China, Cuba and Tanzania). Concurrently there has been a critique of the concept of integrating women into development (that is, making women fit into the development process rather than making the development process suit the women) and programmes specifically designed and implemented to help rural women have been critically evaluated.

A very recent development in the work on rural, Third World women is linking environmental degradation and the current food crisis in Africa to the plight of rural women in the Third World (Dankelman and Davidson, 1988 and Sen and Grown, 1988). This development has a significant contribution to make to conservationists and environmentalists operating in a Third World context. The point that is made is that Third World women possess a fund of indigenous knowledge about the conservation of their natural resource base, but are forced to exploit this base to survive.

Some recent issues of concern in gender and development research include the nature of power relations between the sexes, and between women and the state (Afshar, 1987); women's differential access to resources (Staudt, 1982) and the empowerment of women, their organisation and mobilisation (Anand, 1983 and Sen and Grown, 1988). Today therefore the importance of eliciting the involvement of women in rural development initiatives appears to be widely recognised by international development agencies and Third World policy makers, yet the general consensus is that there is still a lot to be done if even some of the most basic improvements in the living conditions of most women in developing

countries is to be achieved.

#### **4.6 GENDER AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT - THE SOUTH AFRICAN CASE**

In **Chapter One** the urgent need to conduct research into gender issues in rural areas in South Africa was expressed. Although recently there have been some outstanding contributions in this field (for example, Sharp and Spiegel, 1986, McLachlan 1988a and 1988b, Mfono, 1989, and Webster, 1989), the literature is poorly developed.

In the past decade it has become axiomatic that women are responsible for producing and marketing food in Africa (Eberegbulam Njoku, 1980). This fact however, does not appear to be common knowledge in South Africa where such information is still regarded as newsworthy. Similarly there has been no research aimed at investigation of the gender-specific constraints to agricultural production experienced by rural women. Bembridge (1986) for example, in his classification of the characteristics of "progressive" small-scale farmers claims that the best farmers are male heads of household and that women are less productive than men. No explanation of this phenomenon is given. Most significant of all is the fact that there is no holistic account of the extent to which rural development, associated with the system of apartheid and the homelands policy, has affected rural women in South Africa.

In this country, data are almost invariably collected and presented without any differentiation according to sex. As

Beneria (1982) has shown that one of the greatest difficulties in assisting women is the lack of reliable data regarding their numbers, problems and achievements, and in the South African homelands there is a real need for descriptive research concerning rural women and their activities.

This study concentrates on the gender constraints to agricultural production experienced by women in one rural area and tries to fill the gap in gender and development research by balancing the need to provide descriptive information, with the benefits from insights gained from international research. It is a study motivated by a desire to discover the gender constraints that operate on these rural women and gain information which can ultimately be used as part of the process of overcoming their subordination.

To understand the nature of these gender constraints it is necessary to comprehend the role women (rural and urban) play in South African society. This society has a hierarchy of domination structured along cultural and sexual lines. White dominates black and male domination occurs in both black and white races. This forms a hierarchy of domination with white males at the top of the hierarchy and black females at the bottom. If these gender and ethnic divisions are combined with class divisions, most black women in South Africa can be defined as suffering from the "triple oppression of race, gender and class" (Cock, 1980 and Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1983)

In addition, urban-industrial development has dominated rural-

agricultural development in South Africa, despite the exception of white agriculture that enjoys a range of government subsidies (Bembridge, 1987). Severe structural problems are experienced in rural areas. Some of these include overcrowding and landlessness; migrant labour; lack of access to resources (land and capital) and markets; social institutions and practices (the system of tribal authority, the importance of cattle as wealth and the destruction of the pre-colonial African peasantry) and the lack of synchronisation in regional investment (Dewar, Todd and Watson, 1985).

In addition, agricultural production among the "other-than-white" ethnic groups in South Africa has been deeply influenced by a history of repression and coercion. Subsistence and commercial farmers of both sexes have been, and still are, constrained by aspects such as limited access to capital, land, training, infrastructure and markets. These constraints have been fairly well documented by Bundy (1979) for black farming and Davies and Greyling (1978) for Indian farming. More recently, Timberlake (1988) provides an account of how the "institutionalised environmental bankruptcy" associated with apartheid and the homelands policy has marginalised black agriculture.

In KwaZulu (except for sugar cane production), there is virtually no effective delivery of services to provide inputs to production, let alone at acceptable prices and at the right time. There is also a lack of outlets for production surpluses (Bembridge *et al.*, 1983). It is therefore not surprising that Perold (1985, 94) should report that many black people

classified as agricultural workers are hardly able to farm at all. As many of these women are actually unemployed, they are forced to survive on migrant remittances and pensions (both unreliable incomes).

An additional constraint to agricultural production in black rural areas is that the parents of rural children prefer to invest in their children's education in order to increase their labour marketability even in cases where farmers are relatively successful (McIntosh, 1987). It has also been shown that in areas where yield expectations are relatively high, a significant number of people prefer to get involved in off-farm employment, indicating that households tend to benefit less from on-farm employment than off-farm employment (Stewart and Lyne, 1988). These are two further aspects that serve to illustrate that, even if gender constraints are not taken into account, farming amongst the "other-than-white" ethnic groups in South Africa is a marginalised activity.

Gender-specific constraints to agricultural production in South Africa have not been explicitly documented and are very often not given formal acknowledgment. This is a crucial gap in research in a country where the vast majority of subsistence farmers are women and where rural areas are almost devoid of active and effective men (Tapson, 1982). In the next chapter, therefore the gender-constraints experienced by women in the study area and the effects these constraints have on women's potential for increased agricultural productivity are outlined.

**CHAPTER FIVE : GENDER-SPECIFIC CONSTRAINTS AND THEIR EFFECT ON  
WOMEN'S AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIVITY**

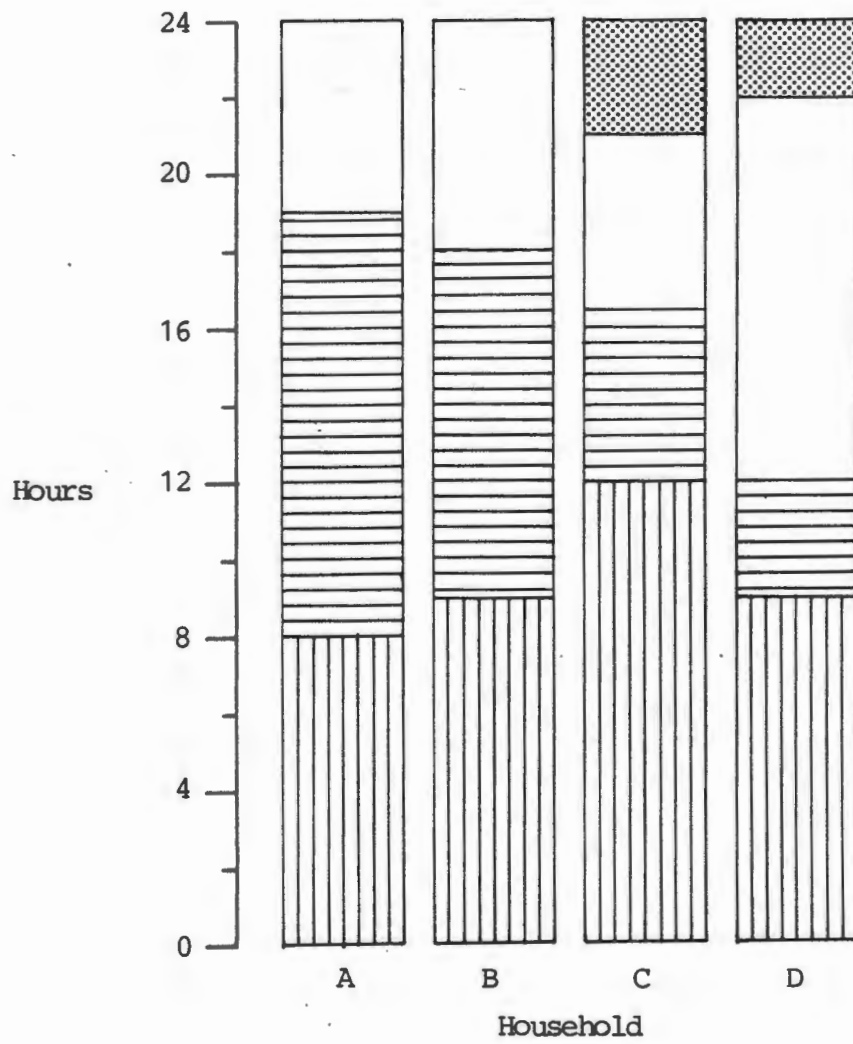
**5.1 INTRODUCTION**

In the previous chapter the structural constraints facing all farmers in KwaZulu were described. Women in the study area are faced with these constraints, as well as those imposed by their gender role. This chapter looks specifically at those gender-specific constraints experienced by women in the Nhlangwini Ward.

Gender theory exposes the fact that the sexual division of labour in most societies socially defines certain work as being the responsibility of women. It was found that it was in the work managed by women in the study area that gender-specific constraints experienced by these women were located. This work consumed resources (time, energy and finances) that could otherwise have been employed in more productive activity.

The work that women in the study area do can be divided into three main areas : survival tasks, household tasks and income generation. These areas are used as a system of classification for the work carried out by women and are defined below.

Survival tasks are those essential to sustain daily life and are mainly aimed at increasing the material resources within the household (growth and processing of subsistence food crops, fetching water, collection of fuelwood, manufacturing for home use and health care - including child care and care for the sick and aged).



Key

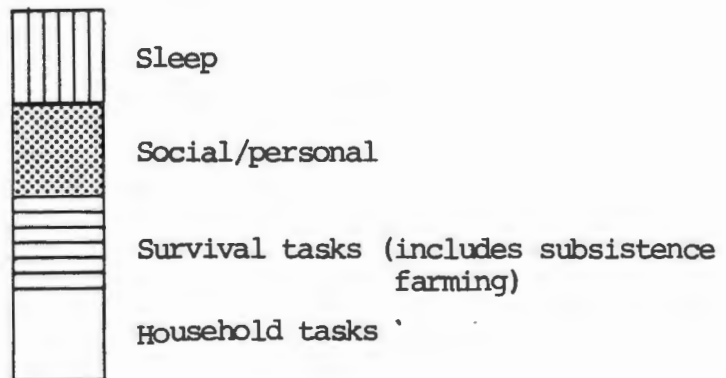


Figure 3 : Activity patterns over a 24-hour period

Household tasks include activities involved in maintaining a home (cleaning , washing, food preparation, food storage and cooking).

Income generation includes any activities that contribute directly to the family budget. This is an important aspect as women tend to spend more of their income on family welfare than men (Dankelman and Davidson, 1988).

The heavy involvement of these rural women in survival tasks and household tasks is significant in the time it consumes. FIGURE 3 shows bar graphs of the amount of time consumed by four basic activities : sleep, survival tasks, household tasks and social\personal tasks.

COLUMNS A B, C and D each represent a typical example of a woman's use of the previous day's 24-hour period as recorded in the time use and housing survey. The women are fully employed in survival tasks and household tasks to the exclusion of personal/social time. COLUMNS A and B illustrate cases in which women experienced no personal/social time during the previous day, while C and D have much reduced personal/social times.

It is well known that urban women in formal employment are faced with a **double workload** of domestic work within their homes and waged work outside their homes. Yet rural women are also faced with a double workload as their gender (combined with socio-economic status) dictates that they perform domestic work as well as subsistence farming activities. In addition, because they have insufficient funds from external sources to support their families, they are forced to get involved in income-generating

activities as well. Most women in the study area therefore experience a **triple workload** - domestic labour, subsistence farming and involvement in income-generating activities. This may be described as the rural woman's multiple role.

Third World women have to adopt strategies to manage multiple roles in order to co-ordinate their various family responsibilities : subsistence production, income generation, childrearing and household maintenance (Okeyo, 1979). Their labour, particularly survival tasks such as procuring the family water and energy supply, is often more difficult to conduct than in urban areas. In some Third World urban areas the supply of these basic needs has been commercialised (or subsidised) and is available outside the household.

The effects of this triple workload imposed on women because of their gender role are expressed in some of the statements made by women in the study area. These women observed that, "men have time to sleep. Women have no time to sleep" and "a man that does not have a woman does not know that women never rest. They are always doing work for the household". Also that, "women have strength but they have too much to do. It makes them old and tired".

It is important to identify the extent to which these gender-specific constraints imposed by a triple workload affect women's productivity. This identification is important in order that these constraints can be accommodated in policies, programmes and methods devised to improve agricultural production in the study

area and other similar areas.

The following sections identify the gender-specific constraints experienced by women in the study area. These constraints arise out of their involvement in the various activities that constitute their multiple role (survival tasks, household tasks and income generation).

Following the identification of the types of gender constraint, an analysis is provided of the extent to which these constraints affect the women's agricultural productivity.

## 5.2 SURVIVAL TASKS

TABLE ONE shows the percentage involvement in survival tasks of the women interviewed in the farming survey (44 respondents) and the time-use and housing survey (30 respondents).

**TABLE ONE : FEMALE RESPONDENTS : INVOLVEMENT IN SURVIVAL TASKS**

<u>SURVIVAL TASK</u>	<u>FEMALE INVOLVEMENT IN TASK</u>			
	<u>Farming Survey</u>		<u>Time use survey</u>	
	N = 44 = 100 %		N = 30 = 100 %	
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
<b>FETCH WATER</b>	30	<b>68 %</b>	25	<b>83 %</b>
<b>SUPPLY WOOD</b>	9	<b>20 %</b>	11	<b>37 %</b>
<b>CHILD CARE</b>	35	<b>80 %</b>	24	<b>80 %</b>
<b>SHOPPING</b>	32	<b>73 %</b>	20	<b>67 %</b>
<b>GROW FOOD CROPS</b>	43	<b>98 %</b>	23	<b>77 %</b>

It was found that the women interviewed were largely responsible for most of the survival tasks in their households. In the farming survey, nearly half (46 %) of female respondents were solely responsible for all the survival tasks in their households, while in the time-use and housing survey, 40 % of the women were responsible for all these tasks.

The identification of the specific involvement of women in these tasks is given below in the following order: growing food crops and shopping, water and wood collection and health care. The extent to which involvement in these activities constrains the women's agricultural production is then indicated.

#### 5.2.1 Feeding the Family - Women as Subsistence Farmers and Shoppers for Food

The sexual division of labour in KwaZulu allocates to women the direct responsibility of feeding the household. This is a responsibility that they share with women throughout Africa (Eberegbulam Njoku, 1980). One way in which women provide food for their families is by the cultivation of food crops. In the farming survey, 55 % of female respondents started to farm in order to feed the family to avoid buying foodstuffs and/or to provide a cash income with which to buy foodstuffs. Of these respondents 16 % mentioned that they specifically started to grow crops to avoid having to buy household foodstuffs.

More women are involved in growing crops than any other survival task, (98 % in the farming survey and 77 % in the time-use and housing survey). This high percentage involvement is

illustrative of the importance of women as farmers, particularly subsistence farmers.

The estimated monetary value of the subsistence crop produced predominantly by women in the Nhlangwini Ward and consumed by their families was R 205 199 (KDA, 1982). This figure was calculated by estimating the value of the six main food crops consumed (madumbis, potatoes, sweet potatoes, beans, maize and sorghum). The value was arrived at by recording the areas under cultivation of food crops; the yields from these areas; the amount consumed and its value according to its price if it had been sold.

The Gross Agricultural Income from the ward was calculated as a deficit of - R 47 946 (KDA, 1982). This means that the expense of agricultural production (for example, the expenditure on hired land and other inputs) was greater than the total agricultural income from the sale of produce. This expense would only be covered by income generated from outside the ward. However if the value of the consumed crop is added to the deficit value of the Gross Agricultural Income, it changes to a gross credit of R 157 253. This fact indicates that the large saving in money spent on food that was achieved by the women serves to reduce the dependency in the Nhlangwini Ward as a whole.

As arable land is very scarce in the ward, the one place where women can grow vegetables to feed their families is in the community gardens. Most of the women interviewed in the farming survey (82 %) were members of a community garden and working in

the gardens was given by women in the group discussions as one of the most time consuming tasks that they faced. Nevertheless the women in the group discussions presented the community gardens as an example of an improvement in the area that had benefited them.

### Shopping for food

Despite the tremendous value of the consumed crops, few households in the Nhlangwini Ward are self-sufficient in providing for all their food requirements (KDA, 1982). This aspect and the relatively easy access to bought, albeit expensive, foodstuffs (in local shops and nearby urban centres) makes shopping for food an important activity for sustaining daily life. This is illustrated by the high percentage of women who go shopping for food (73 % in the farming survey and 87 % in the time use and housing survey). The inadequacy and expense of local shopping facilities in the study area means women find it profitable to travel by bus to nearby urban centres to shop for food to feed their families. This requires time and energy that could otherwise be invested in activities such as agricultural production.

Not all shopping is done in the formal market, for three-quarters of the women in the farming survey sell some of their produce. As they are unlikely to have access to outside markets, most of this is sold locally and reflects a strong local demand for agricultural produce.

### 5.2.2 Managing Water

Water is essential in rural and urban households for a wide range of activities. These include drinking, personal hygiene, washing dishes, cleaning the house, preparing and cooking food and watering livestock.

Despite this there is no reticulated water system in the study area. It is supplied by unprotected springs or from the rivers. Hand pumps are few and far between and operation of the hand pumps requires a level of physical exertion that some of the older women find difficult to meet. In addition, the pumps are often out of order for extended periods of time (Mr R Auberbach, pers. comm.).

Collecting water for the household is an important activity. In the farming survey, 68 % of the respondents fetched water for household use. In the time-use and housing survey, 86 % of the respondents were responsible for the same task.

The typical mode of water collection used by the women in the ward is to fill 25 litre plastic drums (weighing over 25 kilograms) and carry these home balanced on their heads (as they do for loads of fuelwood). This weight is in excess of the ILO limit of 20 kilograms on loads carried by workers (Dankelman and Davidson, 1988). Furthermore the distance covered to collect water in the study area depends on the location of the water-carrier's house in relation to the nearest suitable water source as well as the number of journeys required each day (as many as five journeys by one individual were recorded).

The quality and quantity of these water sources varies. By midday the water at some of the springs becomes very muddy, while in winter some of the springs dry up necessitating further travel for water collection. This survival task is made more strenuous if steep river banks have to be negotiated.

The time-consuming, arduous nature of water collection is indicated in the priority given to this basic need. The key interviews carried out to inform the Institute of Natural Resources' development report (Colvin, 1987) revealed that dissatisfaction with the present water supply is a major issue of concern, despite the fact that the document for "betterment planning" in the area (KDA, 1982) stressed the need to develop the area's water supply.

At all three of the group discussions held by the researcher, an inadequate water supply (for both domestic use and for irrigation of vegetables in the community gardens) was one of the problems raised by the women attending. They reported that water for domestic use was often far away, sometimes they had to queue at the springs because they were heavily utilised, while in summer the springs would become flooded and in winter, they would dry up. Fetching the household's daily water requirement was also listed as one of the most time consuming tasks that the women had to face.

### 5.2.3 Working for Wood - Women as Suppliers of Fuelwood

The method of obtaining fuelwood in the study area explains the

relatively low level of active involvement of the women interviewed in the collection of fuelwood (20 % in the farming survey and 37 % in the time-use and housing survey). The Nhlangwini Ward, like many other heavily populated rural areas in South Africa that verge on peri-urban areas, has had its fuelwood supply commercialised and the demand is met from imported wood resources.

The incidence of female, rural dwellers buying wood from Natal farmers living on the borders of KwaZulu has been recorded by McClintock (1989). Women in the study area, instead of spending time collecting wood, now have to work to earn cash to buy wood and pay for its delivery (or reallocate money from other areas of the family budget). Another option is for the women to trade their labour for fuelwood grown in plantations on neighbouring white farms. In this case, it was reported that women were still responsible for the collection and delivery of this fuelwood. Money was needed to hire tractors to transport the wood home and some women reported that they had to dig the trees up by the roots.

When discussing fuelwood collection at one of the group discussions, the researcher was told that when women did collect fuelwood, the natural forests were far away and it took the whole day to collect wood and carry it home. This illustrates the lack of ready access to indigenous forests or other local supplies of wood. When women do collect wood, a single "headload" of wood can weigh up to 35 or 40 kilograms (Gander, 1983 and Dankelman

and Davidson, 1988) and carrying these heavy burdens damages the spine and causes problems with childbearing (Dankelman and Davidson, 1988).

#### 5.2.4 Providing Care

Women are traditionally responsible for maintaining the health of members of their household. This includes child care, care of the sick and care of the aged. Facilities to assist women in this task are very limited in the study area.

Because there are no formal child care facilities in the study area, one of the survival tasks with the highest percentage involvement performed by the women interviewed was child care. Of the women who had young children at home in the time-use and housing survey, 89 % were responsible for their care and 80 % of the female respondents in the farming survey were responsible for the care of children in their households. Where possible, child care is a task allocated to the older women who, because of their age, had reduced mobility and stayed at home more than other women in the household. Men showed virtually no involvement in child care. In only one case was it recorded that a male assisted with child care - one female respondent in the farming survey said her husband assisted with looking after the children.

The need for child care facilities was expressed in the group discussions. One woman stressed the need for these facilities by workers at a local commercial forestry company that employs a large number of women as labourers. These women leave home very early in the morning and return only after dark. The need for

such facilities was also illustrated in the dilemma of one woman, encountered in the group discussions, who did not have access to any of the usual support systems in rural areas: she was too young to receive a pension, had no husband or grown sons to send her money but many children to feed. She had no-one to look after the children while she sought work in surrounding urban areas.

Like child care, care for the sick and aged is the responsibility of women. The lack of involvement of men in family health care is illustrated by one woman's response which was, "when women are sick, there is no-one to look after them. When men are sick, they can be looked after by women". Health care is a physically and emotionally demanding task that often requires access to medical facilities. In the study area, these are few and far between, for the only permanent clinic site is at the tribal court and is visited weekly by a mobile clinic. This site is inappropriate however, as it is on top of a steep hill. In addition, a doctor visits only fortnightly. As a woman at one of the group discussions said, "people do not get sick only once every two weeks !".

#### 5.2.5 Manufacturing for Home Use

Because they have inadequate funds to meet the household's material requirements, women are forced to make goods that would otherwise have been purchased. These items range from clothing to actual dwellings.

Apart from erecting the wooden lattice structure of traditional houses (a masculine task which has become commercialised), women are responsible for building the walls and floors of the "wattle and daub" houses and for their continual maintenance. "Wattle and daub" houses require a considerable amount of maintenance. The aversion of women to involvement in this task is expressed by their preference for buildings with cement blocks or plastered walls. House building was given by the women in the group discussions as one of the most time-consuming tasks. One woman had spent nine hours the previous day filling in the walls of a house under construction with mud.

#### 5.2.6 Effects of Survival Tasks on Women's Agricultural Productivity

Women in the study area have to provide food for their families to eat. As a large quantity of bought foodstuffs are out of the range of most family budgets, a crucial part of this food is obtained from subsistence farming by the women. The rest of the food is bought by the women. Women are, therefore, the main subsistence food producers and shoppers for food. The heavy involvement by women in subsistence agricultural production is a constraint on commercial agricultural production. Returns from cash cropping would have to outweigh the value of subsistence cropping before women would willingly switch from subsistence to cash cropping.

The survey results have shown that women are heavily involved in two physically demanding survival tasks on a routine daily basis

(that is, fetching water and obtaining a supply of fuelwood). The involvement in these activities imposes severe time constraints on any other activities they can perform. These activities include involvement in agricultural production and attendance at agricultural meetings and training courses that are not held in the vicinity and for a limited duration of time.

In addition, as fuel and water managers, women's mobility is constrained. They cannot leave the household for any length of time without making arrangements for their labour to be replaced by another woman. The performance of survival tasks also constrains women's mobility as they become too physically tired for involvement in activities that require a significant amount of movement outside the home.

Being the caretakers of the small children, the sick and the aged in their household, is severely restricting both to mobility and to the use of time for other activities. For example, when meetings are called in the study area, some of the women are unable to attend as they have to stay at home (Mr Ngcobo, pers. comm.)

Women's commitment to meeting the pressing material demands of their households through the daily performance of a number of survival tasks means that the resources that are available to invest in other activities are extremely limited. This imposes a severe constraint on their increased agricultural productivity.

### 5.3 HOUSEHOLD TASKS

In addition to the survival tasks discussed above, the women interviewed are almost exclusively responsible for all household tasks. This is illustrated by TABLE TWO.

**TABLE TWO : FEMALE RESPONDENTS : INVOLVEMENT IN HOUSEHOLD TASKS**

<u>HOUSEHOLD TASK</u>	<u>FEMALE INVOLVEMENT IN TASK</u>			
	<u>Farming Survey</u>		<u>Time Use Survey</u>	
	N = 44 = 100 %		N = 30 = 100 %	
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage
COOK FOOD	33	75 %	26	87 %
WASH CLOTHES	31	71 %	27	90 %
CLEAN HOUSE	32	73 %	26	87 %
WASH DISHES	-		22	73 %

Household tasks are notorious for being time-consuming and by having to be done on a routine basis (mostly daily). Some of the household tasks performed by women that were recorded in the time-use and housing survey are given in TABLE THREE.

**TABLE THREE : HOUSEWORK TASKS PERFORMED IN THE STUDY AREA**

<u>TYPE OF TASK</u>	<u>SPECIFIC TASK</u>
CLEANING HOUSE	* sweeping and dusting house * cleaning windows * making the beds
LAUNDRY AND CARE OF CLOTHES	* washing clothes and blankets (includes carrying them to nearest suitable water source, hanging them out to dry, and

TABLE THREE - continued

	carrying the clean items home)
	* ironing clothes
	* mending clothes
<b>COOKING AND FOOD PREPARATION</b>	
	* preparing food (e.g. soaking beans or cutting vegetables)
	* storing food
	* cooking food
	* serving meals
	* chopping wood for fires
	* lighting fires for cooking food or boiling water
	* making tea
	* tending the fire whilst it is burning
	* cleaning the fireplace
	* washing dishes after meals
	* brewing beer

---

Household tasks in most traditional communities are considered a women's occupation. It is usually a cultural taboo for adult or adolescent males to assist in household tasks. As avoidance of the performance of housework in rural areas benefits males socially and economically, it is a taboo that is likely to be perpetuated for as long as possible, given the patriarchal nature of society.

According to the women interviewed, "men will not cook or fetch water as this is a woman's job" and "all the hard work is done by women. Men sit and want you to bring the food". Furthermore males were reported to expect payment for any housework they performed whereas females did not - "when men are asked to do anything around the house they expect to get paid for it,

whereas young women are expected to do housework".

In only one case did any of the seven men interviewed in the farming survey mention involvement in household work. This man indicated that he did his own washing and ironing and helped to clean the house, skills which may have been acquired when involved in migrant work. This illustrates that under different socio-economic conditions men will by necessity perform household tasks. The presence of adult males as domestic workers for white households in urban areas in South Africa also illustrates this point.

As far as involvement of men in housework activities in the time-use and housing survey is concerned, TABLE FOUR illustrates the low level of male involvement.

**TABLE FOUR : INVOLVEMENT OF MEN IN VARIOUS ACTIVITIES RELATED TO THE HOUSEHOLD**

<u>ACTIVITY</u>	<u>MALE INVOLVEMENT</u>	
	No.	Percentage
	N = 7 = 100 %	
<b><u>SURVIVAL TASKS</u></b>		
FETCH WATER (by motor)	1	14 %
COLLECT WOOD (by motor)	1	14 %
CHILD CARE	1	14 %
BUY CLOTHES	4	57 %
BUY FOOD	2	30 %
GROW FOOD CROPS	2	30 %

TABLE FOUR - continued

TEND LIVESTOCK	1	14 %
<u>HOUSEHOLD TASKS</u>		
COOK FOOD	0	0 %
WASH CLOTHES	0	0 %
CLEAN HOUSE	0	0 %
WASH DISHES	0	0 %
<u>INCOME GENERATING TASKS</u>		
SELL HOME PRODUCED ITEMS	1	14 %
CASH CONTRIBUTION TO HOUSEHOLD	5	71 %

---

5.3.1 Effects of Women as Household Workers on their Agricultural Productivity

"If a man dies, the home can go on. If the women dies, the home dies". This statement, made by one of the female respondents when discussing gender roles, illustrates the vital role women play within the family. Like meeting the household's fuel and water needs, the regular performance of tedious and unrewarding household tasks is essential in order to maintain a home. The traditional gender role of women in the study area means that these household tasks are their immediate responsibility. This restricts the time and energy they have available to perform agricultural tasks.

#### 5.4 INCOME-GENERATING TASKS

Existing income-generating opportunities for rural women in the study area are limited and often marginal by nature. A response to this is the relatively high level of female migrancy - a quarter of the adult females in the ward are migrant workers.

Like most of sub-Saharan Africa, the rate of male work migrancy in the study area is extremely high, as is illustrated by the ratio of female adults to resident male adults in the study area of 3,3:1. Men migrate to the Durban-Pinetown area, to Pietermaritzburg and to the Natal North and South Coast for employment. The extent to which women rely on migrant remittances was not quantitatively recorded in this study. However, when asked about migrant remittances at the group discussions with the local women, a negative response was evoked. It appears that remittances from family members in waged employment in urban areas are inadequate both in regularity and amount.

The inadequacy of migrant remittances has been recorded by Sharp and Spiegel (1986) as being insufficient and irregular, with the result that women cannot plan for day-to-day household maintenance. This also applies to the Nhlangwini Ward where women, who retain the traditional female roles of homemaker and childbearer, are through necessity forced to contribute to the family budget as well. This feature was clearly brought out in the farming survey. Women frequently talked about the money they earned in the context of feeding their family or supplementing

the share of their husbands' wages that the household received. One female respondent in the farming survey said she started to farm "to try and save some money for my children from the sale of crops". One fifth of the women interviewed in the farming survey said that they started to farm to sell produce in order to supplement their husband's wages.

Female-headed households, on the other hand, are not able to benefit from income generated by male migrant workers (no matter how unreliable) for the household's cash needs. These households have been shown to be the most economically disadvantaged households in rural communities (Bembridge *et al.*, 1983; Clark, 1984 and Due and White, 1986).

There is thus a demand by women for profitable income-generating activities in the study area. In all three group discussions, the lack of sources of income was expressed as a major concern by the women present. Women's response to the question of what jobs they would like to do was that any job was acceptable. One group that were particularly seeking employment were the young women that had left school, did not have their own homes but had not migrated to urban areas for employment. A request was expressed for second-hand sewing machines and training in making clothes in order to sell. The Family Planning Association programme that employed women as abazisis or "helpers" was given as an example of employment generation for women.

Many women are however already involved in locally based activities that provide them with a cash income. Fifty percent

of the women interviewed in the farming survey conduct activities outside farming in order to earn money.

As TABLE FIVE shows, the most common of these income-generating activities are sewing, knitting and crocheting, followed by making Zulu mats and handicrafts and selling second-hand clothes. The items produced were often sold at pension pay-out points that occur every two months. These income-generating activities are accessible to women based at home as they present few barriers to their involvement. The women in the study area share their involvement in these kind of activities with rural women in other Third World countries where they are common enough to have been given the name small micro scale enterprises or SMEs (Otero, 1987).

**TABLE FIVE : INCOME-GENERATING ACTIVITIES OF THE FEMALE RESPONDENTS IN THE FARMING SURVEY**

<u>ACTIVITY</u>	<u>INVOLVEMENT</u>		<u>MONTHLY INCOME</u>
	N = 22 = 100 %		
	No.	Percentage	
<b>SEWING/KNITTING/ CROCHETING</b>	8	36 %	R 25 TO R 100
<b>ZULU MATS/ HANDICRAFTS</b>	4	18 %	R 12 TO R 30
<b>SECONDHAND CLOTHES</b>	4	18 %	R 50 TO R 300
<b>SELLING FOOD</b>	2	9 %	R 15 TO R 200
<b>FORTUNE TELLING</b>	2	9 %	R 200
<b>TEACHER</b>	1	5 %	R 600
<b>CLEANER</b>	1	5 %	R 40

Excluding the teaching job, the income generated from these activities varied from R 12 per month to R 300, according to the extent of organisation involved. Some respondents could not tell how much money they received for a number of reasons. One of these was that the work they did was not being carried out on a regular basis - "It is not easy to say (how much income was earned from making and selling traditional mats) because it is not permanent. There are many other household jobs that we do". Another reason was because the sales were not regular. One woman did not go out to sell clothes but waited for people to come to her home to make purchases. A third reason is the "hand to mouth" existence of the women that means the money generated by them is used to meet household needs as soon as it is obtained and therefore not counted - "I don't count it because I get it and use it for the household".

Of the males who were interviewed, two had jobs outside farming where they earned a cash income. These were selling building sand (a maximum of R 500/month) and building the framework of huts (R 80/hut). Both these jobs are potentially higher paid than most of the women's jobs.

#### 5.4.1 Effects of Women as Income Generators on their Agricultural Productivity

As there is a demand in the study area for cash to meet the family needs, women are forced to use whatever time they have after their involvement in survival and household tasks to become

involved in income-generation activities. In fact one woman in the study area remarked that it was important for women to learn skills "so they can help their husbands with getting money because there are many needs".

Although three-quarters of the women in the farming survey sell some of their agricultural produce, it would appear that agricultural production does not provide the best opportunity for cash-generation (with the exception of keeping poultry). In many cases, the sale of agricultural produce occurs on an ad hoc basis and only if there is a surplus in food produced for subsistence.

Apart from selling surplus agricultural produce, half of this same group of women are involved in other income-generating activities. These activities, although very marginal by nature, are often more accessible and appealing to women than farming as a means of generating income. They are activities that can be conducted in the home and are not always physically demanding as farming activities are. Sometimes they can be combined with some survival and household tasks, for example, child care or cooking.

The women acknowledge the marginal nature of the income-generating activities they are presently involved with (low and irregular income). Both at the group discussions and during interviews the desire was expressed to receive any training that would lead to the acquisition of skills to be used to generate a cash income - as one woman put it, "anything we can do with our

hands to make money".

In his disaggregation of data on the black labour force in KwaZulu along spatial, demographic and gender lines, May (1987a) reports that from the point of view of having and looking for work, rural women are particularly disadvantaged. This is illustrated by the past employment pattern of women interviewed in the farming survey.

Less than half (41 %) of the women interviewed in the farming survey had previously been in waged employment. Half of these were domestic workers, a notoriously low paid job with very little opportunity to learn skills that can be used outside domestic employment. The experience in past employment of the women interviewed is unlikely to equip them with any amount of capital to invest in farming. Likewise their past employment experiences do not provide them with any skills they could put to use in rural areas to produce money. This also holds for skills useful to farming operations.

On the other hand all seven of the men interviewed had been involved in waged employment in the past (machine operator, labourer in sugar mill, builders, driver, mechanic and police officer). This waged employment has the potential to provide either the opportunity to generate capital to be invested in farming, or skills that could be of use during farming activities, for example, farming equipment maintenance.

## **CHAPTER SIX : GENDER IMPLICATIONS OF STRUCTURAL CONSTRAINTS**

### **6.1 INTRODUCTION**

While the previous chapter recorded the constraints to increased agricultural production imposed by the work women do, this chapter reviews the structural constraints affecting women's agricultural production that are associated with the patriarchal nature of the society in which they are located. The structural constraints are revealed in women's differential access (compared to men) to resources needed for agricultural production (for example, land, capital and training). They are also disclosed in the women's perception of their gender roles and the patriarchal relations they experience.

### **6.2 GENDER CONSTRAINTS ON ACCESS TO RESOURCES**

Access to training, land and capital appears to be different for men and women in the study area, with women experiencing greater constraints than men. The following sections discuss this differential access to agricultural training and extension services; to land and to capital (savings and loan funds).

#### **6.2.1 Women's Access to Agricultural Training and Extension Services**

##### **Women's Access to Agricultural Training**

Awareness of formal agricultural training is very limited for everyone in the study area as no respondents knew of any outside farmer training centres. Although opportunities for formal

agricultural training are not readily available in the study area, there is no lack of motivation to learn, for 95 % of the women interviewed wanted to learn more about farming. Those few who did not said they were too old.

Apart from the general lack of knowledge about agricultural training centres, the responsibilities that women are faced with at home (carrying out survival tasks, household tasks and activities to contribute to the family income) all serve to limit women's mobility and access to agricultural training. For example, one woman who wanted to learn more about farming said that she would not attend the Institute of Natural Resources' agricultural courses proposed for the area. The reason given was that she had no time as her husband was ill and she had to look after him. Another woman would only attend if the courses did not take more than two days a week as she was "the only one at home". Still another said her mother-in-law was sick so she would be unlikely to attend.

In general the women interviewed in the farming survey showed a conditional willingness to attend these agricultural courses. Many of the them would attend only if the courses were held locally (and therefore did not necessitate travel from home) and if the courses did not take up an extended period of time. Thus by placing restrictions on women's participation in agricultural training, the gender-specific division of labour in rural areas must in turn constrain the agricultural productivity of women.

### Women's Access to Agricultural Extension Services

The extension model of agricultural service delivery is provided in the study area by the agricultural extension officers (AOs) of the KwaZulu Department of Agriculture and Forestry. These officers (all male) have received a two year training course in General Agriculture (Extension). For a variety of reasons, the extension services exhibit a low functional efficiency (Bembridge *et al.*, 1983). One of these reasons is that there are no women extension officers employed in the services, "despite the preponderance of women carrying out farming operations in KwaZulu" (Bembridge *et al.*, 1983, 162). This feature is not unique to the KwaZulu Department of Agriculture. A study of 46 countries in Africa has shown that although three quarters of Africa's agricultural workers are female, only 5 % of trained agricultural advisors are women (World Goodwill, 1988).

Of the 77 % of female respondents that said that they had learnt to farm, the vast majority (85 %) had learnt from agricultural extension officers in community gardens or at meetings held by the agricultural extension officers at the local high school. A number of respondents mentioned that this knowledge was limited as the AOs only gave advice about vegetable cultivation and not field crops and animal husbandry.

Of the women interviewed in the farming survey, 89 % knew that there were AOs working in the area. Of the remaining 11 %, the majority knew only the previous AO and 4 % did not know of any AOs. Only 73 % of the women had been visited by the AOs, mostly

at the community gardens. Of those respondents that had not been visited, half of them said that they were too busy (with domestic or waged work) to go to the meetings. Another reason given was that the respondents were not community garden members.

In contrast, all of the men interviewed knew that there were AOs working in the area. In addition, all of them had been visited by the AO and could remember the last time the AO visited. Two of these respondents had been visited at home - one of these saying "sometimes the AO popped in to visit". This is indicative of a more personal contact between the AOs and the male respondents than the female respondents.

It is not customary for people to visit the AOs at the AOs' office and few respondents (both male and female) had paid such visits. One of the major reasons for this could be that the offices are too far away. On the other hand, one fifth of the women who gave reasons why they had not visited the AOs said that they did not know they could go and visit the AOs, or they had not thought about it before.

It does not appear customary either for the AOs to visit individual farmers. One reason for this is no doubt the high AO to farmer ratio. The extension officer to farmer ratio in KwaZulu has been recorded as being 1:1883, the recommended ratio being 1:500. Another reason could be the narrow focus that the agricultural extension officers adopt in confining extension programmes to progressive male farmers and thus reducing contact with female farmers (Bembridge et al., 1983).

Women have access to the advice from AOs if they are community garden members and attend meetings regularly. Again the work that women do at home competes for the time available to work in the gardens or attend meetings. For example, one fifty-year-old woman is responsible for all the domestic work in her home and earns a cash income by selling processed food at the local school. She said that she did not always attend meetings as she is a busy person. Another woman had forgotten the name of the community garden she belonged to as she was busy building a new house and did not have time for farming.

Information about field crops and livestock is not readily available to women, as the advice that the AOs provide appears to be predominantly about vegetable growing. This is illustrated in the reasons for the visits given by the few respondents who had visited the AOs. These reasons included fencing the community garden, buying seed potatoes and fertilisers, buying cabbage seedlings and insecticide and seeking the AO's advice about an infested tomato crop.

A home economics extension service for KwaZulu was inaugurated in 1982. Approximately 20 home economics extension officers (HEO), all female, are trained each year, compared to 150 agricultural extension officers. One of the reasons for training women is to face the problem of male agricultural officers advising female farmers (Ms N Ndela, pers. comm.). The home economics extension officers therefore also complete a two year course which includes some agricultural training. The extent to which these officers

put their agricultural training into practice is not known. This depends, amongst other things, on the interest of the individual officer in agriculture (Mr N Thomas, pers. comm.).

Although the HEO does have agricultural training, she was not actively involved in farming activities in the community during the survey period. The HEO's activities were limited to nutrition and sewing and she had only visited 27 % of the women interviewed in the farming survey. Reasons for this were the lack of a driver's licence and her relatively short period of residence in the area at the time of the survey (six months). A further reason given why the other respondents had not been visited was that the respondents had not been able to attend the meeting when the HEO addressed the community. Various reasons for this absence included: being busy at work; being away from the area at the time of the meeting; ignorance of the meeting; being heavily pregnant and having no time to spare.

Regarding the respondents' knowledge of the presence of a home economics officer in the area, all the male respondents knew of her presence, while only 70 % of the female respondents had this knowledge. This suggests that men are better informed about the available extension services in the area than women, even if the type of extension service (home economics) is targeted specifically at women.

The women's lack of information is a constraint to their potential agricultural productivity, as is the lack of agricultural input from the home economics officer.

### 6.2.2 Women's Access to Land

According to the traditional land tenure system prevailing in the Nhlangwini Ward, arable and residential plots of land are allocated by the tribal authorities to male heads of household once they get married. Bromberger (1988, 209) reports that "in principle, a married kraal-head is entitled to a residential site, arable fields - one for each wife - grazing rights on common pastures..."

Although Letsoale (1987) claims that there is no sex discrimination in the distribution of land, the only way women can gain access to land is through their relationship with men, Women do have de jure access to land if for example, they become widowed, also as "divorcees" (if the husband leaves) or if a family has no sons.

Apparently there is no tribal law stating that women cannot have access to land in their own right. This is a negotiable issue with the tribal authorities (all male), and depends on the extent to which the woman can persuade the tribal authorities to grant her land rights. However it is difficult for women to get access to land and a woman gaining land in this way appears to be the exception rather than the rule. No women have obtained land in this way in the Umzumbe District but it has been reported that this has occurred in the neighbouring district of Ezingolweni (Mr Zondi and Mr D Dlamini, pers. comm.).

As arable land is allocated by the tribal authorities to married

men, women have limited de jure access to arable land. Most respondents (two-thirds) in the farming survey did not feel they had enough land to farm. Significantly the half of the female respondents in the farming survey who said they had enough land, rented land privately and therefore presumably were able to obtain as much land as they required.

The additional amount of land needed showed considerable variation. It varied from a small garden to the size of a sports field. One woman required an additional four acres of land as she said she had many children.

#### 6.2.3 Women's Access to Capital

The general underemployment of women in the Nhlangwini Ward and the marginal nature of women's income generating activities means that women have very limited incomes. In addition these incomes normally go straight into the family budget. This means very little cash remains to be invested in agricultural production. This is an important constraint as it is largely access to capital that determines success in farming ventures (Webster, 1989) and capital, together with land and labour, is a factor characterising commercially successful farmers (Lwechungura Kamuzora, 1984 and Bembridge, 1986).

Access to loans, like access to formal agricultural training, appears to be very limited to all farmers. Only two respondents had taken out loans. Both were from the KwaZulu Finance Corporation (KFC), the main source of loan funds in KwaZulu. One loan obtained by a male was for seed and fertiliser and the other

obtained by a female was for chicks and feed. Only six respondents had wanted to take out loans but never actually did. Some of the reasons given by both female and male respondents were the inability to qualify for a loan or to make the loan repayments. Loans were wanted to buy seed potatoes, chickens, pigs and animal feed. Nevertheless, the presence of the KFC is widely known, as is the relevant KFC officer to contact in the region.

The women interviewed in the farming survey are less involved in migrant work than men. When they are, they secure low waged jobs, for example, domestic work. Women also contribute more to the family budget than men. They are therefore less likely to be in a position to qualify for loans. In addition, loans are provided to successful farmers that are in a good position to pay back the loan (Mr N Thomas, pers. comm.). The majority of these farmers are unlikely to be women.

### **6.3 WOMEN'S EXPERIENCE OF PATRIARCHAL RELATIONS**

The experience of patriarchal relations by the women in the Nhangwini Ward was examined by investigating their decision-making behaviour in farming activities and by gauging their perception of gender roles and the nature of their relationship with the tribal authority structures.

#### **6.3.1 Access to Decision-Making in Farming Activities**

The ability to make decisions about farming activities does not appear to be severely constrained by gender. All the male

respondents interviewed reported that they made all the decisions about farming activities. The female respondents interviewed did not share this complete dominance in decision-making, but were nevertheless major decision-makers in all the farming activities (TABLE SIX). Where female respondents did not make decisions, these were made by men (husband or AO) or older women who have acquired the status of men (the mother-in-law). These women are subject to a structure of power that determines they are subordinate to men (or male substitutes) in making decisions about farming activities, which they ultimately have to implement.

**TABLE SIX : INVOLVEMENT OF FEMALE RESPONDENTS (FROM FARMING SURVEY) IN FARMING DECISION-MAKING**

<u>FARMING DECISION</u>	<u>WOMEN MAKING THE DECISION</u>	
	N = 43 = 100 %	
	No.	Percentage
CROP TYPE TO GROW	38	88 %
WHERE TO GROW CROP	39	90 %
WHEN TO GROW CROP	37	86 %
HOW TO SPEND MONEY FROM SALE OF FARM PRODUCE	32 (out of 34 that sold produce)	94 %
WHEN TO KILL LIVESTOCK	29	67 %

### 6.3.2 Perception of Gender Roles and Relationship with Tribal Authority Structures

An indication of the women's perception of their gender role was

obtained by analysis of the information derived from the contradictory paired statements (section 3.2.2). The interviewed were those sampled in the time-use and housing survey and 63 % of them agreed with the statement that:

**"Times have changed. Women should no longer accept that they have to serve the needs of men"**

as opposed to the 37 % who felt:

**"Women have always served the needs of men and should continue to do so".**

Those who agreed with the statement that women should continue serving the needs of men appeared to sanction women's subservient domestic role for various reasons. Some of these were: male work migrancy - "women must look after the home and clean it for the man because he goes out to work"; male ineptitude at domestic work - "it is better that women cook and wash for men. It is important for men to come home to a good meal. Sometimes if men can cook they do not eat well" and no knowledge of any other modus operandi - "how can you not work for a man? You have to work for them" or "I do not know because I am someone who has always worked for my husband".

Those three-quarters of respondents (67 %) who felt that women are just as important as men, saw the importance of women (compared to men) in their value as mothers and housekeepers - "they (women) are important for the children. It is them who stay at home and look after things" and "women think about things in the home. She notices what is needed in the home and she

shows the man because he has not noticed".

These women were very aware of their value to the household and to men - "women are much more important than men because women help men with the work they do"; "women know how to do all sorts of work which men may not be able to do" and "a man cannot make a home without a woman". However, the legitimacy of their gender role as homemaker and childrearer was not directly questioned or criticised. Rather dissatisfaction with the behaviour of men was expressed in statements such as, "men allow themselves to drink too much" or "men are not observant (about issues concerning the household)". Also the unenumerative nature of their domestic work compared to men's waged work - "women do hard work. We aren't paid for our hard work. They (men) get paid to do nothing". Reaction to the women's traditional gender role came from a desire to be independent of men - "a woman must have her own things to do so that she does not have to rely on men" or to avoid male exploitation - "a man when he goes away, finds another woman in the place where he works. So all the work you do for him makes no difference" or to survive as a female head of household - "times have changed and women often do not have men at home and they work for themselves".

Although the women were very confident of women's capabilities in the private sphere of their homes, they were more hesitant in envisaging women's ability (or desire) to become part of the public tribal authority structure (all male). 73 % agreed that women should never become indunas (tribal leaders elected by the chief). The main reason why women should not become indunas was

not their general lack of capability. In fact respondents felt that "if a woman is taught how to do things she is as capable as any man". Also that "it will be better (if women become indunas) because you can appeal to women. There wouldn't be the same fighting as there is between men". The main reason given why there should not be female indunas was the response it would elicit from male members of the community as a challenge to the present patriarchal system - "men will not like to discuss things with a woman" or "men do not like women to be in charge". Also the present subordinate position of women appears to prevent women's acceptance as public leaders - "they are capable (of becoming indunas) but it is the men who do not like it" ; "men can only be indunas as an induna must be respected and women are not respected" and "people are used to men being indunas". Other reasons included the potential ineffectuality of women as regards the qualities required for tribal leadership : "women do not have the power to make people listen to them and to be afraid of them". Another reason was that the responsibilities that women have at home may be neglected to the detriment of the household if women became indunas.

Responses of many women indicated a desire for complementary work roles: "you must work out how you are going to help the household. The husband must help in this way and me in my way"; "there are things that women must do and things that men must do. They should work together to balance things out" and "men must do certain work for women and women must do certain work for men". These responses indicate an endorsement by the women interviewed

of the traditional male and female gender roles in their society. This acquiescence has been recorded elsewhere. Hassim (1988,15) found that Zulu women "tend to accept and define themselves in terms of traditional views of their status in society, their responsibilities in the home and over children".

The women interviewed defined themselves in terms of their responsibilities as childbearers and homemakers. This illustrates an acceptance of their traditional gender role in their society. It suggests that the women are unlikely to oppose their socially-defined gender role which predicates many of the constraints they experience. In addition, their de jure access to public decision-making in an all male tribal structure is limited. Like their traditional gender roles, this is unlikely to be challenged on a broad scale in the near future.

Both acceptance of their traditional gender role and lack of direct access to community decision-making constrain women's agricultural production. Acceptance of their gender role means that their time, energy and resources will continually be consumed by maintenance of the family and be unavailable for other activities. Lack of formal representation at the level of community decision-making means that the group interests of women are unlikely to become priorities in the community.

#### **6.4 CONCLUSION**

The previous two chapters present an account of the variety of ways that the women in the Nhlangwini Ward have their

agricultural productivity constrained. These constraints are manifest in women's multiple role as domestic labourer, subsistence farmer and family income earner; in their access to resources necessary for agricultural production (land, capital and information) and in the perception of their gender role and inability to penetrate the existing male tribal authority structures. Despite this, the women cope with the constraints imposed by their gender role in a variety of ways while carrying out agricultural production. Even though these women have on their own developed the competency to contend with these constraints, this is not sufficient. There is a need for real change in the long term. Through the awareness of the constraints that rural women experience, steps can be taken to ameliorate the position of rural women, which is a key factor to upgrading living conditions in rural areas.

## CHAPTER SEVEN : COPING WITH GENDER CONSTRAINTS TO AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

### 7.1 THE MANNER IN WHICH WOMEN IN THE NHLANGWINI WARD COPE

Human beings are extremely successful at modifying their behaviour in order to adapt to the temporal and spatial constraints of their environment (Cullen, 1978). In the analysis of the survey data it became clear that this was the case in the Nhlangwini Ward. The following aspects give an idea of how some of the women interviewed have had the resources to adapt to the traditional gender constraints they experience. This chapter provides a description of these strategies. Particular reference is given to the extent to which the strategies allow the women to adapt to the gender constraints affecting their agricultural productivity.

#### 7.1.1 Use of Child Labour

The value of child labour in rural areas is illustrated in TABLE SEVEN which shows the percentage involvement of children in conducting survival tasks and household tasks in the rural households of the interviewees. This labour is available after school during the week, on weekends and during the school holidays.

Water collection is the activity that uses child labour most extensively. In both the surveys, about half of respondents were assisted in this task by children. Both sexes are sent to collect water in their early years, but once males have reached

adolescence they no longer participate as this task is socially defined as women's work. Because of the strenuous nature of this task, the labour of adolescent girls and young women is normally used.

**TABLE SEVEN : THE PERCENTAGE INVOLVEMENT OF CHILDREN  
IN SURVIVAL AND HOUSEHOLD TASKS**

<u>TASK</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE INVOLVEMENT</u>	
	<u>Farming Survey</u>	<u>Time Use Survey</u>
FETCH WATER	40 %	50 %
COLLECT FIREWOOD	18 %	23 %
CHILD CARE	6 %	10 %
SHOP	14 %	3 %
GROW FOOD CROPS	-	36 %

Between a quarter and a third of the women are assisted in household tasks by their children in the farming survey and the time-use and housing survey. One woman reported that she did no household tasks on the weekends as her children did them all. At primary school level, children of both sexes help in survival and household tasks. As the children get older, the males become steadily less involved. Children also assist in farming activities. Child care is the activity least assisted by children, emphasising the need for child care facilities.

The labour contribution of children accounts for one, if not the most important, value of children in peasant economies. The advantage of children's labour is that it is easily controlled by parental discipline and the product expropriated by the parent

(Lwechungura Kamuzora, 1984). The incorporation of children's labour (particularly adolescent females, as after the onset of adolescence males do not undertake survival tasks and housework) facilitates women's participation in other more productive activities which include agricultural production for subsistence or sale.

#### 7.1.2 Use of Hired Labour

Where financial resources are available, hired labour can free women (and children) from domestic work and enable them to engage in more profitable activity. Those women who have the financial resources to employ domestic workers do not need to rely on child labour. However only 10 % of women in the time-use and housing survey hired labour to conduct survival tasks and household tasks.

When hired labour is employed, women are sometimes released for off-farm employment with high earning potential (for example, a successful trader in Durban and a teacher at a local school). This pattern is similar to that found elsewhere in KwaZulu (Stewart, 1986). Another female respondent who was a successful pig farmer, trader and fortune teller, had most of her domestic work carried out by hired labour and also employed someone to work her plot in the community garden that she belonged to. This woman is considered a "progressive" farmer (Mr H Dlamini, pers. comm.).

Clearly employment of domestic and farm labour in households in

the ward frees some women for more profitable work which may not necessarily be agricultural production.

#### 7.1.3 Rationalising Water and Wood Collection

Males in the Nhlanguwini Ward only become involved in water collection when the supply of water can be solved technologically or commercialised. An example of the former is the use of a tractor or truck by male members of the household to cart water home for domestic use. An example of the latter occurs, for example, when young boys earn money by using wheelbarrows or go-carts to fetch water for old people who are no longer capable of carrying water and have no family to do this task for them.

Similarly young boys do help with fuelwood collection when, as in water collection, this task can be handled mechanically, for example delivering wood by truck or cattle-drawn sled. The fact that women are prepared to pay men to carry out these tasks reflects their time-consuming and strenuous nature. It also frees women for other activities.

It is likely that women have not been able to adopt these strategies because they do not have access to mechanical means of transportation. Young girls are likely to be too busy with domestic tasks in their own households to have the time available to carry out domestic tasks for other families for payment.

#### 7.1.4 Organising Male Shoppers

There is a well developed dichotomy in shopping behaviour. Women are largely responsible for daily or weekly shopping for

perishable foodstuffs while men buy the family clothing requirements. This division may reflect that men have greater mobility and more ready access to the larger urban areas where clothes are more competitively priced. In the time-use and housing survey, men in 57 % of the household interviewed bought the family clothing requirements.

#### 7.1.5 Belonging to Community Gardens

Women in the Nhlangwini Ward can gain access to small tracts of arable land (for example, 10m x 30m) and agricultural expertise through membership of the community gardens. These gardens play an important role in women's farming and were established under the supervision of the KwaZulu Department of Agriculture's agricultural extension officers as part of "betterment planning". Each member of the community garden is allocated a piece of land to grow vegetables and some land is cultivated communally. Each community garden has a committee to assist in organisation and representation.

A high percentage involvement (82 % of the female respondents in the farming survey) in membership of community gardens was recorded in the farming survey. Women can receive advice from AOs. AOs' visits to community gardens appear to be regular and important, as only 16 % of the women visited by the AO could not remember the last time when the AO had visited. Of those who could remember, 85 % had been visited less than a month before. In addition, 41 % of those who could remember the previous visit could also remember the one before that. Most of these visits

had occurred one month earlier.

Membership of community gardens therefore helps women to cope with some of the constraints to agricultural production on a communal basis, specifically access to land to grow vegetables and access to agricultural expertise via the AOs. The community gardens are also significant as they provide an opportunity for women to become organised and have access to representation through their committee members.

#### 7.1.6 Hired Land

Women who do not have access to arable land through the traditional system of communal land tenure which has been tempered by "betterment planning", can obtain land by renting private land. Seven of the women interviewed in the farming survey (16 %) hired private land to use for growing maize, beans and potatoes - the three most popular crops cultivated by the farming survey respondents.

The conditions of hire for private land were not specifically investigated in this study. However one of the preconditions for hiring land is likely to be the ability to pay the necessary rent. The returns (measured in terms of both the subsistence and the commercial crop) also need to be greater than the rent for the hire of private land to be a productive enterprise.

Women who cannot acquire enough farm land through the traditional system of land allocation or through membership of the community gardens and who have the necessary resources, can hire private

land for agricultural production and thus cope with one of the constraints to agricultural production presented by the lack of access to land.

#### 7.1.7 Poultry Farming

Poultry farming is an extremely popular agricultural pursuit amongst the women interviewed. Virtually all the women keep fowls (98 %), many for sale. Poultry keeping is, therefore, an important income generating activity for women as well as providing food. As there are no refrigeration facilities there is a constant demand for live chickens, especially over the holiday seasons.

The gender division of labour in agriculture in Third World countries makes it common for women to keep small livestock such as chickens in close access to the home and to provide personal saving and income (IBG, 1984). The reasons for the popularity of poultry farming over other agricultural pursuits have not been documented. However it appears from this survey that the advantage of poultry farming is the guaranteed quick cash turnover if the chicks survive (it takes a few months after the purchase of day-old chicks before they are ready for sale); the limited amount of land needed for keeping poultry; the limited amount of time spent on maintenance (chickens can be fed by young children); the limited amount and cheaper feed (maize grown in the household can be used) and the relatively small amount of capital required to purchase chickens compared to other livestock. In addition, the women themselves can purchase the

chicks in nearby urban areas and bring them home by bus. All these factors contribute to making poultry farming an accessible agricultural activity for women and this accounts for its success.

## **7.2 INSIGHTS FOR DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS AND POLICY**

### **7.2.1 Recommendations for the Study Area in the Nhlangwini Ward**

Nene (1984) reported that given the economic, social and political situation in South Africa there is little chance of the improvement of the working women's conditions. However, she does go on to say that, "there is a great deal of work that can be done to aid the women" and to gradually weaken some of the specific constraints they experience (Nene, 1984, 69).

The object of this study was to expose the gender constraints to women's involvement in agricultural production in the Nhlangwini Ward. By making these constraints visible, awareness is raised and it becomes possible to recommend implementable and sustainable strategies whereby rural women can be assisted in overcoming these constraints.

It has been found that the lives of women in the study area (and their potential for increased agricultural production) are affected by severe constraints (refer to TABLE EIGHT).

**TABLE EIGHT : SUMMARY OF GENDER CONSTRAINTS EXPERIENCED  
BY WOMEN IN THE STUDY AREA**

<u>AREA OF GENDER CONSTRAINT</u>	<u>CONTEXT OF CONSTRAINT</u>
<b>COMPULSORY PERFORMANCE OF :</b>	
<b><u>SURVIVAL TASKS</u></b> (family water, fuelwood and food supply, health and child care)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* consumes time, labour and money</li> <li>* reduces mobility</li> </ul>
<b><u>HOUSEWORK TASKS</u></b> (cleaning house, washing and ironing clothes, cooking)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* consumes time and energy</li> <li>* reduces mobility</li> </ul>
<b><u>INCOME GENERATION</u></b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* consumes time and labour</li> <li>* restricted by domestic tasks</li> <li>* provides irregular and small incomes</li> <li>* past employment does not provide skills or capital</li> </ul>
<b>ACCESS TO RESOURCES:</b>	
<b><u>ARABLE LAND</u></b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* limited <u>de jure</u> access</li> </ul>
<b><u>CAPITAL</u></b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* unlikely to qualify for loans</li> <li>* no savings from migrant work</li> </ul>
<b><u>AGRICULTURAL TRAINING</u></b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* lack of time and mobility to participate</li> </ul>
<b><u>EXTENSION SERVICES</u></b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>* all-male service</li> <li>* limited to advice in community gardens</li> <li>* no information about field crops or livestock</li> </ul>

TABLE EIGHT - continued

PATRIARCHAL RELATIONS :

ACCEPTANCE OF  
TRADITIONAL  
GENDER ROLE

\* continues to consume  
time, energy and  
finances

TRIBAL AUTHORITY  
STRUCTURES

\* all-male structure  
\* hostile response is  
likely to any  
female inclusion

-----

Some of these constraints are derived from the women's responsibility for maintenance of the family which, due to its immediate urgency, takes priority over all other activities. These particular constraints are located in the work that the sexual division of labour allocates to women and are synonymous with women always taking full responsibility for all the tasks associated with the reproduction of the household. This is a finding that crosses classes and cultures, irrespective of economic level or structure of the household or family unit (Wilson, 1985).

The absence of adequate services (providing, for example, water and energy) makes the performance of this work more time- and energy-consuming than in urban areas. Despite this fact, women's subsistence agricultural production in the Nhlangwini Ward is a crucial activity as it saves families over R 200 000 annually on money that would otherwise have to spend on buying food. This is the estimated monetary value of the subsistence crop in the ward (KDA, 1982), and illustrates the degree to which women in the

ward are already involved in agricultural production.

In the light of the above, an indication of the type of projects and policy changes that could work to aid women in the Nhlangwini Ward and would help to provide conditions whereby the women can cope with constraints, are given below.

The major factor that should be taken into consideration throughout project planning in the Nhlangwini Ward is that the physical structure of the area is inimical to easy access and this exacerbates the constraints experienced by women generally. Also it must be remembered that these women have a low level of mobility. Bearing these facts in mind, it is suggested that developers should :

1. Reduce the time and energy expended in survival and household tasks by:

- a) the development of water resources, for example, spring protection for water for domestic use, piped water at least to central collection points and irrigation for community gardens. Water development should be planned and controlled in conjunction with the women who use the water resources.

- b) the improvement of the supply of fuelwood by the provision of woodlots and nurseries managed by the women on a communal basis.

- c) the introduction of facilities to enable women to share tasks, for example, communal laundry facilities. The women should be consulted for their preference in type of facility.

2. Provide the means whereby women are not tied to the kraal all day by:

a) the organisation of child rearing facilities through the development of creches or pre-schools that suit the needs of the children's mothers and are run by local women.

b) improving access to health facilities by increasing the frequency of nurses' and doctors' visits and the number of clinics.

3. Introducing skills training (including agricultural training) into the area to meet the needs of the women that have expressed a desire for training. This training should be flexible in its presentation (that is, its timing and location) to ensure that all women are given the opportunity to attend, and should provide the women with the means of generating a cash income.

4. Transforming present credit facilities in order to meet the financial needs of female farmers and small-scale farmers in general.

The above suggestions, if implemented in the Nhlangwini Ward, would greatly reduce the gender constraints that women experience and would lead to increased agricultural production to the benefit of the ward and the region as a whole.

#### 7.2.2 Recommendations for Development Policy

The results of this gender research are specific to the study

area in the Nhlangwini Ward where the research was conducted. However the findings have a broader applicability and this study has shown the vital role that women play in maintaining the welfare of families in rural areas. Clearly they are a critical human resource in the development process. This puts them in an ideal position to inform the development process. It is therefore recommended that the following are actively and formally acknowledged as policy considerations governing the planning and implementation of agricultural development projects, in order that the projects are able to accommodate gender constraints and rural household survival strategies.

Development practitioners, before embarking on agricultural projects, should first ask the following broad questions:

**"Who are the main people involved in agricultural activity ?"**

If they are women then,

**"How much investment can women put into agricultural projects ?"**

Before this question can be answered, it must be broken down into two related questions, viz:

**"How much time and energy do women have for agricultural activities ?"**

**"How much money do women have to invest in agricultural production ?"**

If these questions are answered, development in rural areas

will not propose more work for women but will investigate ways to make their work more productive. It will also be borne in mind that for women to become involved, agriculture must be more productive than household subsistence tasks and provide more income than the corresponding opportunity value of work at home.

Secondly, development practitioners should explicitly take account of gender specific constraints by:

- acknowledging the rigid definition in the sexual allocation of tasks in rural areas which defines all domestic work (survival and household tasks) as women's work;

- acknowledging that labour in rural areas is not plentiful and women are already fully employed (that is, in survival tasks, household tasks and income generation) and thus the labour they have available to devote to development projects is limited;

- giving preference to the formulation of means for reducing the amount of time women spend in carrying out services associated with both survival and household tasks;

- making use of women's knowledge and expertise by involving local women intensively in the decision-making, planning and control of agricultural projects. Consultation with local women could be achieved through existing women's organisations such as community gardens or by holding participatory workshops. Local women should be trained to fit into management positions in projects;

- giving preference to assisting rural women in generating more

productive employment and higher incomes on a self-sustaining basis, preferably through organisations controlled by women. Women's organisations should be used to ensure, amongst other things, that the profit from women's activities remains within the control of the women and is of direct benefit to them;

- acknowledging the value of women's subsistence farming and including subsistence production when making measurements of agricultural productivity in rural homeland areas.

It must be remembered that even with savings in money spent on food, income from outside is inadequate to meet the family's cash needs. As women are directly responsible for the well-being of their households, they are forced to become involved in their own income-generating activities in order to contribute to the family budget. Given that they live in rural areas, this may best be achieved through agricultural activities. However increased agricultural productivity is severely affected by gender-specific constraints. Firstly, women's survival and household tasks consume resources (time, labour and capital) that could otherwise be used to increase their agricultural productivity. In addition, the cash that the women generate is immediately allocated to meet the needs of the household and is not available for investment in agricultural production.

This study has revealed a number of important areas regarding gender constraints to agricultural production that require more

detailed investigation. These are summarised in TABLE NINE.

**TABLE NINE : TOPICS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH**

- 
1. The conditions of rural women's access to arable land
  2. The conditions for rural women's access to loans for agricultural purposes
  3. The adequacy and appropriateness of existing agricultural extension services for rural women
  4. Suitable income-generating activities for rural women
  5. The extent to which an all-male tribal authority structure affects the representation of women's interests.
- 

Another gender constraint to greater agricultural production experienced by women in the study area is the women's access to resources needed to carry out agricultural production. Under the system of traditional land tenure, women have limited de jure access to arable land rights. This is potentially an extremely important gender-specific constraint to women's agricultural productivity that has not been documented in South Africa. Research is needed to investigate rural women's arable land rights in detail. This need is particularly urgent in the light of the move towards individual freehold land tenure in black rural areas (Cross and Haines, 1988) and no-one has yet looked at the gender implications of this land reform.

All farmers in underdeveloped areas are constrained in their access to loans to finance agricultural inputs, agricultural training and agricultural extension services. Women are, however, more constrained than men as they are less likely to

qualify for loan funds due to their limited access to capital generated by waged employment. A further constraint is women's limited employment opportunities, which minimise the amount of capital that women are likely to have available to invest in agriculture and which also do not provide them with skills they could use to generate a cash income. Due to domestic responsibilities, women are restricted in time and mobility which could prevent their involvement in agricultural training. Furthermore an all-male agricultural extension services is also likely to constrain women's access to agricultural advice as has been the case elsewhere in Africa (Staudt, 1982). More detailed investigation of the gendered aspects of the agricultural extension service delivery is required.

Despite all these constraints the fact that women are the major decision-makers in the farming activities shows that they have the potential to become highly productive agriculturalists. However, their access to public decision-making in the all-male tribal authority structures is limited and this is likely to reduce the extent to which the interests of women (and women farmers) are furthered at community level.

## REFERENCES

- Afshar, H (ed) 1985 : **Women, Work and Ideology in the Third World**, Tavistock, London.
- Afshar, H (ed) 1987 : **Women, State and Ideology**, Macmillan Press, Hampshire.
- Anand, A 1983 : **Women in Development : A Resource Guide for Organisation and Action**, ISIS, Geneva.
- Anthias, F and Yuval-Davis, N 1983 : Contextualising Feminism - Gender, Ethnic and Class Division, **Feminist Review**, 15.
- Auerbach, R 1989 : Nhangwini Development Project. Phase Two Proposals, Institute of Natural Resources, Pietermaritzburg.
- Barnett, A, Bell, M and Hoffman, K 1982 : **Rural Energy and the Third World. A Review of Social Science Research and Technology Policy Problems**, Pergamon Press, Oxford.
- Bay, E (ed) 1982 : **Women and Work in Africa**, Westview Press, Boulder.
- Bembridge, T, Steyn, G and Williams, J 1983 : **An Evaluation of the KwaZulu Extension Service**, No 6183, Agricultural and Rural Development Research Institute, University of Fort Hare, Ciskei.
- Bembridge, T J 1986 : Characteristics of Progressive Small-Scale Farmers in the Transkei, **Social Dynamics**, 12 (2), 77-85.
- Bembridge, T J 1987 : An Overview of the Capacity of Existing Institutions and Structures in the Less Developed Areas of Southern Africa to achieve Rural Development, **Development Southern Africa**, 4 (4), 665-687.
- Beneria, L (ed) 1982 : **Women and Development. The Sexual Division of Labour in Rural Societies**, Praeger, Boulder.
- Boserup, E 1970 : **Women and Economic Development**, Allen and Unwin, London.

- Bromberger, N 1988 : Cash-cropping, subsistence, and grazing : prospects for land tenure in KwaZulu; in Cross, C and Haines, R, **Towards Freehold**, Juta, Cape Town.
- Bundy, C 1979 : **The Rise and Fall of the African Peasantry**, Heineman, London.
- Buvinic, M 1976 : **Women and World Development**, Bibliography produced for the AAAS Seminar on Women in Development (Mexico City) to accompany Tinker and Bramsen (1976).
- Casley, D L and Lury, D A 1987 : **Data Collection in Developing Countries**, Claredon Press, Oxford.
- Cernea, M (ed) 1985 : **Putting People First - sociological variables in rural development**, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Chambers, R 1982 : **Rapid Rural Appraisal : Rationale and Repertoire**, Institute of Development Studies, Sussex.
- Chambers, R 1983 : **Rural Development - Putting the last first**, Longman, Essex.
- Charlton, S 1984 : **Women in Third World Development**, Westview Press, Boulder.
- CIRDAP 1987 : **Development and Use of WID (Women in Development) Guidelines and Checklists at National Level**, Centre for Integrated Rural Development for Asia and the Pacific, Dhaka, Bangladesh.
- Clark, M 1984 : Women-Headed Households and Poverty : Insights from Kenya, **Signs : Journal of Women in Culture and Society**, 10 (2), 338 -354.
- Cock, J 1980 : **Maids and Madames. A study in the politics of exploitation**, Ravan Press, Johannesburg.
- Colvin, P 1987 : **The FPA\INR Project Background Report on Development Planning for Nhlangwini Ward, Umzumbe District, KwaZulu, W\P 19**, Institute Of Natural Resources, Pietermaritzburg.

- Croll, E 1981 : Women in Rural Production and Reproduction in the Soviet Union, China , Cuba and Tanzania : Case Studies, **Signs - Journal of Women in Culture and Society**, 7 (2).
- Cross, C and Haines, R 1988 : **Towards Freehold - Options for Land and Development in South Africa's Black Rural Areas**, Juta, Cape Town.
- Cullen, I 1978 : The Treatment of Time in the Explanation of Spatial Behaviour; in Carlestein et al., **Timing Space and Spacing Time**, Vol 2, Edward Arnold, London.
- Dankelman, I and Davidson, J 1988 : **Women and Environment in the Third World - Alliance for the Future**, Earthscan, London.
- Davies, R and Greyling, J 1978 : **Indian Farming on the Natal North Coast**, Natal Town and Regional Planning, Pietermaritzburg.
- Deregowski, J 1980 : Perception of Time; in Triandis, H and Conner, W (eds) **Handbook of Cross Cultural Psychology**, Allyn and Bacon, Boston.
- Dewar, D , Todes, A and Watson, V 1985 : **Urbanisation and Settlement Policy in South Africa : Some Findings and Recommendations**, W\P 32, Urban Problem Research Unit, University of Cape Town.
- Dixon, R 1978 : **Women and Work - Strategies for Development in South East Asia**, John Hopkins University, Baltimore.
- Dlamini, L G 1980 : Small Scale Agriculture as a Means of Creating Meaningful Employment for Black South Africans, speech addressed to the work for the Future Congress at the University of Durban.
- Due, J and White, M 1986 : Contrasts between Joint and Female-Headed Farm Households in Zambia, **Eastern Africa Economic Review**, 2 (1), 94-98.
- Eagle, J 1986 : A Study of African Women's Access to Housing in the Durban Area, unpublished Masters thesis, Town and Regional Planning Department, University of Natal, Durban.

Eberegbulam Njoku, J 1980 : **The World of the African Women**, Scarecrow Press, New York.

Friedman, M 1989 : **Gender and Development. A Literature Review**, O\P 23, Institute of Natural Resources, Pietermaritzburg.

Fuggle, R and Rabie, M 1983 : **Environmental Concerns in South Africa**, Juta, Cape Town.

Gander, M 1983 : **Wood as a Source of Fuel in South Africa**, Institute of Natural Resources, Monograph 4, Pietermaritzburg.

Gay, J 1982 : **Women and Development in Lesotho**, USAID, Maseru.

Hafkin, N and Bay, E (eds) 1976 : **Women in Africa. Studies in Social and Economic Change.**, Stanford University Press, California.

Hassim, S 1988 : **Reinforcing Conservation : An Analysis of the Politics of the Inkatha Brigade**, *Agenda*, 2, 3-16.

Huntley, B , Siegfried, R and Sunter, C 1989 : **South African Environments in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century**, Human and Rousseau, Cape Town.

IBG 1984 : **Geography and Gender. An Introduction to Feminist Geography**, Women and Geography Study Group of the Institute of British Geographers, Hutchinson, London.

ILO 1984 : **Rural Development and Women in Africa**, International Labour Office, World Employment Programme (WEP) Study, Geneva.

Infield, M 1986 : **The Viability of Establishing Industries in KwaZulu based on the Wildlife Products from the Central Complex**, Final Report to the KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources, I\R 23 Institute of Natural Resources, Pietermaritzburg.

Inkatha Institute for South Africa, 1987 : **Preliminary Mapping of Settlement Distribution**, 1 : 250 000 maps.

- ISIS 1983 : **Women and Development - A Resource Guide for Organisation and Action**, ISIS Women's International Information and Communication Service, Geneva.
- IUCN 1989 : **World Conservation Strategy for the 1990's. First Rough Draft**, World Conservation Union, Gland, Switzerland.
- Jacobs, S and Howard, T 1987 : **Women in Zimbabwe : Stated Policy and State Action**; in Afshar, H (ed), **Women State and Ideology**, 28-47, Macmillan Press, Hampshire.
- Kandiyoti, D 1985 : **Women in Rural Production Systems : Problems and Policies**, UNESCO, Paris.
- KDA 1982 : Chief L G Dlamini Ward, Umzumbe District, **Natural Resources Development Plan**, Planning Section, KwaZulu Department of Agriculture, Umzansi Region, Pietermaritzburg.
- Knox, P 1981 : **Urban Social Geography. An Introduction**, Longman, New York.
- Krige, E J 1965 : **The Social System of the Zulus**, Shuter and Shooter, Pietermaritzburg.
- Letsoalo, E M 1987 : **Land Reform in South Africa. A Black Perspective**, Skotaville Publishers, Johannesburg.
- Little, J 1987 : **Gender Relations in Rural Areas : The Importance of Women's Domestic Role**, **Journal of Rural Studies**, 3 (4), 335-342.
- Lwechungura Kamuzora, c 1984 : **High Fertility and the Demand for Labour in Peasant Economies : The Case of the Bukoba District, Tanzania**, **Development and Change**, 15, 105-124.
- MacKinnon, C A 1982 : **Feminism, Marxism, Method and the State : An Agenda for Theory**, **Signs : Journal of Women in Culture and Society**, 7 (3), 515-544.
- Madsen, B 1984 : **Women's Mobilisation and Integration in Development - A Village Case Study From Tanzania**, Centre for Development Research, Copenhagen.

- May, J 1987a : The Composition of the Black Labour Force : Spatial, Demographic and Gender Differentiation in KwaZulu, paper presented at the Eighteenth Annual Congress of the Association for Sociology in Southern Africa (ASSA), held at the University of the Western Cape.
- May, J 1987b : Social and Economic Differentiation in KwaZulu : The Extent and Form of Rural Inequality, Workshop on the South African Agrarian Question : Past, Present and Future, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- McClintock, S 1989 : An Integrated Rural Energy Strategy for the Upper Tugela Location, KwaZulu, Final Report for the KwaZulu Department of Economic Affairs, I\R 35 Institute of Natural Resources, Pietermaritzburg.
- McIntosh, A 1987 : Development Planning within South Africa's Periphery ; Theory , Practice and Prospects, unpublished Masters thesis, Town and Regional Planning Department, University of Natal, Durban.
- McLachlan, M 1988a : Family Resource Management and Women's Participation in Rural Development, unpublished paper, University of Zululand, KwaDlangezwa.
- McLachlan, M 1988b : The Role of Women in Rural Development with special reference to Developing Areas in Southern Africa, paper presented at the Ciskei Agricultural Conference, held at the Mpekweni Holiday Resort.
- Mfono, Z 1989 : Women in Rural Development in Venda, **Development Southern Africa**, 6 (4), 495-497.
- Mies, M 1986 : **Capitalism and Patriarchy on a World Scale**, Zed Press, London.
- Morris, N and Van Der Reis, A 1979 : Time Perception and its Importance in Black Transport Studies, National Transport and Road Research, Technical Note TT/9/79, CSIR.
- Murphy, C 1986 : All Work and No Play : A time-space study of black women employed as domestic workers in Mowbray, Cape Town, unpublished Honours thesis, Environmental and Geographical Science Department, University of Cape Town.

- Nelson, N 1981 : **African Women in the Development Process**, Frank Cass, London.
- Nene, S 1984 : A Survey of African Women Petty Traders and the Self-Employed in Town and Country; in **Rural Development and Women in Africa**, ILO, WEP Study, Geneva.
- Obbo, C 1980 : **African Women : Their Struggle for Economic Independence**, Zed Press, London.
- Okeyo, A P 1979 : Women in the Household Economy : Managing Multiple Roles, **Studies in Family Planning**, 10 (11\12), 337-343.
- Office of the Regional Director, Umzansi Region 1982 : Notes for the Honourable Minister for Agriculture and Forestry Re : Betterment Plan Implementation Procedure, Ward of Chief Dlamini, Umzumbe District, KwaZulu Department of Agriculture, Pietermaritzburg.
- Otero, M 1987 : **Guidebook for Integrating Women into Small and Micro Enterprise Projects**, Office of the Women in Development, Bureau for Program and Policy Co-ordination, USAID, Washington.
- Paulme, D (ed) 1970 : **Women of Tropical Africa**, University of California Press, Berkley.
- Perold, H 1985 : **Working Women**, Ravan Press, Braamfontein.
- Rihani, M 1978 : **Development if Women Mattered**, A bibliography on the early works on Women and Development.
- Rogers, B 1980 : **The Domestication of Women : Discrimination in Developing Countries**, Tavistock, London.
- Safilios-Rothschild, C 1985 : The Persistence of Women's Invisibility in Agriculture ; Theoretical and Policy Lessons from Sierra Leone, **Economic Development and Economic Change**, 82 (2), 299-328.
- Sajogyo et al., D 1979 : Studying Rural Women in West Java, **Studies in Family Planning**, 10 (11\12), 364-376.

- Sandhu, R and Sandler, J 1986 : **The Tech and Tools Book. A Guide to Technologies Women are using Worldwide**, International Women's Tribune Centre and Intermediate Publications, London.
- Scott and De Waal 1982 : Preliminary Planning Report for Water Resources Chief Dlamini Ward, KwaZulu, Scott and De Waal Consulting Engineers, Pietermaritzburg.
- Sen, G and Grown, C 1988 : **Development Crises and Alternative Vision - Third World Women's Perspectives**, Earthscan, London.
- Sharp, J and Spiegel A 1986 : **Women and Wages : Gender and the Control of Income in Farm and Bantustan Households**, African Studies Seminar Paper, African Studies Institute, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- Simmons, E 1976 : **Economic Research in Rural Development in Northern Nigeria**, Overseas Liaison Committee, O\P 10, America Council on Education.
- Staudt, K 1982 : **Women Farmers and Inequities in Agricultural Services**; in Bay, E (ed) **Women and Work in Africa**, 207-224, Westview Press, Boulder.
- Staudt, K 1987 : **Uncaptured or Unmotivated ? Women in the Food Crisis in Africa**, **Rural Sociology**, 52 (1), 37-55.
- Stewart, D 1986 : **An Economic Analysis of Labour Allocation in Rural KwaZulu Households**, unpublished thesis, Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.
- Stewart, D and Lyne, M 1988 : **Socio-economic Characteristics of the Rural Population in Gcumisa Ward, KwaZulu**, paper in preparation, Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.
- Stubbs, J 1984 : **Some Thoughts on the Life Story Method in Labour History and Research on Rural Women**, **IDS Bulletin**, 15 (1) 34-37, Institute for Development Studies, Sussex.

- Swantz, M 1985 : **Women in Development - A Creative Role Denied. The Case of Tanzania**, Hurst, London.
- Tapson, D 1982 : A Report on the Investigation into the Research Needs of the Homelands and Recommendations on a Research Programme, Agricultural and Rural Development Research Institute, Ciskei.
- Thorrington-Smith, Rosenberg, and McCrystal, 1978 : **Towards a Plan for KwaZulu**, KwaZulu Government, Ulundi.
- Timberlake, L 1988 : **Africa in Crisis - The Cause, the Cures of Environmental Bankruptcy**, Earthscan Publications, London.
- Tinker, J and Bramsen, M (eds) 1976 : **Women and World Development**, Overseas Development Council, Washington.
- Walker, C 1987 : Review Article : Women's Studies on the Move, **Journal of Southern African Studies**, 13 (3) 433-434.
- Webster, D 1989 : Abafazi Bathonga Hafihlakala (Thonga Women are a Mystery) : Ethnicity and Gender in a KwaZulu Border Community, unpublished paper, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- Wilson, F 1985 : Women and Agricultural Change in Latin America : Some Concepts Guiding Research, **World Development**, 13 (9), 1017-1035.
- World Goodwill, 1988 : Newsletter No 1.
- Yates, B A 1982 : Colonialism, Education and Work : Sex Differentiation in Colonial Zaire; in Bay, E (ed), **Women and Work in Africa**, Westview Press, Boulder.
- Yawitch, J 1981 : **Betterment, the Myth of Homeland Agriculture**, South African Institute for Race Relations, Johannesburg.

**PERSONAL COMMUNICATION**

- Mr R Auerbach, Project Leader for the **Nhlangwini Community Development Project**, Institute of Natural Resources, Pietermaritzburg.
- Mr D Dlamini, Agricultural Officer, KwaZulu Department of Agriculture and Forestry, Umzansi Region, Pietermaritzburg.
- Mr H Dlamini, Rural Facilitator for the Nhlangwini Ward, Institute of Natural Resources, Pietermaritzburg.
- Ms M Friedman, Project Leader for the project **Gender, Agricultural Production and Rural Service Provision**, Institute of Natural Resources, Pietermaritzburg.
- Mr M Lyne, Lecturer, Department of Agricultural Economics, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.
- Ms N Ndela, Home Economics Officer, KwaZulu Department of Agriculture and Forestry, Nhlangwini Ward, Umzumbe District.
- Mr Ngcobo, Agricultural Extension Officer KwaZulu Department of Agriculture and Forestry, Nhlangwini Ward, Umzumbe District.
- Mr D Rogers, Lecturer, Faculty of Agriculture, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.
- Mr N Thomas, Trainer Officer, KwaZulu Department of Agriculture and Forestry, Umzansi Region, Pietermaritzburg.
- Mr Zondi, Agricultural Officer, KwaZulu Department of Agriculture and Forestry, Umzansi Region, Pietermaritzburg.

## APPENDIX 1 : CONTRADICTORY PAIRED STATEMENTS

Two people have the following to say about a certain topic.  
Which person do you agree with and why ?

1. (a) Nomsa says, "Women have always served the needs of men and should continue to do so."  
(b) Ngobiel says, "Times have changed. Women should no longer accept that they have to serve the needs of men."
2. (a) Thandi says, "Women are less important than men."  
(b) Bonakele says, "Women are just as important as men."
3. (a) Bongive says, "Women should stay at home. They are capable of doing nothing else."  
(b) Lindiwe says, "Women are strong. They are capable of doing other things."
4. (a) Nonhlanhla says, "Women should become indunas."  
(b) Nomsa says, "Women should never become indunas."

Kukhona abantu ababili baxoxa ngendaba. Wena ungavumela muphi?

1. (a) UNomsa uthi "Abantu besifazane, kade benza izinto benzela amadoda, ngabe kufanele baqhubeke nokuzenza?"  
(b) uNgobile uthi "Isikhathi sesishintshile manje kufanele ukuthi abesifazane bangasebenzeli amadoda njalo".
2. (a) uThandi uthi "Abantu besifazane ibona ababaluleke kakhulu kunabesilisa".  
(b) uBonakele uthi "Abantu besifazane bayefana nabesilisa". Kusho ukuthi ababalulekile ngaphezulu.
3. (a) uBongive uthi "Kufanele ukuthi abantu besifazane bahlale ekhaya, abakwazi ukwenza umsebenzi onzima".  
(b) uLindiwe uthi "Abantu besifazane banamandla bangakwazi ukwenza umsebenzi onzima".
4. (a) uNonhlanhla uthi "Kufanele ukuthi abantu besifazane bangaba izinduna".  
(b) uNomusa uthi "Abantu besifazane abakwazi ukuthi bangaba izinduna".

## APPENDIX TWO : FARMING SURVEY

The following questions were included for use in this study. (A justification for their inclusion is provided in brackets). The remaining questions were included for use in the Nhlangwini Community Development Project.

### Question 3.1

(included to determine the number of de jure female heads of households).

### Questions 4.1 to 4.4

(included to determine the respondents' reasons for farming with regard to production aimed at either subsistence or commercial use).

### Questions 5.1 to 5.3 and Questions 6.1 to 6.3

(included to determine respondents' access to agricultural training and agricultural and home economics extension services).

### Questions 7 and Question 8

(included to determine respondents' access to capital and land to use in farming activities).

### Question 9

(included to determine the extent of respondents' involvement in tasks outside farming).

Question 11 (included to determine respondents' involvement in household tasks).

**APPENDIX 2 : FARMING SURVEY**

- 2.1 English Version
- 2.2 Zulu Version

2.1 English Version

NAME OF INTERVIEWER ----- DATE -----

NAME OF RESPONDENT ----- M F

Marital Status : Single/Married/Widowed/Other

Good morning/Good Afternoon. I am going to ask you some questions about you and your house-hold. All your answers will be treated confidently. Please tell me if you do not wish to answer a question.

1.FAMILY MEMBERS.

1.1. Please tell me the number of people who are permanent residents of your house-hold ?

1.2. Are there any members of your house-hold who live here some of the time ?

Y N

IF YES : How many people live here some of time ?

When do these people come and live here ?

WEEK END MONTH END TWICE A YEAR ONCE A YEAR OTHER

1.3. Who is the head of this house-hold ?

RESPONDENT	OTHER (give relationship to respondent)
------------	---

IF OTHER : Where is he/she ? (ie head of house-hold)

-----

2.AGE AND LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN AREA.

2.1. How old are you ? \_\_\_\_\_

2.2. In which year did you first come to live in this place ?

-----

2.3. Have you lived here permanently since you first arrived ?

Y N

IF NO : Can you tell me during which years where you away ?

-----  
**3. SCHOOLING**

**3.1. Have you ever gone to school ?**

Y N

**IF YES : What was the highest standard that you passed ?**  
-----

**Have you done any other special training ?**

Y N

**IF YES : Can you tell me what other special training you have done?**  
-----

**4. FARMING ACTIVITIES AND POWER/DECISION-MAKING**

**4.1. What made you first start farming ?**  
-----  
-----  
-----

**4.2. Please tell me what crops you grow and what livestock you keep ?**  
-----  
-----  
-----

**4.3 Do you buy the maize seeds that you plant ? Y N**

**4.4. Can you tell me why you grow these particular crops and keep these particular animals ?**  
-----  
-----  
-----

**4.5. Who decides what crops you grow ?**  
-----

**4.6. Who decides where to grow these crops ?**  
-----

**4.7. Who decides when to grow these crops ?**

-----  
4.8. Who decides when to kill a chicken/pig/cow ?(what ever animals are kept)

4.9. Do you sell any of the crops you grow or animals you keep ?

Y N

IF YES : Do you sell regularly ? Y N

What do you sell ?

-----  
Who decides when to sell ?

-----  
Who decides what to do with the money that is received ?  
-----

5. FORMAL AND INFORMAL FARM TRAINING

5.1. Have you ever learnt to farm ?

Y N

IF YES : Who has taught you to farm or where have you learnt to farm ?

-----  
FOR PROBING

WORKED ON A WHITE FARMER'S FARM

FROM HUSBAND/WIFE WHO WORKED ON A WHITE FARM

COME FROM A FARMING FAMILY (find out where family farmed)

FROM EXPERIENCE

FROM A.O.S

FROM RADIO ZULU/MAGAZINES

5.2. Do you know of any Farmer Training Centres ?

Y N

IF YES : Please name the training centres that you know ?

-----  
-----

Have you ever attended a course at a farmer training centre ?

Y N

IF YES : Where ? -----

IF NO : Can you tell me why you have never attended a farming training course ?

-----  
-----  
-----

**FOR PROBING**

CAN'T GET HUSBAND'S APPROVAL

NO-ONE TO LOOK AFTER THE HOUSE-  
HOLD/CHILDREN/FARM

NOT INTERESTED IN FARMING

TOO EXPENSIVE

TRAINING CENTRE TOO FAR AWAY

CAN'T READ OR WRITE

5.3. Would you like to learn more about farming ?

Y N

IF YES : The Institute of Natural Resources will be running short farming training courses in this area. There will be different courses for farmers who sell what they produce and for those who don't. There will be courses about :

1. Growing crops
2. Growing trees for wood and fruit
3. Keeping poultry
4. Keeping pogs
5. Keeping dairy cows

Would you like to attend any of these courses ?

Y N

IF YES : What courses would you attend ?

CROPS	TREES	POULTRY	PIGS	DAIRY	COWS
-------	-------	---------	------	-------	------

IF NO : Why will you not attend any of these courses ?

-----  
 -----  
 -----

6. CONTACT WITH AGRICULTURAL OFFICERS.

6.1. Are there any Agricultural Officers who work in this area ?

Y N

IF YES : Have the Agricultural Officers from Pungashe or Erith Trust ever come to visit you to talk about farming ?

Y N

IF NO : Why do you think that the Agricultural Officers have not come to visit you to talk about farming ?

-----  
 -----  
 -----

<u>FOR PROBING</u>	THEY HAVE NOTHING TO OFFER ME
	THEY DO NOT VISIT WOMEN/POULTRY/SMALL-SCALE FARMERS
	THEY HAVE TOO MANY FARMERS TO VISIT
	THEY ARE TOO BUSY IN THE COMMUNAL GARDENS

IF YES : When was the last time you were visited ?

-----

And the time before that ? -----

Where did you meet the Agricultural Officer when he came to visit you ?

AT RESPONDENTS HOUSE  
IN RESPONDENTS FIELD

IN COMMUNAL GARDEN  
OTHER (say where)

6.2. Have you ever visited any of the Agricultural Officers in their office ?

Y N

IF NO : Why have you never been to visit any of the Agricultural Officers at their office ?

-----  
-----

**FOR PROBING**

DON'T KNOW WHERE THEIR OFFICE IS  
THE A.O.S CAN'T PROVIDE ANY HELP  
TOO FAR TO TRAVEL TO THEIR OFFICE  
CAN'T GET HUSBANDS APPROVAL  
HAVEN'T GOT ENOUGH TIME  
NOT INTERESTED IN FARMING

IF YES : When did you last visit the Agricultural Officer ?

-----

And the time before that ?

-----

Why did you go and visit the Agricultural Officer ?

-----  
-----  
-----

6.3. Do you know that there is a female Home Economics Officer in this area who has been trained at Agricultural College ?

Y N

IF YES :

If respondent is female

Have you ever been visited by a Home Economics Officer ?

If respondent is male

Has your wife ever been visited by a Home Economics Officer ?

Y N

IF NO : Why do you think that you have not been visited by the HEO ?

7. LOANS

7.1. Do you need money to carry out the farming that you do ? (for example to buy seeds )

Y N

IF YES : Where do you get the money from ?

FOR PROBING

- FROM INFORMAL SAVINGS NETWORK
- FROM SALE OF FARM PRODUCE
- FROM URBAN REMITTANCES (find out who earns the money)
- FROM WORK CARRIED OUT LOCALLY

Have you ever applied for a loan for farming ?

Y N

IF NO : Have you ever wanted to apply for a loan for farming ?

Y N

IF YES : What have you wanted to use the money from the loan for ?

What has stopped you ?

FOR PROBING

DIDN'T THINK THAT SMALL-SCALE FARMER/WOMEN COULD GET LOANS

DON'T KNOW HOW TO APPLY

WON'T BE ABLE TO PAY BACK LOAN

IF YES : When did you apply ?

-----

Was the loan approved ?

Y N

IF YES : Who gave you the loan ?

BANK

KWA ZULU FINANCE CORPORATION

OTHER (name)

Can you tell me what the money from the loan was used for ?

-----

Have you repaid the loan ?

8. LAND

8.1. Do you need land for your farming

Y N

IF YES : How much land do you use ?

-----

Where did you get the land from that you use ?

-----

Do you have enough land to use for farming ?

Y N

IF NO : How much more land do you need ?

-----

Where could you get more land from ?

-----

Would it be easy to get more land ?

Y N

IF YES : Why would it be easy to get more land ?

-----  
-----

IF NO : Why would it not be easy to get more land ?

-----  
-----

9. EMPLOYMENT

9.1. Do you have a regular job outside farming where you earn money ?

Y N

IF YES : Where do you work ?

-----

What do you do ?

-----

Can you tell me what you earn more or less either per day, per week or per month ?

-----

IF NO : Have you ever worked for wages ?

Y N

IF YES : Where did you work ?

-----

What did you do ?

-----

10. MEMBERSHIP OF ORGANISATIONS.

10.1 Do you belong to any community organisations or clubs ?

Y N

IF NO : Are there any reasons why you do not belong to any community organisations in this area ?

-----  
-----  
**FOR PROBING**

DON'T KNOW OF ANY

NOT INTERESTED IN JOINING ANY (find out why  
and any organisations that respondent may  
be interested in)

HAVEN'T GOT THE TIME / MONEY  
FEEL EXCLUDED FROM THESE ORGANISATIONS  
(find out why)

IF YES : Does the chief have the support of the organisation that  
you belong to ?

Y N

Please tell me which of the following organisations  
you belong to and the name of the organisation .

Farmers association -----  
Saving Club -----  
Burial Club -----  
Community Garden -----  
Church Group -----  
Development Committee -----  
Any others (give other) -----

Do you hold any positions in these organisations like  
secretary or chairperson ?

Y N

IF YES : Can you name the positions that you hold ?

-----  
-----

11. HOUSE-HOLD TASKS

11.1. Please tell me the people who normally do the following tasks in your house-hold ?

<u>TASK</u>	<u>PERSON</u>
FETCH WATER	-----
COLLECT FIREWOOD	-----
COOK FOOD	-----
LOOK AFTER CHILDREN	-----
WASH CLOTHES/BLANKETS	-----
SWEEP AND CLEAN HOUSE	-----
DO SHOPPING	-----

Thank you very much for your co-operation.

FOR INTERVIEWER - LEVEL OF SUCCESS OF INTERVIEW

1	2	3	4	5
VERY SUCCESSFUL				VERY UNSUCCESSFUL

COMMENTS - Why successful/unsuccessful and any other comments and observations relating to focus of study

-----  
-----

IGAMA LAKHO ----- USUKU -----

IGAMA LOKHULUMA NAYE ----- OWESILISA / OWESIFAZANE

Sawubona. Ngicela ukukubuza imibuzo magondana nawe kanye nomndeni wakho. Zonke izimpendulo zizokwenziwa zibe yimfihlo. Ngicela ungitshela uma kungukuthi awufisi ukuphendula umubuzo.

1. ABANTU BASEKHAYA

1.1 Ngicela ungiqhe inani labo bonke abantu abahlala belapha ekhaya lakho?

1.2 Bakhona yini abanye abahlala okwesikhashana lapha ekhaya? Yebo / Qha

Uma bekhona: Bangaki abaqabukela bekhona?

Lababantu bafika nini lapha?

Impelasonto	Ukuphela kwenyanga	Kabili ngonyaka
Kanye ngonyaka	Okunye (Chaza)	

1.3 Ubani oyinhloko yalelikhaya?

Nguwe	Omunye (nikeza ubudlelwane buhambisane nokukhulunywa naye)
-------	--

Uma kungomunye: Uphi? (okungukuthi oyinhloko yekhaya)

2. IMINYAKA NOBUDE BESIKHATHI OSUSIHLALILE KULENDAWO

2.1 Uneminyaka emingaki? \_\_\_\_\_

2.2 Kwakungamuphi unyaka niqala ukufika nizohlala kulendawo?  
-----

2.3 Senihlala lapha unomphele kusukela ngenkathi nifika? Yebo/Qha

Selokhu kwaqala nihlala kulendawo anikaze nisuke?

Uma kungenjalo imiphi iminyaka ebeningekho ngayo?

3. IMFUNDO

3.1 Wake waya esikoleni uyofunda? Yebo/Qha

Uma waya wafunda kangakanani? -----

Ukhona umsebenzi owake wawufundela? Yebo/Qha

Uma kunjalo iwona muphi lowo msebenzi?  
-----

4. EZOLIMO

4.1 Yini eyenza ukuthi ugale ukuba umlimi?  
-----

4.2. Iziphi izitshalo ozitshalayo okunye futhi nhloboni yemfuyo onayo?  
-----

4.3. Do you buy the maize seeds that you plant? Y N

4.4. Ake uchaze kafushane ukuthi sizathu sini esenza utshale lezizitshalo ufuye naloluhlobo lwemfuyo?  
-----

4.5 Ubani okunguyena onqumayo ukuthi kufanele kutshalwe luphi uhlobo lwezitshalo?  
-----

4.6 Ubani onqumayo ukuthi kufanele kutshalwe kuphi?  
-----

4.7 Ubani onqumayo ukuthi kufanele kutshalwe nini lezizitshalo?  
-----

4.8 Mayelana nezinkukhu, nezingulube nezinkomo, noma ngabe iyiphi imfuyo onayo, kuyaye kube ngubani onqumayo ukuthi kufanele kubulawe esinye salezizilwane?  
-----

4.9 Kukhona okuke kwenzeka ukudayise ezitshalweni noma emfuyweni? Yebo/Qha

Uma kukhona: DO YOU SELL REGULARLY? Y N

Yini oyidayisayo?  
-----

Ukuthi sekufanele kudayiswe kuyaye kusho bani?  
-----

Ubani othatha isinqumo sokusebenzisa imali etholakele?

---

5. UKUFUNDISWA NGEZOLIMO

5.1 Wake waqeqeshwa kwezolimo? Yebo/Qha

---

Uma kunjalo : Waqeqeshwa kuphi, ufundiswa ubani?

---

UKUBUZISISA

Wasebenza epulazini lomlungu

Ngafundiswa owakwami owayesebenza epulazini

Ngazalelwa emndenini ongabalimi (buza ukuthi umndenini wakuphi)

Ekukusebenzeni

Ngafundiswa umeluleki

Ngakufunda emsakazweni/ephepheni

5.2 Ikhona indawo yokuqeqesha abalimi oyaziyo? Yebo/Qha

Uma kunjalo: Ngicela ungiphe igama lendawo /Ibizwa ngokuthini  
leyondawo? \_\_\_\_\_

Uswake waya ukuyofunda kuleyondawo? Yebo/Qha?

Uma kunjalo: wafunda kuyiphi? \_\_\_\_\_

Uma kungenjalo: Yingani ungakaze uye kofunda ngezolimo?

---

UKUBUZISISA

Umkhwenyana akangivumeli

Akekho engingamshiya ekhaya ukuze abheke

Angikukhonzile ukulima

Kuyabiza

Kukude kakhulu

Angikwazi ukufunda

5.3 Ungathanila ukufundi wa ngezolimo? Yebo/Qha

Uma kunjalo: (Isizinda) INR izonikeza izifundo ezahlukene kubalimi

abalima badayise nabalima abazidlelayo kulendawo

IZIFUNDO EZIFHATHELENE:

1. Ukulima izitshalo
2. Ukutshala amahlathi kanye nezithelo
3. Ukufuya izinkukhu
4. Ukufuya zizingulube
5. Ukufuya izinkomo zobisi

Ungathanda ukufika uzofunda nawe? Yebo/Qha

Uma kunjalo: Ungathanda ukufunda ngakuphi kulokho?

Izitshalo	Izihlahla	Izinkukhu	Izingulube
Izinkomo zobisi			

Uma kungenjalo: Yingani ungeke waya kofunda wena?

.....

6. UKUXHUMANA NABELULEKI BEZOLIMO

6.1 Bakhona yini abeluleki bezolimo abasebenza kulendawo? Yebo/Qha

Uma kunjalo: Abeluleki base Erith noma kwaPhungashe sebake bafika lapha bezokubonisa ngezolimo? Yebo/Qha

Uma kungenjalo: Ucabanga ukuthi yingani abeluleki bengakaze bafike nizoxoxisana ngezolimo?

.....

<u>Ukubuzisisa:</u>	Abanalutho abangangisiza ngalo Ababavakasheli omame/abezinkukhu/abalimi abancane Banabalimi abaningi ababahambelayo Banemisebenzi eminingi ezivandeni
---------------------	--

Uma kunjalo: Bagcina nini ukukuvakashela? .....

Babekade bagcina nini ngaphambili? .....

Nahlanganaphi ngamhla egcina ukukuhambela?

Khona lapha ekhaya lakho? .....

Noma emasimini akho? .....

Noma ezivandeni? .....

Noma kuphi nendawo .....

6.2 Wake waya kofuna i usizo emahovisi abeluleki? Yebo/Qha

Uma kungenjalo: Kungani ungayi emahovisi abeluleki?

.....

<u>Ukubuzisisa:</u>	Ukungalazi ukuthi likuphi ihovisi labo Ingoba abanalo usizo Akude amahovisi abo Amkhwenyana akavumi Isikhathi sokuya khona asikho Angikukhonzile ukulima
---------------------	---

Uma kunjalo: Wagcina nini ukuya kubeluleki? .....

Wawukade ugcine nini ngaphambi kwalokho? .....

Isiphi isizathu esenza uze uye kubeluleki? .....

.....

6.3 Uyazi ukuthi kunowesimame osebenza ngezokonga ekhaya okulendawo yakhona la owaqeqeshwa ekolishi lezolimo? .

Yebo / Qha

Uma kunjalo: Uma lombuzayo kungowesifazane

Wake wakuvakashela lomeluleki wesimame?

Yebo/Qha

Uma kungowesilisa

Unkosikazi wakho wake wavakashelwa umelulekikazi?

Yebo/Qha

NO: WHY DO YOU THINK YOU HAVE NOT BE VISITED BY THE HOME ECONOMICS OFFICER?

7. UXHASO LWEZIMALI

7.1 Uyayidinga imali yokukwenza imisebenzi yokulima (njengokuthenga imbewu)? Yebo/Qha .....

Uma kunjalo: Uyazi ukuthi itholakalaphi leyomali?

<p><u>UKUBUZISISA:</u> Enhlanganweni yokonga imali?          Ekudayiseni izitshalo          Ngokusebenza esilungwini (buza osebenzayo)          Ngokusebenza emphakathini wendawo</p>
---

Wake wboleka imali ukuze ulime?

Yebo / Qha

Uma kungenjalo: Wake wazama ukuyiboleka?

Yebo / Qha

Uma kunjalo: Wawuyibolekela ukuyisebenziselani leyomali?

.....

Yini eyaba inkinga ekuyitholeni? .....

<p><u>UKUBUZISISA:</u> Ngacabanga ukuthi abalimi abancane abazitholi lezomali          Ukungazi ukuthi itholakala kanjani          Ngeke ngikwazi ukuyikhokha</p>
---

Uma kunjalo: Wayizama nini leyomali? .....

Yatholakala?

Yebo/Qha

Uma wayithola wayithola kanjani?

I Bhange
U KFC
Noma omunye?

Wayisebenzisa kanjani/ ngokwenzani leyomali? .....

Uswakwazi ukuyikhokha?

Yebo/Qha

8. UMHLABA / INDAWO

8.1 Uyayidinga indawo yokulima na?

Yebo/Qha

Uma kunjalo: Ingakanani indawo oyisebenzisayo manje?

Wayithola kuphi lendawo onayo njengamanje?

Iyakwanelisa ekuqhubeni umsebenzi wakho?

Yebo/Qha

Uma kungenjalo: Ingakanani indawo ocabanga ukuthi uyayidinga?

Ingatholakala kanjani?

Abukho ubunzima ekuyitholeni?

Yebo/Qha

Uma kunjalo: Abukho kanjani ubunzima ekutholeni indawo?

Uma kungenjalo: Yini ewubunzima ekutholeni indawo?

9. UMSEBENZI

9.1 Unawo omunye umsebenzi owenzayo ngaphandle kobulimi okungenisela imali?

Yebo/Qha

Uma kunjalo: Usebenzaphi?

Wenzani?

Ungasho ukuthi ukukhokhela kanjani lomsebenzi ngosuku

noma ngesonto noma ngenyanga?

Uma kungenjalo: Wake waqashwa njengomsebenzi?

Yebo/Qha

Uma kunjalo: Wawusebenza kuphi?

Wawenza msebenzi muni?

10. UBULUNGA BEZINHLANGANO

10.1 Ikhona inhlangotho oyilunga layo la emphakathini?

Yebo/Qha

Uma kungenjalo: Isiphi isizathu salokho?

UKUBUZISISA: Angazi nhlangotho kulendawo  
Angithandi ukuzijoyina (buza ukuthi ngani nokuthi inhlangotho)

enjani angathanda ukuyijoyina)  
 Isikhathi asikho / nemali  
 Ukungazihlanganisi nalezinhlango. (ingani?)

Uma kunjalo: Inkosi yalapha iyobuthakasela ubukhona balenhlango yenu? Yebo/ Qha

Yiziphi kulezinhlango ezibaliwe oyilunga layo?

- Farmers Association \_\_\_\_\_
- Saving Club \_\_\_\_\_
- Burial Club \_\_\_\_\_
- Comm. Garden \_\_\_\_\_
- Church Group \_\_\_\_\_
- Development Committee \_\_\_\_\_
- Noma isho enye \_\_\_\_\_

Unaso isikhundla onaso ekomidini layo?

Yebo/ Qha

Uma kunjalo: Uyini ekomidini? .....

11. IMISEBENZI YASEKHAYA

11.1 Lemisebenzi elandelayo yenziwa obani emndenini walapha ekhaya?

- Ukukha amanzi \_\_\_\_\_
- Ukutheza \_\_\_\_\_
- Ukupheka \_\_\_\_\_
- Ukunakekela abantwana \_\_\_\_\_
- Ukuwasha \_\_\_\_\_
- Ukuhlaza ekhaya \_\_\_\_\_
- Ukuya ezitolo \_\_\_\_\_

Ukuhlaziya imisebenzi ekushanduleni kobuzwavo

1            2            3            4            5

Akahambanga kahle

Uphendule kahle

IMIBONISO YOBUZWAVO: (vinqani uthi uphendule kahle noma okubonayo ngalemibuzo).

---



---



---

**APPENDIX THREE : TIME-USE AND HOUSING SURVEY**

The following questions in the survey are relevant to this study. (A justification for their inclusion in the survey is provided in brackets). The remaining questions (i.e. questions one to six) were not included for use in this study.

Question 7 (demographic and social details of respondents and their families included as they are factors likely to influence the respondents' use of time on a daily basis).

Question 8 and 9 (included to record the time, duration and place of previous day's activities to construct time-space budgets and obtain time orientated activity lists).

Question 10 (included to determine the frequency of respondents' involvement in a number of preselected activities related to survival tasks, household tasks, income generation and social time over the last week.

**APPENDIX 3 : TIME USE AND HOUSING SURVEY**

ADDITIONAL INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR MARYANN GREEN





*you and many*

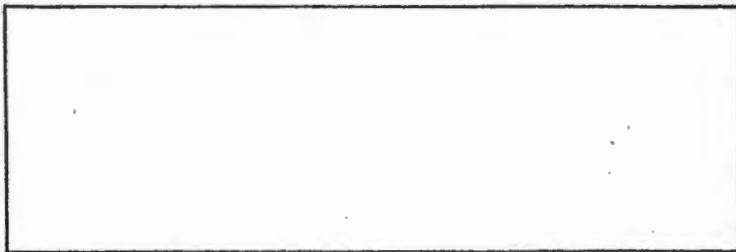
In order to bring about any change or improvements in your community, we need to get a picture of community life. We will be asking <sup>other</sup> people what their houses are like and what they do each day so that we can build up this picture properly. Please answer the questions as truthfully as you can.

In this section, we are going to ask you questions about the <sup>buildings</sup> ~~houses~~ (dwellings) that you live in.

1. How many buildings are there on your land? \_\_\_\_\_ buildings

Interviewer: Please make a map of the <sup>buildings</sup> ~~houses~~ using the following symbols:

-  round rondavel
-  rectangle (pointed roof)
-  rectangle (flat roof)
-  other shape (accurately drawn)



Number the <sup>buildings</sup> ~~houses~~.

2. Please complete the form below either from your observations or from asking the questions below. Ask what activities are carried out in each house/room. *Key supplied*

Fill in the answers in the table below and repeat for each building in the homestead.

No	Shape of <sup>house</sup> <del>house</del> <i>building</i>	Roof material	Wall material	Floor material	Main uses of house	No of rooms
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						

3. Did you work on the house yesterday? Y / N  
 If yes, was it repair work Y / N  
 was it new building Y / N  
 How long did you spend \_\_\_\_\_ mins/hrs
4. Who fixes the building - walls Husband, Wife, Child, Paid outsider  
 - floors H W C P  
 - roof H W C P  
 - windows? H W C P
5. How many years ago was the first house built / did you build the first house?  
 \_\_\_\_\_ years.  
 How old is your newest house here? \_\_\_\_\_ years.
6. If you could change something about your houses, what would you choose first?  
 PROBE: change the layout of the buildings?  
 change the materials used?  
 change the design of the buildings?  
 move the location?

FAMILY MEMBERS

7. I would like to ask you questions about people living in this household. Please give me the names of all the people who live in your household, starting with the eldest, and answer some questions about them.

Interviewer: Mark an X next to the person interviewed.

Name (optional)	Sex M/F	Age yrs	Relationship in household	Education max std	At school now? Y/N	Away at work Y/N
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						
11						

TIME USE:

8. Now I'd like to ask you about the things you did and the places you went to yesterday. I'm interested in the things you do regularly and the things that you happened to do yesterday. Try not to forget anything, not even the smallest thing.

Circle the correct day:

Yesterday was: Mon Tues Wed Thurs Fri Sat Sun

Let's begin with the time when you woke up.  
Did you get up then? What did you do first?

Interviewer: Continue to ask questions A to D until you get a complete list of activities from "getting up" to "going to bed". Do not ask Questions C for sleep or personal care activities.

A What did you do next? (or at the same time)?	B What time did you start?	C Who helped you with that? (Mark all that apply)	D Where were you when you did this?	E How often in last 7 days did you do it?
Got up		<input type="checkbox"/> Self only <input type="checkbox"/> Other adults in HH <input type="checkbox"/> Children <input type="checkbox"/> Others not in HH	<input type="checkbox"/> Home <input type="checkbox"/> Away If away, how far?	
		<input type="checkbox"/> Self only <input type="checkbox"/> Other adults in HH <input type="checkbox"/> Children <input type="checkbox"/> Others not in HH	<input type="checkbox"/> Home <input type="checkbox"/> Away If away, how far?	
		<input type="checkbox"/> Self only <input type="checkbox"/> Other adults in HH <input type="checkbox"/> Children <input type="checkbox"/> Others not in HH	<input type="checkbox"/> Home <input type="checkbox"/> Away If away, how far?	
		<input type="checkbox"/> Self only <input type="checkbox"/> Other adults in HH <input type="checkbox"/> Children <input type="checkbox"/> Others not in HH	<input type="checkbox"/> Home <input type="checkbox"/> Away If away, how far?	
		<input type="checkbox"/> Self only <input type="checkbox"/> Other adults in HH <input type="checkbox"/> Children <input type="checkbox"/> Others not in HH	<input type="checkbox"/> Home <input type="checkbox"/> Away If away, how far?	
		<input type="checkbox"/> Self only <input type="checkbox"/> Other adults in HH <input type="checkbox"/> Children <input type="checkbox"/> Others not in HH	<input type="checkbox"/> Home <input type="checkbox"/> Away If away, how far?	
		<input type="checkbox"/> Self only <input type="checkbox"/> Other adults in HH <input type="checkbox"/> Children <input type="checkbox"/> Others not in HH	<input type="checkbox"/> Home <input type="checkbox"/> Away If away, how far?	
		<input type="checkbox"/> Self only <input type="checkbox"/> Other adults in HH <input type="checkbox"/> Children <input type="checkbox"/> Others not in HH	<input type="checkbox"/> Home <input type="checkbox"/> Away If away, how far?	

A  
What did you do  
next? (or at the  
same time)?

B  
What time  
did you  
start?

C  
Who helped you with  
that? (Mark all that  
apply)

D  
Where were you  
when you did  
this?

E  
How often  
in last 7  
days did  
you do it?

---

Self only  
 Other adults in HH  
 Children  
 Others not in HH

Home  
 Away  
If away, how far?

---

Self only  
 Other adults in HH  
 Children  
 Others not in HH

Home  
 Away  
If away, how far?

---

Self only  
 Other adults in HH  
 Children  
 Others not in HH

Home  
 Away  
If away, how far?

---

Self only  
 Other adults in HH  
 Children  
 Others not in HH

Home  
 Away  
If away, how far?

---

Self only  
 Other adults in HH  
 Children  
 Others not in HH

Home  
 Away  
If away, how far?

---

Self only  
 Other adults in HH  
 Children  
 Others not in HH

Home  
 Away  
If away, how far?

---

Self only  
 Other adults in HH  
 Children  
 Others not in HH

Home  
 Away  
If away, how far?

---

Self only  
 Other adults in HH  
 Children  
 Others not in HH

Home  
 Away  
If away, how far?

---

Self only  
 Other adults in HH  
 Children  
 Others not in HH

Home  
 Away  
If away, how far?

---

Self only  
 Other adults in HH  
 Children  
 Others not in HH

Home  
 Away  
If away, how far?

---

Self only  
 Other adults in HH  
 Children  
 Others not in HH

Home  
 Away  
If away, how far?

9. Go back and ask question E: How often have you done each activity in the last 7 days?

10 There are just a few more questions that I need to ask you about the work that is done by your family members. Ask questions A to D.

When the answer is "Others not in HH", ask whether they get paid to do this. Write a Y in the [ ] if they do get paid. If the person has a problem remembering how long a task took, try to find out what the time was when she started and when she finished.

A	B	C	D	E (later)
Who in your household usually does this?	Did they do this yesterday	If yes, how long did it take?	Where were they when they did it?	How often in last 7 days did they do it
Buying clothes	<input type="checkbox"/> Self only <input type="checkbox"/> Other adults in HH <input type="checkbox"/> Children <input type="checkbox"/> Others not in HH		<input type="checkbox"/> Home <input type="checkbox"/> Away How far?	
Buying food	<input type="checkbox"/> Self only <input type="checkbox"/> Other adults in HH <input type="checkbox"/> Children <input type="checkbox"/> Others not in HH		<input type="checkbox"/> Home <input type="checkbox"/> Away How far?	
Preparing Food	<input type="checkbox"/> Self only <input type="checkbox"/> Other adults in HH <input type="checkbox"/> Children <input type="checkbox"/> Others not in HH		<input type="checkbox"/> Home <input type="checkbox"/> Away How far?	
Cleaning up after cooking	<input type="checkbox"/> Self only <input type="checkbox"/> Other adults in HH <input type="checkbox"/> Children <input type="checkbox"/> Others not in HH		<input type="checkbox"/> Home <input type="checkbox"/> Away How far?	
Household cleaning/sweeping	<input type="checkbox"/> Self only <input type="checkbox"/> Other adults in HH <input type="checkbox"/> Children <input type="checkbox"/> Others not in HH		<input type="checkbox"/> Home <input type="checkbox"/> Away How far?	
Cleaning clothing/linen	<input type="checkbox"/> Self only <input type="checkbox"/> Other adults in HH <input type="checkbox"/> Children <input type="checkbox"/> Others not in HH		<input type="checkbox"/> Home <input type="checkbox"/> Away How far?	
Looking after the children	<input type="checkbox"/> Self only <input type="checkbox"/> Other adults in HH <input type="checkbox"/> Children <input type="checkbox"/> Others not in HH		<input type="checkbox"/> Home <input type="checkbox"/> Away How far?	
Visiting	<input type="checkbox"/> Self only <input type="checkbox"/> Other adults in HH <input type="checkbox"/> Children <input type="checkbox"/> Others not in HH		<input type="checkbox"/> Home <input type="checkbox"/> Away How far?	

Who in your household usually does this?	Person	Did they do this yesterday	How long did it take?	Where were they when they did it?	How often in last 7 days did they do it
--	--------	----------------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------------------	---

Working on the land	<input type="checkbox"/> Self only			<input type="checkbox"/> Home	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Other adults in HH			<input type="checkbox"/> Away	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Children			How far?	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Others not in HH				

Caring for the animals	<input type="checkbox"/> Self only			<input type="checkbox"/> Home	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Other adults in HH			<input type="checkbox"/> Away	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Children			How far?	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Others not in HH				

Selling Goods	<input type="checkbox"/> Self only			<input type="checkbox"/> Home	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Other adults in HH			<input type="checkbox"/> Away	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Children			How far?	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Others not in HH				

Getting wood	<input type="checkbox"/> Self only			<input type="checkbox"/> Home	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Other adults in HH			<input type="checkbox"/> Away	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Children			How far?	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Others not in HH				

Getting water	<input type="checkbox"/> Self only			<input type="checkbox"/> Home	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Other adults in HH			<input type="checkbox"/> Away	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Children			How far?	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Others not in HH				

Doing something to bring in cash in the end	<input type="checkbox"/> Self only			<input type="checkbox"/> Home	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Other adults in HH			<input type="checkbox"/> Away	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Children			How far?	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Others not in HH				

Community activities including gardens	<input type="checkbox"/> Self only			<input type="checkbox"/> Home	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Other adults in HH			<input type="checkbox"/> Away	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Children			How far?	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Others not in HH				

Church activities	<input type="checkbox"/> Self only			<input type="checkbox"/> Home	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Other adults in HH			<input type="checkbox"/> Away	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Children			How far?	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Others not in HH				

Other special activities	<input type="checkbox"/> Self only			<input type="checkbox"/> Home	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Other adults in HH			<input type="checkbox"/> Away	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Children			How far?	
	<input type="checkbox"/> Others not in HH				

1 Go back and ask question E: How often have they done each activity in the last 7 days?

Thank you very much for answering the questions. When we have everyone's activities, we will know more about the life here. Your answers have been very useful.

Interviewer:.....  
Date:.....

Respondent Number:.....