

**Attitudes Of Rural Men Towards The Advancement Of Rural
Women: A Study Of Thandanani And Umngazi
Maize Producing Projects**

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned hereby declare that the work contained in the thesis is my own original work and has not previously in its entirety or in part been submitted at any university for a degree

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Date.....

ABSTRACT

The South African woman, due to political and social change, has a totally new role to play in the workplace. The study focused on attitudes by men towards black rural women who are participating in the upper echelons of rural economic development and have to display their full potential in positions previously and traditionally reserved for rural men. The research was conducted in the Port St John's irrigation maize producing projects of Thandanani and Umngazi. The study develops and investigates the hypothesis that rural men have negative attitudes to the advancement of rural women.

The researcher uses the theory of social closure, that originated from Max Weber, within which rural women's upward mobility and resistance of men thereto can be placed. Social closure refers to the phenomenon that a hierarchical or stratified social system tends to develop in which an elite group seeks to maximize rewards by restricting access to resources to a limited circle of the eligible. In this a top-down process of exclusion and the limitation of opportunities, originating from rural men, is assumed. In contrast, rural women may attempt to gain access to opportunities enjoyed by rural men through a process of usurpation. In order to investigate these possibilities a social attitude survey was conducted among 45 male members of the Thandanani and Umngazi maize producing projects. Questionnaires in Xhosa language and based on summated rating scales were used.

The rural men's attitudes towards women were found to be differentiated. On the one hand, positive attitudes were found that support the advancement of women, accept equal opportunities and their creativity and helpfulness. On the other hand, sexist attitudes were observed that perceive women to be less capable and inherently inferior to men. Men, as the resourceful in-group, believe and think themselves as superior to women as the inferior out-group who as a result occupies lower positions of wealth and power. Men perpetuate their advantageous position and pass it to their offspring. These findings are borne out by literature where it is stated that men undermine cooperation between men and women in decision-making (Colclough 1999), regard women as minors (Cross et al 1988; Lessing 1994), and do not see them as relevant and worthy (Epstein 1970). Men are seen to have a desire to protect their advantage and create rules of distribution of resources to their own favour (Nel 2003).

Development projects towards the advancement of women, who are believed to be inferior and incapable, are therefore deemed to fail. It is recommended that all agencies should adopt and implement equal opportunity programmes, feminists need to explore possibilities and give attention to how and in what areas men can be approached to enlist support in the struggle for women's opportunities and rights; and cooperatives be established to break gender stereotypes through training and removal of boundaries that created occupational segregation between the genders.

OPSOMMING

As gevolg van politieke en sosiale veranderinge, neem die Suid-Afrikaanse vrou 'n totaal nuwe posisie in die werkplek in. Hierdie ondersoek fokus op die houdings van mans teenoor swart landelike vroue wat in die boonste vlakke van landelike ekonomiese ontwikkeling deelneem en hulle potensiaal moet vertoon in posisies wat voorheen en tradisioneel vir landelike mans gereserveer is. Die navorsing is in die Port St John mielie besproeiingsprojekte van Thandanani en Umngazi onderneem. Die studie ontwikkel en ondersoek die hipotese dat landelike mans negatiewe houdings teenoor die bevordering van landelike vroue het.

Die navorser benut die teorie van sosiale afsluiting, wat deur Max Weber ontwikkel is, waarvolgens die opwaartse mobiliteit van landelike vroue en die weerstand van mans daarteen beoordeel kan word. Sosiale afsluiting verwys na die verskynsel dat 'n hierargiese of gestratifiseerde sosiale sisteem ontwikkel waarin 'n elite groep poog om voordele te vermeerder deur toegang tot hulpbronne af te sluit tot 'n beperkte groep van bevoorregtes. In hierdie studie word dit aanvaar dat landelike mans 'n bo-na-onder proses van uitsluiting van geleenthede implementeer. Landelike vroue, daarenteen, mag poog om toegang tot geleenthede te verkry deur middel van 'n proses van usurpasie. Ten einde hierdie aangeleenthede te ondersoek, is 'n sosiale houdingsopname onder 45 manlike lede van die Thandanani en Umngazi mielieproduseringsprojekte onderneem. Vraelyste in Xhosa, gebaseer op gesommeerde rangordeskaal, is gebruik.

Die houdings van die landelike mans teenoor vroue is as gedifferensieerd bevind. Aan die eenkant is positiewe houdings aangetref waarin die bevordering van vroue ondersteun word, gelyke geleenthede aanvaar word, en die kreatiwiteit en hul vaardigheid van vroue gewaardeer word. Aan die anderkant is seksistiese houdings waargeneem waarvolgens vroue as minder bekwaam as mans en as inherent minderwaardig gesien word. Mans doen hulleself voor as 'n hulpbronryke binne-groep wat glo hulle is meerderwaardig in vergelyking tot vroue wat die minderwaardige buite-groep verteenwoordig en dus laer posisies van rykdom en mag beklee. Mans perpetueer hul bevoorregte posisie en gee dit aan na hul nageslag. Hierdie bevindings word ondersteun deur die literatuur wat dit stel dat mans samewerking tussen mans en vroue in besluitneming ondermyn (Colclough 1999), vroue as minderjarig beskou (Cross et al 1988; Lessing 1994), en hulle nie as relevant en waardig sien nie (Epstein 1970). Mans word gesien as mense wat begeer om hul voordelige posisie te beskerm en norme skep wat die verspreiding van hulpbronne tot hul eie voordeel reël (Nel 2003).

Ontwikkelingsprojekte wat die bevordering van vroue in die oog het, terwyl hulle as minderwaardig en onbevoeg beskou word, is dus gedoem tot mislukking. Dit word aanbeveel dat alle agentskappe gelyke geleenthede programme sal aanvaar en implementeer; feministe die moontlikhede sal eksploreer en aandag sal verleen aan hoe en in watter opsigte mans betrek kan word om ondersteuning te verleen aan vroue-geleenthede en – regte; en ko-operatiewe ondernemings gestig word wat geslagstereotipes sal verbreek deur opleiding en die verwydering van grense wat beroepsegregasie tussen geslagte geskep het.

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1 RESEARCH PROBLEM

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The advancement of African women in the rural economy has become increasingly important to government in South Africa. There are many reasons for this of which the following are urgent. There is the need to meet the growing skills shortage and increasing pressure on the government to comply with international commitments, such as the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action on the elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (Razavi 2003:113). There is also the need for a more gender equitable distribution of wealth (Chaudhuri 1992:461) and the moral need to correct the inequalities of job structures and programmes such as land reform.

Attempts to correct current discriminatory social arrangements are needed not only because of self-evident weaknesses of land policy formulation and implementation especially when measured against their ambitious objectives, but due to the difficulties in crafting serious alternatives (Razavi 2003: 114). These attempts are hampered also by African rural men's attitudes; and their stereotypes that prevent African rural women from developing their full potential. These stereotypes held by men serve as obstructions for rural women from excelling in roles or jobs previously and traditionally preserved for African men (Edgerton 2000: 129).

If African rural women have to advance and rise to higher positions, such as management supervision and technical work in projects, changes are imperative.

The attitudes of African rural men restrict the advancement of Africa's rural women. African rural women subject to the overarching authority of men in project affairs. African rural men tend to call their informal meetings to deliberate on special cases and they tend not to vote for African women members of the projects. At times they simply dishonour African women's instructions. Men largely own the land used for the projects as the inheritance of the land by son from the father.

The following are some of the reasons why African rural men obstruct African rural women's advancement into the positions traditionally theirs (African men):

- African rural men believe African women's brains are small and smooth, hence they could not think for themselves (Edgerton 2000: 77).
- African rural men want to enjoy high status as men while denying rural women similar favoured status (Van der Zanden 1993:193).
- African rural men resent the intrusion of African rural women into the masculine "world, a place where generations of men have taken great pride" (Hunter1964:161).

When dealing with the issue of inequality, it is important that one grasps the full extent of the problem. These would include any legal requirements. One is not, for instance, simply dealing with areas of formal cases, such as those required in terms of legal statutes. Informal inequality or discrimination tends to be more difficult to eradicate precisely because it is far less obvious, often proceeding through the behavior patterns of attitudes between people-men and women. This means it is very difficult to identify for a variety of reasons, it can be simply a part of the usual way of doing things, it can be subconscious, it can be based on a lack of understanding of cultural differences. For all of the above reasons (and many more), it is usually very difficult to get people to change their attitudes and behavior (Innes et al.1992: 128) .We are dealing with a complex and emotionally charged issue. We are yet forced to deal with it for equity's sake.

1.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO GENDER RELATIONS IN THE MAIZE PRODUCING PROJECTS AT PORT ST JOHNS AND ENVIRONMENT OF THE STUDY

The development of the gender structure in the maize producing projects at Port St Johns has a long history from the years the whites conquered the geographic area through the introduction of Glen Grey Act. This Act allowed the allocation of land to the individuals (Cross et al 1988:78). Secondary to this fact patrilineal customary land tenure set the initial terms under which conjugal contracts were negotiated. Women in return for access to land, had to provide enough food for household requirements, provided labour (often unpaid) on male maize production, and completed a large range of household tasks. It was

perhaps the access to the most basic productive assets, land, which was crucial in determining the position of women (Overfield 1998:53).

However, this does not tell the whole story; society has changed with the impositions of colonialism and capitalism. Both colonialism and capitalism represented a similar process for the traditional people of Port St Johns as in effect they were exposed to same process. “Traditional” is used here to refer to the indigenous social systems and cultural practices (Momsen et al 1987:156). Green mealies (maize) was pushed by the agents of colonial state (extension officers) as ‘male and modern’ which may have led to an ideological devaluation of subsistence production - women’s main task/ work and therefore it could be argued, a reduction in their bargaining power. It can also be argued that this ideological shift has led to increased individualism in land tenure patterns. The introduction of maize probably intensified land competition, partly because it was another land-based competing activity and is a land- hungry crop. Ownership has become more individualistic and less clan oriented but this change did not allow women increased access to land.

The key factor, which appears to determine people’s relative bargaining power within households, is their access to resources. Women clearly have much lower access to productive resources than men, with an association with weaker position, which is the result of two sets of factors (Colclough 1998:54). First there is the highly patriarchal tradition of the society, which severely restricts their access to the most basic asset of production - land. Secondly, introduced market exchange relations have devalued their worth in society with women unable to access the associated economic benefits.

In the 1940’s, there were reports about the extent of economic and ecological decline in the homelands including Transkei (Cross et al 1988: 83). The individual tenure, which was still viewed by the government of the day as a prerequisite for intensive agriculture, had made no progress in the reserves including the Port St Johns area. The following can be assumed as a reason for the failure:

Maize is seen as planted by, and belonging to men, traditionally, and women are considered to hold only secondary use rights (Colclough 1998:55).

A woman has rights of usufruct over land, but she has not rights of alienation over these things, for that rests with men, either individually or in groups. This failure coincides with the time when deciding men were employed outside the reserves – migration of men.

The difficulties experienced were followed by a period of establishment of development programmes for the survival of poor families in rural areas. Cross et al (1988:89) claim that an addition to the homeland development co-operative was considered. Related agricultural organizations such as Transkei Agricultural Co-operative were involved at an immediate grassroots level. Transkei Agricultural Co-operative was established. Cross et al (1998: 89) are of the opinion that TRACOR failed since it did not respond to the concerns of local people (farmers), and it adopted a top - down approach. Far from seeking participation and inputs from the grass roots, the agricultural co-operation is frequently accused of very aggravated forms of impositions, and of refusing to listen to the concerns of local people they supposedly served. Government agencies whose own main allegiance is to technical considerations seems to have great difficulty in appreciating the divided political character of rural communities today, and often seem to assume that any designated spokesman can command general obedience. This development paradigm is ten to twenty years behind the international debate, where questions of participation and local initiative figure very prominently.

The struggle for better life at Port St Johns seemed to stagnate during 1994. Producing farmers in particular found themselves in a hopeless economic situation. The outcome seems to be a concatenation of scattered show projects as an inspiration of government to assist farmers. Thandanani and Umngazi projects were established in Tombo Administrative Area at Port St Johns to become the ideal model to be imitated all over Port St Johns during subsequent years. The transfer of land ownership from male owners to project members was not made, however.

Because the number of participants in the project was limited by the small size of the local area, one may presume that these people knew each other very well. They share both joint and several liabilities to solve common and economic tasks (de Haan 2000:76). A pre-condition for the success of the maize projects was common economic interest (profit making).

The members' idea of a project based on open membership was to encourage anybody to join the projects regardless of either political, religious and gender conviction or economic ability. It was supplemented by democratic decision - making. Everybody was regarded as equal. People shared the economic responsibility of the project with everybody supplying start capital and bearing the responsibility of the projects' equipment. Thus people were jointly liable for risks of loss and were therefore, also forced to cooperate in spite of

political, religious, or social conflicts. The profit was paid back to the members in the form of cash allowances, according to the project's report 2004 (Cross et al 1998:73).

In this way the democratic, socio-economic elements were outweighed by the profit-making part of the whole business (profit making was the key objective). The members actually earned money. Rationalization together with use of new technologies increased the total profit. The Department of Agriculture financially assisted the project. With the joint activity of Agricultural technicians and the executive committee members of the projects, estimates were made possible of operating costs, necessary machinery and equipment and type of such machinery. The Department of Agriculture assisted the project financially. With their assistance the necessary installations for distribution of electric power was constructed.

1.3 **STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

Answers flow from questions, solutions from manner in which a problem is formulated. The fact that acute poverty and inequality persist despite enormous amounts of money being spent on agricultural developmental projects means that we should perhaps start to reformulate the problem is not necessarily the lack of funds. It could be a problem of men sending powerful yet in appropriate attitudinal messages about how farming business ought to be conducted.

What need to be investigated are questions such as the following:

- Are African rural men comfortable in working with African rural women?
- Does African rural men's attitudes towards women have effect on the African rural women's advancement?

1.4 **AIM STATEMENT**

The aim of the study is to investigate the attitudes of African men towards the advancement of rural women in the two irrigation maize production projects in the Port St Johns district. It tries to investigate the relationship between African men's attitude and African women's advancement.

1.5 **OBJECTIVES**

Key issues regarding the relatively low positions and status of many women in the job “hierarchy” relate to women’s tendency to work in a fairly small number of relatively low-paying female jobs (Woobard & Lee 2003: 30).

In trying ascertaining further the reasons for low levels of advancement, some researchers and writers in general have looked at factors like traditions, values and introduction of new regulations. Chaudhuri (1992: 366) argues that social skills and abilities are essential for the advancement of African rural women.

Optimum advancement level depends on the opportunities opened for men and women, which in turn depend on the personal and socio- psychological characteristics of African rural men farming population in the case of our study. These characteristics include risk taking, and men’s attitudes to women (Edgerton 2000: 131).

The objectives of the study could thus be summarized as:

- To measure attitudes displayed by rural men to the advancement of rural women.
- To investigate how the displayed attitudes to the advancement of rural women are expressed.
- To investigate the effect of the attitudes with regard rural women’s advancement.

1.6 **CRITICAL QUESTIONS**

- What attitudes are displayed by rural men towards the advancement of rural women?
- How are displayed attitudes towards the advancement of rural women expressed?
- With what effect regarding rural women’s advancement?

1.7 **HYPOTHESIS**

According to Mampofu (1988: 8) a hypothesis is a proposition that is stated in a testable form and that predicts a relationship between two and more variables. It implies if we

think that a relationship exists between variables (i.e. attitude and advancement), we first state it as a hypothesis.

Attitudes could be instrumental in limiting and enhancing general advancement. For example, if her husband feels threatened by her position, rejects her as equal partner and is not prepared to take over part of the family economic duties, this support will not enable the wife to make a success of her leadership position. The attitude will be a hurdle to the woman's progress. On the other hand, men's attitude is enhancing advancement, if, for example, women are successful in the professional field, and attribute a large degree of their ability to function professionally to the support of their husbands.

It is assumed that individuals arrange economic opportunities such as that they reinforce their advantageous positions and encourage others towards the achievement of positions of a similar type and in the process discourage others from such positions, the study sought to investigate rural men's attitude to the advancement of rural women.

The hypotheses can therefore, be summarized as follows:

- Rural men display negative attitudes towards the advancement of rural women
- Negative attitudes of rural men towards rural women advancement are expressed through exclusionary strategies to rural women.
- Negative attitudes displayed will limit rural women advancement.

1.8. **THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

The guiding principles for policy development of Department of Agriculture, Eastern Cape Province (1999-2000) are laid down below:

- Agriculture is an industry that is shifting from subsistence to commercial agriculture.
- Indigenous knowledge and technology already exist among the farming communities including animal traction and other low cost technologies.
- Youth and women constitute the majority of beneficiaries in the Provinces and should be targeted therefore.

It is possible that the above principles are practical echoes to the concern for women internationally. Gordon (1996:8) states that after decades of discrimination against women, many African states are enacting reforms that are designed to provide women with greater level, economic and political rights and opportunities. Helping the poor women is a growing concern for integrating women in development.

More women are entering labour force and rising with ranks. Women are entering and transforming other institutions as well, and the international developing community that influences development policy and planning in Africa (Gordon 1996: 180).

In the projects under the study, rural women are involved in different tasks. Their primary role has been in commercial production. As commercial oriented, African rural women are trained to be as economically productive as rural male farmers and more. They are involved in the supervisory tasks over small groups. They are partly involved in the decision-making processes. They are participating in the use of new technology like maize seedling planting and caring. They are starting to grow in knowledge as much as rural men.

In view of the fact that rural men will be increasingly affected as rural women move up into traditionally rural men positions, the study will be important for some reasons:

- The study will continue to provide a framework for the development of strategies essential for the long-term successful economic development in the area.
- It will serve as an introductory study for possible further studies towards possible development in the area of Port St Johns.
- Knowledge of the attitudes of the rural men can serve as input to the decisions about funding by different funding bodies.
- The study will serve as a powerful tool for the advancement of knowledge about attitudes of privileged rural men and will therefore enable planners to get more understanding of factors that might limit advancing programmes.
- The study tries to help concerned observers to gain adequate information on rural men's' attitude that may lead to unsuccessful proposals about women advancement.

1.9 CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPTS

For the purpose of this study, the following terms will be lexically defined to clarify ambiguities and to enhance common understanding.

GENDER

Gender means “the socially defined capacities and attributes assigned to persons on the basis of the alleged sexual characteristics” (Ogundipe - Leslie 1994:153). It is therefore a social not a biological category. Gender roles change from one place and culture to another and across time. According to Visser (1996:588) gender denotes not only sexual differences but also power and sexual hierarchy.

IRRIGATION

The term refers to the use of irrigation equipment enabling the farmer to prevent crop production from being limited by moisture stress at any time during the growing season (Soffe 1995:562).

PROJECT

A project, by definition is unique, one-time endeavors with specific objectives, which are to be accomplished within determined time, cost and resource constraints, requiring the mobilization of multi- disciplinary organizations, which last only for the duration of the project itself (Kotze 1993:39).

RURAL

Rural is opposed to urban. The significance of rurality is centered on the forcefulness of the idea and experience of rurality in social and political struggles over identity and environment rather than on a territorial definition of rural as a category of social space (Sachs 1990:4).

ATTITUDE

The origins of the concept of attitude can be traced back to the 1600s. According to Lord (1997:219) attitude was a technical term used to statuary and paintings to refer to a figure’s posture, stance, physical leaning, or orientation to space in 1710. In the year 1725 the word has slipped into a more general use to signify the way that a person’s physical posture conveyed internal intentions and emotions.

Attitude is a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with degree of favour or disfavour (Lord 1997:220). “Psychological tendency” is an internal state in a person and that lasts for at least a short time (Lord 1997:220). Evaluating can occur in any form, whether “overt” or “covert”, “cognitive”, “effective” or behavioural. An attitude is a hypothetical construct that psychologists invoke to explain an individual’s evaluative orientation toward a particular target. A hypothetical construct itself is not tangible. Three components can be deduced from the concept: cognitive, affective and behavioural. The attitude is an organized disposition to think, feel, perceive and behave toward a referent or cognitive object (Kerlinger 1988: 453). Attitude is used in the study as a variable that may affect women’s advancement by limiting it.

ADVANCEMENT

Advancement is to go ahead. Carter (2003: 141) stresses that advancement is to “get ahead” in the life of individuals as a result of opened opportunities.

Innes, Kentridge & Perold (1992:126) associate black advancement with black empowerment. Black economic empowerment encompasses a range of social groups and classes within the black community and therefore has different meanings for different factors of that community. For African professionals, it stresses African advancement programmes. For our study it means “a significant degree” of ownership and control of the factors of production and distribution.

The term ‘significant degree’ can, of course, itself have different meanings. But what is being suggested here by the arguments is that the process of involving all should start immediately. Advancement of African rural women can be promoted through affirmative action. In such a case, every effort should be made to get African rural men’s support for the process, or at least to discuss it with them. Affirmative action is a set of procedures aimed at pro-actively addressing past disadvantages experienced by sections or groups of the community (Innes et al. 1992:130). Advancement programmes for rural women are affirmative action programmes, which are designed to redress the past disadvantages of women.

Lessing (1994:10) agrees that advancement is generally an upward movement economically-occupationally. There are trends she uses to measure the progress of people:

- Increase in labour participation
- Increased contribution to high-level manpower.

For our study we are concerned with rural women's participation in an economic development project. This is the context in which we will measure women's developmental progress.

1.10 **PLAN OF THESIS**

The study consists of six chapters. Chapter one outlines the research problem. It formalises the testable hypotheses and highlights the significance of the study.

Chapter two reviews the literature on gender debates and briefly outlines the theoretical framework for studying rural men's attitudes to rural women's advancement.

Chapter three describes research design and methodology.

Chapter four basically presents the study findings. It includes description of the two projects of interest to the research.

Chapter five discusses the empirical study results and conclusions from the study.

Chapter six provides recommendations as drawn from the study findings.

CHAPTER 2

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

According to Creswell (1994: 20) the literature in a research study accomplishes several purposes:

It shares with the reader the results of other studies that are closely related to the study being reported.

- (i) It relates a study to the larger, ongoing dialogue in the literature about the topic, filling in gaps and extending prior studies.
- (ii) It provides a framework for establishing the importance of the study, as well as a benchmark for comparing the results of a study with other findings.

In this chapter, the researcher, having the above purposes in mind, will begin by looking at the discourses on gender. He will then turn to link the debates with the African society of Pondo people. Finally, he will discuss the theory of social closure as the universally applicable theory to guide in the study.

Despite an increased attention to women advancement, it is surprising that so little research has actually been conducted on the topic, from the perspectives of ordinary traditional man. Research in agricultural settings is particularly scarce; that is research, which has been undertaken tend to focus on the attitudes of management in companies and focus on indicators of “gender roles”. This study concentrates on the attitudes of Pondo people who are unusually conservative and tenacious of their old culture.

2.2 GENDER DEBATES

In the rural women’s lives, there are diversities, complexities and evident contradictions in which work, knowledge, and empowerment strategies grown directly from a place different from that of urban women (Sachs 1990:2). What is it about rural areas that provide distinct contexts for women and gender relations, and how are these contexts changing? High levels of poverty in the countryside are often ignored because of the dominance of urban place. Environmental degradation creates new sources of stress for rural people and places and agricultural intensification characterizes rural places. All of these factors set a stage for particular forms of social and gender relations in rural

localities. Rural women constitute yet another category of women that theorists have not thoroughly considered (Sachs 1990:3).

There is no universal rural woman. Ponds are unique. Women have lived and worked in rural areas as farmers, farmers' wives, agricultural workers etc. In many parts of the world, rural women work harder; suffer greater material deprivation, and have less access to income earning and employment opportunities than urban or rural men, or urban women.

Although women do the majority of work in agriculture at the global level, elder men, for the most part, still own the land, control women's labour, and make agricultural decisions in patriarchal social systems (Momsen and Townsend 1987:154).

Agriculture stands at the heart of rural production systems; rural life has been organized around agriculture for centuries. The sequential and seasonal nature of agricultural production influences the gender division of labour and the use of land and capital. Property relations based on kinship often deny women equally rights to the farm enterprise (Momsen et al 1987:154). The confluence of labour and property in the family farm holds different meanings and opportunities for men and women. Although ownership of family farms typically rests in male hands with women's access to farming or land coming primarily through marriage, women do not usually perceive their husband's ownership of the farm as oppressive or problematic (Sachs 1990:04).

2.2.1 **FACTORS AND BARRIERS IMPACTING ON RURAL WOMEN**

There are various factors and barriers that may have an impact on the upward movement of women in the working environment. The Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary describes a barrier as something "that prevents, hinders, controls progress or movement" (Hornby, Crowie & Gimson 1987: 64). The review below will deal with barrier factors: the ambiguity of male – female, inferiority of women's hard work, sexist ideologist, traditional institutions, gender roles managerial styles and myth about women.

The Ambiguity of Male – Female

Visser (1996) investigated and analyzed the internal structure of categories in accordance with the theory of categorisation. He devised a test of categorisation in order to obtain subjects judgments of prototypes with categories.

Given the strong influence of the cultural category system, what seems to be most striking in the test results is the prominence of social anxiety in the feminine category. On the basis of the results, the masculine group may be thought of in terms of reassurance of their power and superiority, and of wholeness and stability. Underlying the feminine, in the feminine, in the feminine matrix, are insecurity and instability originating from the pressure to conform to expectations and norms relating to personal and social appearance. To speak of masculine entails the pursuit of professional power and status. In aid of this are such characteristics as strong and adventurous, but also rational and analytical.

Gherardi (1994) has stressed more about the ambiguity of male - female opposition: Kristeva (1981) on the impossibility of a positive definition of female, to Irigaray (1974) on the other, to Simone de Beauvoir (1949) on the second sex. Female is constructed within a subordination relationship, which automatically devalues everything that can be attributed to the female. Feminine cannot be defined positively without devaluing it (Gherardi 1994: 597). If the male predominates, the position of subordination of the second sex is reinforced. The ambivalence of women's otherness maps out an ambiguous relationship.

Inferiority of women's hard work

Archer and Meer (1995) state that although women struggle and work hard at running homes and securing livelihoods, their work is seen as inferior to men's and is taken for granted. The attitude was clearly illustrated when men were remunerated for their fetching, carrying and other labour, while women were expected to do the cooking and serving for free. A woman's work is only recognised when it is not done. Many men see their wives as unemployed despite the fact that they spend many hours every day keeping their houses in order, cleaning, cooking, attending their children and the elderly.

When work of women earns money, the attitude to it changes and as the value increases the assets often become appropriated by men (Archer et al 1995). It implies that the control of resources changes hands as resources become scarce and hence more valuable.

As a result women's access to resources, including productive resources, and authority is mostly through men. Conventionally and traditionally men have almost exclusive rights in community decision-making. Along with this great reliance on men, and concomitant loss of access to natural resources, goes an erosion of women's status and worth in society and their marginalisation.

Edgerton (2000) maintains that male dominance and oppression have been widespread realities of life around the world, but they have varied greatly in form and intensity and are easily misconstrued by outside observers. Equality and dominance are complex matters, and relation between men and women are very often far more complicated and balanced, than they seem to outsiders. Most small scale societies around the world reserved hunting and dangerous activities such as war for men, but once again, this was not universal. Women also went to war in many parts of Micronesia. Even in societies where women did not take part in war, they sometimes took more risks than men. Despite taking all these risks, and gathering virtually all the food; women were denied the choicest food and were often beaten; things complained bitterly about.

Sexist ideologies and negative views affecting women.

Gordon (1996) holds the view that one of the factors conditioning women's responses to and perceptions of patriarchy are sexist ideologies and negative views of women that are held by men and women alike. Such ideas rationalize female inferiority and gender inequalities and thus impede the development of the feminist consciousness necessary for women to develop effective ways to meet their strategic gender needs. The ideologies have their material basis in the familial mode of production and are institutionalised in customary or traditional law. Notions of traditions and family values are readily appealed to in Africa to sanctify patriarchal gender relations and sexual division of labour that guarantees male control and superiority over women.

Africa's economic crisis is worsening (Gordon 1996). The crisis is in some cases provoking a conservative backlash against even minor efforts to promote greater gender equality. Sometimes, female groups are branded as "unattractive", frustrated women, and propaganda about "the crisis of social disintegration" taking place in society and women being "the backbone of the society is used to counter real efforts on behalf of

women”(Gordon 1996). Many people, including women, accept women’s subordination and are hostile to the idea of equality of men and women.

Traditional institutions disadvantaging women

Taylor (1984) asserts that ever since World War 11 when working women; refused to return to Kitchen captivity, women’s roles have been shifting markedly. Their interests, their activities; their very clothing are all in contrast to their grandmother’s day. Wedel (1966) remarks woman has awakened, meanwhile; to their talents and freedoms she never knew she had, and which would have been unthinkable a few generations ago. With all this she remains still burdened by customs within a male - dominated society and not least in that prejudice institution; the church; where some confusion persists as to whether woman may be ordained as clergy, whether they may assume roles of leadership, and whether they are certain about their own goals (Taylor 1984: 298)

Coetzee et al (2001: 164) claim that one of the areas of greatest difficulty facing both the state and gender activists is the relationship between customary law and the South African Constitution. African women married under customary law fall under the guardianship of their husbands and are considered legal minors. Coetzee et al (2001: 165) claim that many men and some women who believe that customary law is authentic indigenous law seek to hold on to patriarchal power through strong conservative organisations.

Lessing (1994) states that there are some aspects of traditional black culture that may hold women back:

- Black women’s traditional status as subordinate to men, regardless of age, education and marital status, was aggravated by the way black tradition was interpreted in South African law, and may affect their self- esteem and ability to own or run a business.
- Some black men hold traditional views on equal wages for women (seen as insult to the men), and are reluctant to accept instructions from or via women.

Gender roles and identities

Analysis of the literature at hand reveals that some of the most prevailing factors impacting on a woman are definitely discrimination, whether sexual discrimination or racial discrimination. The assumption might still exist that a patriarchal system is still in operation in most corporate institutions in South Africa. Naidoo (1997: 45) states, “Our history spells out clearly that throughout all societies the patriarchal ideology based on the superior position of men pervades all spheres of life”. Naidoo points out “a common belief that women are generally associated with certain so-called natural abilities and that they perform efficiently in those roles related to domesticity”.

Hanson (1987) claims gender roles are a component of culture, which influence both perceptions and actions directed towards others: individuals’ own values, attitudes, and self-perception. As such, gender roles can influence perceptions and treatment (e.g., hiring, training) by organizational authorities that can influence both the availability of opportunities; and individual’s own willingness and ability to fill particular types of positions.

Managerial style prevailing in most companies

Women’s lack of upward movement in a company is often referred to as the “glass ceiling effect” (Cousins 2003: 40). This is very difficult to define; yet it refers to a perceived barrier that typically blocks females from reaching upper management positions. Stereotypes held about women in general and about women managers in particular might still play a significant role in how women advance in the workplace. Negative stereotyping of women influences how other managers perceive their work, how their employees perceive them and how they are selected for further training (O’Leary et al 1992). If this is the case, a female within the workplace might be subjected to the male’s whims and rules. The question thus remains whether Apartheid of Sex (1995) as stated by Nel (2003) is still in general operation in South Africa.

In her study, Morrison, back in 1988, found that, although the number of women advancing in organizations were increasing and they were progressing at a faster rate than their predecessors did, it remained a fact that women did not move up the ladder as fast as

their male counterparts. Whether this is still the general case, given the background of vast changes in legislation in favour of women, can be researched (Morrison, 1988).

Giddens (1994:176) agrees that women have recently some in roads into occupations defined as 'men's job', but so far only to a limited degree less than 5 % of directorships in British companies are held by women; four out of five firms have no women directors at all. A similar story can be told in many domains of the economy.

Situational factors controlling women

A review of research on women in management indicated that situational factors, not the personality characteristics and behaviour of women, may account for their relative exclusion from managerial positions (Craig, 1996). Whether this is the case in South Africa, remains to be confirmed by means of thorough research.

James (1983) states that both black and white male prejudices were felt to limit a woman's job performance. Men were often perceived as uncooperative and not really believing in women's ability to do the job. The women's suggestions were sometimes ignored or were not implemented immediately. Some male managers did not approach the women with problems directly related to the latter's sphere of work.

Other male managers expected women to solve problems that were not their responsibility. These women felt they were the general dog's body and they did not get any thanks for what they did. Men perceived the women as a threat. Black men, especially the uneducated, were believed to be prejudiced against women (James, 1983).

Myths men have about women

Morrison (1988) states that the existence of myths about women, with specific reference to South African women, and the fact that they are seldom challenged have resulted in so called unconscious discrimination, which is far more dangerous to the woman who wants to advance than conscious discrimination. Some of these myths are:

- Women are the weaker sexes, based on man's sheer muscular strength to protect women. Apart from displaying a physical capacity for doing many things previously

thought impossible to do, women's inner strengths have been acknowledged. This enforces the sexual discrimination issue.

- Women are over- emotional. They are seen as to be governed by their emotions and therefore unable to deal with the pace and resultant tension of the business world. This implies that a woman does not always have the confidence to do the job.

There are also certain myths about women, which disempower women and hamper them in their upward movement in the work environment. These myths, as discussed by De Vries (1991), link broadly to sexual discrimination, multiple role conflict, decision-making difficulty and disapproval by significant other. The myth that De Vries's (1991) Identified are as followed:

1. Women are uncomfortable in a man's world, therefore they would not aspire to move up in the hierarchy or be part of the decision -making corps.
2. Women are the weaker sex.
3. Women work as a hobby or for luxuries
4. Women have high turnover and absenteeism rates
5. Women do not understand statistics
6. Career women lose their femininity
7. Women are short- term employees
8. The woman's place is in the house
9. Rearing of children is the responsibility of women.

De Vries (1991) continued this train of thought and identified two stereotyping myths that exist in affirming the idea that management is a "male occupation". These stereotypes are:

- Stereotype 1: Men are intellectually superior to women. According to De Vries (1991: 57) the belief exists "wrongly that men are not only more intelligent but also more competent than women. Yet as women are allowed into more male dominated careers like medicine and engineering they are managing on their own."
- Stereotype 2: Men are inherently more assertive than women. "Men because of the way they have been brought up as being dominant, leaders and superior men act more assertively than women. However, women can also be leaders and be assertive as the differences are not biological but rather related to cultural values which instil certain behavioural patterns" (De Vries, 1991).

Hanson (1987) claims, in her Euro American studies, that native males are highly represented in manual labour work and relatively underrepresented, compared to all but Euro American males, in service occupations. Out of cultural norms and historical myths, many native males may disdain clerical and service types of work and see physical or even dangerous work as more appropriate (Oppelt, 1984). Outsiders may also stereotype native males more than females as more physical than mental, as inclined toward “gaining coups” by performing risky acts, and as less able to maintain the kind of presence and control needed for managerial and services positions.

Human and Allie (1989) investigated the attitudes of white English speaking managers to the upward mobility of black women and contrasted it to prior research regarding the advancement of black women. They found that although the white managers accepted the principle of equal opportunity, agreed that women can acquire managerial skills, and believed that women’s contributions should be valued, some of the males questioned the ability of women to compete on equal terms with men. Approximately a third of the male managers held one or more of the following beliefs: women are less objective, less aggressive, less capable of contributing to organizational goals, less ambitious, less self – confident and less capable of mechanical skills than their male counterparts.

Career segregation

According to Bingham (1986), men were seen as the major stumbling block to the progress of women especially in the role of senior executive. Women felt these men were prejudiced and did not recognize their worth or accept them as people, firstly, and secondly as a woman. Women had to work harder to prove themselves, whereas men in a similar position were promoted naturally. It may well be that this prejudice is a major source contributing to the lack of advancement of women.

Nel (2003) is of the opinion that management in many cases believes that men and women’s performance differ in the workplace. Therefore employers may be inclined to favour one group above the other. Jobs needing dexterity of hand will be given to women, whilst those needing physical strength will be passed on to men. Secondly, if the employer expects that women would leave employment rather than the males, for example raise children, he or she will rather engage them in their own work where little or no on the job

– training will be needed, or compel them to pay for their own training. Witness of such career segregation can be found in sex- prejudiced job descriptions in the mass media, in spite of the efforts to make such connections to gender (Van Rensburg 1991).

Positional power

Nel (2003) says numerous researchers have found that gender stratification exists in most organizations regarding positions occupied and control exercised. Traditional stereotypical views of power and leadership revealed power to be practically synonymous with maleness. Leadership has also been associated with a particular kind of power: to give orders and to be obeyed. And this type of power has stereotypically been associated with men.

Nel (2003) claims new managerial theories are beginning to emphasize the existence of organizational ‘gender pyramids’ where a small number of males dominate the apex and a large number of women constitute the base. In the structure of a typical office building in a “typical” corporation, workers tend to fall into four categories. There are managers (almost entirely male), clerical staff (almost entirely female), technical staff (mixed sex with better paying positions dominated by males) and janitorial staff (dominated by minorities of women.) Patriarchal relations in the workplace, the state, and the domestic sphere are all central to the determination of women’s position. Patriarchal ideology is a male desire to protect/ preserves their position. Over the years, male high-flyers in the male- dominated society- encouraged by a patriarchal and politically oppressive culture- have created a myriad of informal systems and traditions that are simply not women-friendly. Men have a desire to protect their advantaged position and have the ability to do so by establishing rules to distribute resources in their favour. According to Nel (2003), Kritzinger’s research shows that women’s access to top managerial positions is constrained and maintained by:

- Non-admittance to certain forms of training and apprenticeships.
- Restriction of percentage of women in certain occupations.

This perspective is shared by other researchers (Nel 2003) who maintain that the work force is becoming more segregated by sex with women’s jobs being in the lower levels of

status. Men occupy the key positions in the organization of work, and in every country, in virtually every occupation, in almost every company, women continue to be underrepresented in management in proportion to their representation in the workforce. There is both a wage gap and a gender gap in the upper echelons management. Women may make it to upper management but rarely to the top level, which is still an almost all male club. The people who are in authority promote after their own image i.e. men promote men, thus perpetuating the glass ceiling limiting women's advancement in business occupations. The reason why senior management remains overwhelmingly male is because senior management continues to rely on homosociality as inherent to managerial work.

Husband's attitudes towards women

Weil (1961) found that the husband's attitudes towards a woman's working, was the best single predictor of the wife's labour force participation. His attitude decided whether the wife would work or not, or whether she intended to work in the future. Although less important, the attitudes of children also count. Glen and Walter (1966) argued that the attitudes of both husband and children influenced the woman's feelings about herself. For her to value herself, she must feel that others, especially those closest to her, value her efforts.

Obviously, such attitudes and support reveal something about the husband's own pattern of motivation. Horning and McCullough (1981) investigated the association between women's educational levels and the husbands' ambitions. They found that men, who had ambitions to advance their jobs, found their marriages more satisfying when their wives, too, had completed many years of training. However, it appeared as if a husband derived more benefits from his wife's training than from her occupation. According to Horning and McCullough (1981), men found marriage to an "overeducated" wife stressful- that is, when the wife's education was higher than her husband's.

Eventually it is, however, not a matter of an original pattern of motivation only but also of attitudes changing as a result of experiences: having a working wife seems to change some of a husband's attitudes towards women's working. Hoffman and Nye (1974) found husbands of working wives to be less traditional than husbands of unemployed women. Apparently men become more aware of sex biases when they are directly affected by the consequences of these biases, e.g. when their own earn less than their male equals.

According to Kellerman (1983), strategies for shattering the artificial glass ceiling that constraints women's advancement to senior management posts include:

- Women only training
- Networking
- Mentoring protégés
- Assessment
- Government initiatives

On the subject of networking as means of power, Nel (2003) defines networking as “sharing information, ideas, resources and opportunities” and maintain that women have been socialized to share or network naturally. Men don't network as well but rather bond together in ways, which make them feel more powerful. One way of achieving this is by excluding women. Thus historically women have been excluded from many male dominated organizations – from the boardroom to the golf course. Women experience exclusion, segregation and ultimately control - women lack access to informal networks and therefore information and power, they are excluded from old boys networking” and experience difficulty obtaining mentors; furthermore, they are often appointed as tokens. Even when women do hold managerial positions in organizations, their power is often reduced by their exclusion from informal relationships with powerful male peers.

Women's ideas to their low hierarchy

Taylor et al (2001) accept there is definitely a lack of female leaders in education who may serve as positive role models for girls. The ironic paradox is that, although women dominate the teaching profession, men dominate the education hierarchy. In South Africa the rates of male to female in education is approximately 70% male to 30% female.

The different factors that keep women out of managerial position can broadly be classified into two main groups, i.e. social factors and internal factors (Lessing, 1994). These two groups of factors cannot be separated, because what is often regarded as an internal handicap (for example, the lack of self-confidence among women may in fact sometimes be the outcome of discriminatory practices against girls and women). This artificial division is however, meaningful as it highlights something not often given any attention in

the literature, namely the fact that women cannot purely and simply point a finger at others (men, the system). Part of the fault for the lack of women in leadership positions lies with women themselves. A significant number of women do not feel up to coping with the greater responsibility and longer working hours that may be required for leadership.

It is interesting that discrimination is aimed particularly at the competent woman, who may pose a threat to both incompetent men and women. Research has shown that a lack of the necessary experience for managerial posts in education and the existing discrimination against women in education are the two most important factors that women experience as obstacles.

A modern woman with children can never quite escape the demands on her time and energy made by her double role. Apart from whatever innovative strategies she may use, the double role will always confront the married woman in a leadership position with conflicting demands and expectations. Family and household responsibilities place different limitations on her, the main one probably being the mistaken notion that family obligations will stop a woman from top performance as a leader. Although marriage and a sound family life are regarded as an advantage when considering men for promotion, it often is not considered an advantage but rather a hindrance when women apply for promotion.

As indicated above, women are therefore in a variety of ways conditioned by society to believe that leadership positions are not intended for them. Women however also often contribute to their absence in managerial posts. Women are often their own worst enemies in the sense that they have a highly negative self – image and do not believe in their own abilities. In addition, and because of their social conditioning, women in education are not expected to give orders or initiate work, but only to carry out orders. This passive disposition is, however, indefensible as effect and even at times better than the authoritarian style mostly preferred by men. Women must relinquish the ideas that they are “inferior” because they are not (like) men. It is not necessary for women to take a back seat when it comes to leadership.

The fact that at present there are few female role models for female teachers, who would like to reach the top of the ladder, does not mean that it should be merely assumed that leadership positions in education are not meant for them. Women should rather be made

aware of the extent to which arbitrary internal and external social pressures are defeating their upward mobility.

Property ownership biased against women

Giddens (1994:230) claims that the material position of most women turned to reflect that of their husbands or fathers. Female status certainly carries with it many disadvantages compared with that of males in various areas of social life including employment opportunities and property ownership. However, these inequalities associated with sex differences are not usefully thought of as components of stratification. This is because for the great majority of women the allocation of social and economic rewards is determined primarily by their families and, in particular, that of the male head. Although by virtue of their sex, their claims over resources are determined more commonly by that of their fathers or husbands.

Walker (1995) conducted a research survey investigating the attitude of both men and women to the traditional decision-making on property ownership. The survey was conducted in the Cornfields community of Kwa-Zulu Natal, in which the following question was asked: who should decide on how a deceased man's property should be allocated? Most men said the deceased should make the decision, through a will, while most women said the widow should decide. Most men responded that women should not be allowed to own the land but most women said that they should be allowed to own land. But men were divided; a significant body did think women should have these rights of decision – making and property ownership. It means that not everyone had the same idea of how property should be dealt with. Walker (1995: 58) concludes that “what was and what ought to be are not firmly fixed, unquestioned reference points in rural communities today.”

The reviewed material has shown us that rural women either hold inferior positions of the socio- economic ladder or move up to the ladder too slowly as compared to their counterparts. The next section will deal with government and women movements as intervening to the situation of inequality.

2.2.2. PATRIARCHAL IMPERATIVE TO WOMEN'S SITUATION

Cooper (1989) maintains that the nature and extent of participation in cash economy in agricultural sector varies not only by class but by gender also. It is therefore important that patriarchal forces in agriculture, characteristics of African agricultural households and problematic agricultural household models, projects and policy are discussed below.

Patriarchal and capitalist forces in agriculture

The familial mode of production has allowed men to control the land and most of the benefits, reducing women to unpaid or unpaid family labour (Gordon 1996: 149). Women's primary agricultural role has been in subsistence food production. The underdeveloped capitalist economy has heretofore strongly attempted to exploit the sexual division of labour and make it more productive.

Again Gordon argues that without addressing patriarchal dominance over women and other gender biases, women may not benefit from strategies to improve, diversify or commercialize agricultural production (Gordon 1996:150). If, for instance, title to land, access to credit and inputs, and decision remain in the hands of male household heads, women will have little control over their own labour, nor are they likely to be fairly compensated. An example of this is the Isoya Rural Development Project in Oyo State, Nigeria, discussed by (Osei - Hwedie 1989:35). The project started to help men farm yellow maize as a cash crop sold through the men's cooperative. Women grew white maize as a food crop. Women's land was largely taken over for men's crop within a year. The men gained income while the women lost income. The men ignored women's interests and they controlled the land.

Gordon (1996:151) claims that the patriarchal family structure can even undermine efforts to get land to women, as shown in Carney's study (1988) of the Gambia's irrigated rice plot project. The project was designed to get land to women in order to increase rice production, traditionally a women's crop. Male heads of households managed to get control of the land by declaring it compound land, over which they could exert authority. The entire project was undermined.

It is moreover sexist biases, not capitalist market forces, that are primarily responsible for women's disadvantages in commercial agriculture (Gordon 1996: 151). Agribusiness and other agricultural projects can benefit women by providing opportunities for income and employment; including processing packaging, and marketing of agricultural commodities. New labour- intensive crops can also generate jobs and income for women.

Cooper (1989) says that technical change may lead to induced mechanisation which may have different effects on men and women. It also affects non-human endowments. For example, the introduction of irrigated rice production in the Gambia led to the appropriation of common land by men. This led to an increase in the difference between male and female welfare levels, with women becoming increasingly economically dependent upon men (Cooper 1989: 65).

Basic characteristics of African agricultural households

The production of food is, in fact, the major enterprise of nearly all rural women. In some instances men also participate heavily, in others minimally or not at all. The section presents an outline of basic characteristics of African smallholder farming systems in which men and women follow and undertake an important number of separate agricultural and non-agricultural enterprises with each economically active adult managing the investment, labour; output and income from his or her enterprises on an individual basis.

In the majority of cases, men have ultimate control over the household's basic productive resource - land (Gordon; 1996, Visvanathan et al; 1997, Giddens 1994). In patrilineal inheritance systems women, gain access to their ex- husband's land; and widows often lose major portion of their deceased husband's land to his patrikin. In matrilineal systems; both men and women inherit land from their matrikin. In either system, women may be subject to arbitrary withdrawal of certain rights; especially with respect to land they allocate to market - oriented enterprises from which their husbands receive little or no monetary returns.

Most 'household income' is not pooled with the obvious exception of food produced for family consumption (Visvanathan et al 1997:135). Husbands and wives keep separate budgets, male separate investments in their individual enterprises; and have gender-specific as well as joint responsibilities for different categories of family expenditures. Both men and women are individually responsible for their personal needs and for

investment in their own productive enterprises. For example; in general, men are responsible for housing the family and women for feeding it.

Male farmers also derive income from a wide range of non-agricultural enterprises and from casual or part-time wage labour. Rural women's opportunities to engage in wage labour and non - agricultural enterprises are far more limited; most, like food processing, beer brewing and small - scale, trade, are directly related to the food sector. Wives access to their husband's income is more often realized through explicit and implicit market relations than through simple intra-household transfers. Wives' economic opportunities are nonetheless highly conditioned by the state of the male economy.

Problematic agricultural household models, projects and policy

Koopman (in Visvanathan 1997: 136) argues that most smallholder food projects are based on an implicit model of the household that assumes that all economically active members operate as a single production and consumption.

According to Visvanathan (1997:136) most rural households are not characterised by joint enterprise but by a series of individual enterprise in which the enterprise "owner" manages the production process and controls the ultimate product or output. While jointly farmed household or compound fields exist in many household production systems; compound heads or male household normally controls their output. The control further sustains separate budget.

Koopman (in Visvanathan 1997:137) argues that the prevalence of separate budgets rather than income pooling between spouses shows that preferences as to what to produce, sell and consume differ. Guyer (in Visvanathan 1997: 141) claims that "women and men have different spending preferences, not necessarily because they hold different values, but because they are in structurally different situations" sums up the importance of recognizing the structural differences between men's and women's economies within African households and of incorporating them into the formal models used to analyse policies and projects.

Osei-Hwedie et al (1989: 153) report that under pooling system both husband and wife have responsibility for managing the bank account and for withdrawals from it. Each has access to and control over each other's earnings, although the extent of control may be

shaped by the relative status of the sexes within marriage and the patterns of authority within the home. Even in pooling households husband may have more power than his wife in terms of major financial allocations. The system gives wives more satisfaction as partners since they are involved in all cash transactions in traditional societies. Different spending preferences between men's and women's enterprises are linked to food security, resulting to women's enterprises and incomes being more explicitly orientated towards the maintenance of household food security than are men's.

Visvanathan et al (1997:139) claim that African administrators and policy makers tend to accept the approach of economically unitary household; because it encourages their male constituents desire to reinforce male control over household resource; in general and women's labour in particular. Patriarchal dominance over women's economic opportunities is so deeply- rooted that it is widely regarded as either "natural" or as fully sanctioned by 'customs'. It is not uncommon for men in positions of political or administrative power to suggest that a married woman should not have access to land, credit or other resources on her account because it would undermine her husband's position as head of the family.

Gordon (1996: 155) maintains that access to credit is essential for farmers or business entrepreneurs to start, expand, or improve the productivity of their enterprises. Because women, mostly, do not own land to offer as collateral, women find it difficult or impossible to obtain credit. Visvanathan et al (1997:138) say that credit associations and export – crop marketing cum credit co-operatives often restrict their membership to household heads, thereby excluding all married and a majority of unmarried women. Men, at the same time are privileged. Male privilege is assumed to make most men unlikely to ally themselves to the cause of women's advancement without powerful persuasion (Young 1992:52).

2.2.3 **THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE: DISCOURSE**

Coetzee et al (2001: 155) claim that there is no single feminist theory of development. Some approaches seek to insert women into already existing models of development. Others blame and criticize the approach, saying it is simply fitting women into dominant male- centered models (Karl 1995:29). The argument points to the fact that for women to

benefit, power relations in the development process need to be critically examined (Overfield 1998:53).

Any array of theoretical perspectives has been generated by the multidisciplinary nature of the sub field of women and development. Three distinct theoretical paths in the field can be identified: Women in Development (WID), Women and Development (WAD) and Gender and Development (GAD) (Visvanathan et al 1997: 17). In order to understand the elements that distinguish the frameworks, their origins, achievements and criticism will be examined below.

Women in development approach (WID)

By the mid 1970s and the International year of Women (1975), a new policy to integrate women in development gained a footing among development agencies (Visvanathan et al 1997:21). Coetzee et al (2001: 158) claim that WID followed in the foot steps of modernization theory and applied its thinking to women. The theory held that economic growth, based on North American model, was what third world countries needed for development. Development, like growth would trickle down to the majority of people in the society over a period of time. According to Visvanathan et al (1997:21), the assumption of WID was that the neglect of women could be addressed and their situation improved by including them in development projects and programmes. The general assembly included in the international development strategy for the second development decade a phrase, which stated the importance of encouraging “ full integration of women in the total development effort”. The Percy Amendment after Senator Charles Percy is an amendment that called or required that the US agency for International Development administer its programme so to give particular attention to their programmes, projects, and activities which tend to integrate women into the national economies of foreign countries, thus improving their status and assisting the total development effort (Visvanathan et al 1997: 35).

Gordon (1996:158) states that WID’s emphasis was on fighting poverty, with a focus on women’s productive roles as necessary to this effort. There are many strands of women’s rights bound up in the term Women in Development. The new concept of ensuring women a fair stake in economic development carried with it the earlier ideas of legal equality, education, employment and empowerment (Visvanathan et al 1997:36). Coetzee et al

(2001: 159) state that WID strategies have tended to centre on gender equality and efficiency. The approach assumes that the third world needs a smaller population in order to attain democracy and modernization. WID, therefore, sees birth control programmes as means to population control.

Other programmes that are seen as important are those encouraging women to undertake waged work to fight poverty. The WID approach to the IMF structural adjustment programmes of the 1980's and 1990s supported the policy of cutting government spending (Coetzee et al 2001:159).

WID approach's achievements are most important at the international level. Its activities have been largely responsible for the recognition of women's issues by the United Nation's (UN) and other international agencies. Four UN Conferences on Women have been brought about by their activisms to facilitate discussion of Women's involvement in development. Conferences enable government representatives and women from civil society to identify obstacles to women's participation in the development process and devise strategies for achieving women's equality in society (Visvanathan et al 1997: 27).

The WID approach has been criticised for its uncritical attitude to modernisation theory (Coetzee et al 2001: 160). It does not question the sources of women's oppression and the significance of power relation in shaping gendered hierarchies. Notwithstanding the achievement of WID activists, many of the attempts to integrate women in development resulted in their marginalization. Barrow (1998: 260) further claims WID projects tend to target women as special groups and to give them special tasks as a result increases their heavy load. It ignores the key concern women have, namely, household food security. Gordon (1996:159) claims that the danger of the current WID focus is, however, that, with cuts in government spending on health, education, and food subsidies and growing pressures on households to earn income, the burden will be shifted to already overworked women. Visvanathan et al (1997:50) further notice that much of the literature on third world countries has focused on the question of population control without directly addressing the problem of reproductive freedom for women or the possible contradictions between class and gender. The criticisms led to the formation of Women and Development approach.

New visions of development

Along with the emergence of WID approaches, women began to develop new visions and also strategies with the view to build a more people centered development model. A new framework for analysis began to emerge and explore a basis on which to challenge the mainstream development and planning.

In 1982, the Association of African Woman for Research and Development (AAWORD) issued the Dakar declaration on Another Development with Women (Coetzee et al 2001:165). Its focus is on structural transformation. Nationally, models of development have to be based on the principle of self-reliance and the building of democratic institutions and practices. The model should ensure general participation in definition and actual provision of basic needs of all citizens, regardless of race, gender, age or creed.

The Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) network of Third World researchers and activists challenged the beliefs that women's main problem in the third World has been insufficient participation in an otherwise benevolent process of growth and development and that increasing women's participation and improving their shares in resources, land, employment and income relative to men are both necessary and sufficient to effect dramatic changes in their economic and social positions. DAWN affirmed the need for transformation of society, for all people to have opportunities to develop and for women's value and perspectives to have a central place in determining kind of world people live in. These should be done both in long and short- term basis.

Mainstreaming women

Karl (1995: 51) claims the neglect and marginalization of women in development programmes, projects, and units led development agencies to rethink women in development approaches in the 1980's and develop new arguments stressing the need to mainstream women, that is, to bring women from margins into the centre of the main development programmes and institutions that deal with the economy. Some women raised concerns about the mainstream results. There were fears that by jumping into the mainstream women would run the risk of drawing in a male - denominated and male - defined development agenda. Mainstreaming must mean both increasing and expanding women's participation in development programmes and ensuring that women's

perspectives, needs and concerns constitute the basis of the redefinition of development itself.

Women and development (WAD)

Coetzee et al (2001:160) claim that in the late 1970s feminist theories of development reacted to the WID approach and drew on the work of underdevelopment or dependency theory. The theory assumes that the failure of third world development was a result of the historical relations between ex-colonies and the imperial relations. It argues that development strategies had served to deepen and strengthen unequal power relations and fostered dependency on ex- colonial powers. Feminist activists should recognise the differential positions of women and men in the development process (Monsen et al 1987:53).

WAD approach added a new dimension to the feminist theorising on development (Coetzee et al 2001:160). It led to research into waged and unpaid labour and produced critiques of women in the global economy. Trade unions were formed as a result of the exposure of women's exploitation by multinationals. WAD looks at the nature of integration of women in development, which sustains existing international structures of inequality. WAD's approach was criticized like WID as it was limited in scope. Its activities failed to recognise the significance of efforts to attain legal protection for women. The narrow focus on working class women precluded the possibilities of coalitions across class lines, excluded those not in formal employments, and limited the political field to work related activity (Coetzee et al 2001: 160). WAD failed to analyse the relationship between patriarchy, differing models of production and women's subordinate and oppression. The problem with GAD approach is that it is like WID as it does not in itself question the prevailing development model. Its potential to do so also depends on how it is interpreted and applied. It does not, however, mean that all researchers do not see GAD as having the potential to bring in women's visions of development.

Gender and development (GAD)

Gender and Development (GAD) emerged in the 1980s and presents the confluence of diverse feminist perspectives (Visvanathan et al 1997: 23). GAD draws its heritage from

feminist activism in the women's movement as well as from a schism in the ranks of Marxist feminists, many of whom challenged the notion that class analysis alone could explain women's oppression. The socialist feminists who dominate this track have incorporated lessons learned from WID failures and WAD limitations.

Gordon (1996: 159) argues that WID is now being called "GAD" to emphasize how gender is constructed by the ways both men and women participate in production. In focus GAD differs from both WID and WAD. According to Young (1992: 13), GAD focuses not just on women but also on the social relations between men and women, in the workplace as well as in other settings. Gender relations rather than GAD uses "women" as a category of analysis and men is viewed as potential supporters of women (Visvanathan et al 1997:23).

According to Visvanathan et al (1997:23) the GAD model adopts holistic approach and treats development as a complex process influenced by economic, political and social organisation forces in order to understand the shaping of particular aspect of society. Young (1992: 15) further explains the point saying GAD focus on the "fit" between family, household or the domestic life and the organisation of both political and economic spheres. Unlike WID, GAD puts equal emphasis on the necessary role of the state in promoting women's emancipation and local communities to provide support for women. The organisation of women by themselves is seen to be very significant by GAD. It further assumes that the first step in women's advancement is to provide the conditions for men and women to surmount poverty.

Visvanathan et al (1997: 135) agree that nearly all African farming systems men alone control export crop production and the resulting income. Men may also normally control the production of the most lucrative food, crops grown for market sales. Men's social seniority in household and lineage hierarchies and their ultimate control over land permit male household heads to mobilise considerable amounts of women's and male dependants' labour for the cultivation and processing of male crops. Men nonetheless retain ultimate control over the monetary proceeds, deciding how much to spend on dependent's school fees, gifts to wives, other household needs and personal expenditures.

Mainstreaming and gender planning strategies

Strategies have been developed to bring women into mainstreaming and to make gender a central focus of development programmes. The strategies are complementary and can be applied in mutually interactive combinations. The strategies include:

- Gender awareness and analysis training;
- Building a critical mass of women inside development organisations;
- Strengthening women's units, groups, and organisations to ensure gender awareness.

The combination of strategies can enable women to participate in the mainstreaming and to empower themselves to determine the nature and goals of their participation. Openness to collaboration, dialogue and co-ordination are the keys to success.

The capacity of women organisations and units has been strengthened in many places to enable them to pressure governments and development agencies to mainstream women. The units assumed a major part of responsibility for rising gender awareness, carrying out gender training and mentoring the implementation of mainstreaming throughout the institution.

Within development organizations and the United Nations agencies, gender training aims to provide planners with awareness of women's and men's interrelated and changing reproductive and productive roles. It equips planners with tools designed to ensure that women are fully part of their programmes and projects. Gender analysis stresses the efficiency aspect of integrating women in development: production will be more efficient and projects will have a greater chance of succeeding if women are included (Gordon 1996:20). The efficiency approach to gender training is less threatening to male planners as it does not bring up questions of equity or empowerment. Gender training also helps planners to identify the gender roles in a given place. Various forms of gender analysis training are also in extensive use by governmental and non- governmental organisations or agencies. Much of the analysis is based on case studies and project document development model, and uses a top - down approach. Some methods of gender training, while focuses on the different but interrelated roles of men and women, also examine questions of equity and empowerment. The gender planning methodology developed by Moser, (Walker

1995) for example, looks at both the practical and the strategic gender needs of women in its analysis of development projects and programmes.

Gender awareness on the other hand, is generally designed to build a wider consciousness of the inequalities and inequities in the relationships of men and women and of the structural and institutional discrimination that contributes to inequality, with the aim of changing behaviour and attitudes. Voluntary organisations and non-governmental organisations concern with the issues of justice and discrimination are more open to this type of gender training (Karl 1995: 37). The training team includes men must change their attitudes accept their responsibilities and work together with women to solve society's problems.

Empowerment approaches

In the 1990s the concept of empowerment of women as a goal of development projects and programmes has gained acceptance. The concept, again, refers mainly to entrepreneurial self-reliance. The same concept, on the other hand, can also mean people's participation in the policy making and planning process. There are other approaches commonly used by developed agencies: empowerment through economic interventions to expand and increase women's economic status through employment, income generation and access to credit; and empowerment through integrated rural development programmes. These approaches have been contrasted with that more generally used by women's organisations and other NGOs: empowerment through awareness building, capacity building and greater participation in politics.

At the grassroots

The evolution in policy on women and development reflects and is in turn reflected by what is happening at the grassroots. Many development agencies are gearing their programmes and projects to the empowerment of women through capacity building and through strengthening both women's organisations and women's participation in rural associations. Women's participation in grassroots organisations is increasingly recognised as crucial to their empowerment and as a way for them to help shape development policies. According to Karl (1995:30) non-governmental organisations have been identified as a key actor in empowering women, and in ensuring that an accurate

knowledge of their true situations, of their actual potential roles and of obstacles to their economic participation, are reflected in the designs of economic policies.

2.2.4 THE STATE AND WOMEN'S FREEDOM IN SOUTH AFRICA

According to Coetzee et al (2001:162) the post – 1994 state has developed a strong legislative framework and a set of tools for the purpose of attaining gender equality. The Constitution (Act 108 of 1996), the Bill of Rights, and the law, provide a powerful framework for the effective equality set out in the Women's Charter. "Non - sexism" alongside non - racism is enshrined in the Constitution (Chapter 1.1 (b), Act 108 of 1996) and the Bill of Rights makes provision for equality before the law and for equal protection and benefit from the law.

South African Constitution stresses equal opportunity to all African citizens. Article 9 of the Constitution of South Africa, 1996 states that to "promote attainment of equality, legislative and other measures designed to protect or advance persons, disadvantaged by unfair discrimination may be taken." The clause reinforces social justice, human rights and the status of full citizenship for women. Coetzee et al (2001:162) states that the constitution outlaws discrimination on the grounds of sex, gender, age, culture, language, disability, marital status, religion, social origin, belief and social origin. Nel (2003) claims that the clause "unless it can be established that the discrimination is fair," provides for positive discrimination as a means of overcoming previous structural discrimination.

Legal forms related to sexual violence, family and marriage have been guided by the gender sensitive principles set out in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights (Coetzee et al 2001: 164). The Domestic Violence Act (1999) is groundbreaking in its scope, including people married under customary and civil law, whether they are living together or not, cohabitant, same sex relationships, dating, and other romantically linked couples and family members.

The Labour Relations Act (1995) protects workers against any form of unfair discrimination including discrimination on the grounds of sex and extends these provisions to farm and domestic workers. Again the General Law Fourth Amendment (Act 132 of 1993) repealed discriminatory legislation that had previously allowed dismissal of female employees on marriage, prohibited women working night shift or performing "dangerous"

jobs, and discriminated against women applying for citizenship. The Basic Conditions of Employment Act (1997) expands protection to farm and domestic workers. It protects pregnant, lactating and disabled women from dismissal and provides for new maternity and family provisions.

In KwaZulu – Natal, African marriage was recognised under the National Civil Code rather than the Black Administration Act (Coetzee 2001: 165). These racially exclusive laws meant that African marriages were recognised under Civil laws but were subject to the Customary Law constructed by colonial officials. The recently passed recognition of Customary Marriage Act (1999) corrects this racial bias and brings African marriage under the general civil law.

Furthermore, the legislation provides that when deciding an appointment, promotion and transfer of persons in the civil service, only the qualifications, level of training, merit, skill, efficiency and suitability of the applicant should be taken into account. The constitution provides that a public service, which is broadly representative of the South African community, be created. The Public Service Commission has the power to give directions to state departments in order to promote this constitutional objective (Vittori, 1998:18).

In addition, the challenge for equal opportunities is to create conducive conditions for women to:

- Overcome the barriers that block access to the wide spectrum of occupations within the Public Service and
- Overcome the barriers that impede their upward mobility in the employment hierarchy for all women irrespective of rank.

Therefore, restricting women from men positions is to deny them equal opportunities, treatment and experience in farming in the context of the study. Until these restrictions are removed crop - producing women cannot experience the full opportunities offered in producing.

Exclusion of women from full participation in crop and food production not only violates their constitutional rights, but also denies their fundamental right to engage and excel in

their chosen work positions. To exclude women from producing roles hinders their abilities to gain experience needed for promotions within agricultural projects. This curtails their upward mobility to obtain experience for high-level positions. Adults, women in particular, should be free to choose their own future, and that includes the freedom to select a course of action, which risks injury or death. To deny women this opportunity is to make them second-class citizens.

2.2.5 GENDER AND LEGAL REFORM FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

International legal reform is often associated with the WID approach. A gender sensitive framework has been critical for the implementation of GAD approach in South African gender politics. According to Coetzee et al (2001:165) two major international monitoring tools on gender equity have helped gender activists within and outside of the South African government lobby for developing a far-reaching gender sensitive legislative framework. These are: the Convention for the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination for Against Women (CEDAW) which the South African Government rectified in 1995, and the Platform for Action (PFA) drawn up by the Beijing Conference in 1995. The success of these instruments is enhanced by the South African Government's commitment to international law and women's rights.

CEDAW, is one of six UN Human Rights treaties. Other five treaties are those on economic, social and cultural rights, civil and political rights, the elimination of racial discrimination, the rights of the child, and the covenant against torture. CEDAW, an international bill of rights for women, is a legally binding international agreement, which sets out guidelines for governments to ensure that women attain real equality in society.

Both CEDAW and the Beijing Platform for Action are potentially useful tools for lobbying and monitoring government and for action outside of Government. The government is obliged to present regular reports to the CEDAW committee and the invitation to NGOs to present reports afford an opportunity for NGOs to monitor progress and achievements and to get international support for lobbying governments. When the South African government presented its first report in 1998, several NGOs went to New York and raised questions that the CEDAW committees included in its response to the official delegation. For example, the committee pointed out that legislative reform was

needed to bring gender equity into inheritance and land rights and family relations (Coetzee 2001:166).

Cousins (2003:85) claims that commitments to Beijing Platform for Action and CEDAW have been translated into regional context, including the Convention of Belen do Para and the African Charter on Human and People's Rights. More than 118 countries have National Plans of Action for Gender Equality as well as laws and policies to promote women's human rights in specific areas, from education to land.

2.2.6 **GENDER AND LAND RIGHTS**

According to Razavi (2003:2) the past two decades witnessed strong changes in global development agendas and policies, marked by a resurgence of laissez - faire orthodoxies and a marked ambivalence towards the 'heavy – handed' developmental state. Issues of agrarian change and rural development have been a palpable part of these policy shifts. Agriculture featured as the centrepiece of the narrative in the national economies where agriculture formed a high proportion of GDP. Gender concerns have yet made a shadowy, and less than satisfactory, appearance in the global policy debates. In the early 1980s as a result of criticism by feminists that structural adjustment policies were failing to recognize social reproduction as a set of activities that were essential to the economy, some attention was paid by gender specialists within the World Bank to women's role in production at the Household Level in sub-Saharan Africa, in what has become known as gender efficiency argument. Razavi (2003:3) says that one strand of thinking uses neo - classical micro-economic analytical tools to argue that the structure of male and female incentives in farm households leads to allocative inefficiencies and muted agricultural supply response. One important resource constraint to which attention was drawn is women's inadequate access to land.

The 1990s have also been a period of monumental political transformations. The fall of authoritarian regimes in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa, has given issues of rights and democracy a major impulse, such as the growth of women's movements. Inspired by these impulses, a wide range of feminist groups and networks, operating at different levels, and influenced by the increasing use of rights, languages and instruments, have drawn attention to unequal land rights as an important mechanism through which female poverty and subordination is sustained and

reproduced. Women's interests in land have emerged as a contested issue. While some policy advocates have been pushing for women's unambiguous rights as a 'good' policy intervention, others have opposed women's rights categorically because it is as the thin end of the wedge used by pro-liberalization lobbies to open up "customary" systems of land management to market forces and foreign commercial interest (Razavi 2002:04).

Gender policy and land reform in South Africa

In April 1997, South Africa's Minister of Land Affairs approved a Land Reform Gender Policy document aimed at creating an enabling environment for women to access, own, control, use and manage land, as well as access credit for productive use of the land (Department of Land Affairs 1997:3). The document committed the Ministry and Department of Land Affairs (DLA) to a wide – ranging set of guiding principles to actively promote the principle of gender equity in land reform; these include the mechanisms for ensuring women's full and equal participation in decision- making; gender sensitive methodologies in project planning; collaboration with NGOs and other government structures, and compliance with international commitments, such as the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action and the Convention of the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW).

Accordingly, the Department of Land Affairs (1998:17) claims that the White Paper on South African Land Policy which strongly endorsed gender equity as a key outcome, to be achieved through the targeting of women's beneficiaries. Razavi (2003:114) claims that it is relatively easy to critique the often self- formulation and implementation, especially when measured against their ambitious objectives, but harder to craft serious alternatives. Land reform is hampered by the unrealistic public expectations of what it should achieve in ushering in the just, productive and tolerant society.

The institution of programmes that challenge the unequal gender relations is difficult, partly because the subordinate status of rural women is embedded in multi-layered relationships that are not easily reduced to policy prescriptions and managed within bureaucratic budget and project cycles.

DLA's national gender policy framework

Since 1994, the DLA has expressed a consistent commitment to gender equity as a major policy objective at the level of principle (Razavi 2003: 123). The legal grounds for this come from the unequivocal assertion of non- racialism and non- sexism as founding values in South Africa's new democracy, and the elevation of the 'equity clause' to an overriding constitutional principle in relation to other clauses in the Bill of Rights (Republic of South Africa 1996).

During the constitutional negotiations, lobbying by the Women's National Coalition succeeded in defeating a strong drive by the traditional leaders to exempt customary law from the jurisdiction of the equality clause, with potentially important implications for land reforms, especially in the former Bantustans. The fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 added respectability to gender equity as an ideal.

The 'Core Business Plan' for the Land Reform Pilot Programme in November 1994 stated that 'Overall, the elements of the programme are to enhance the material, political, and social status of women' (Department of Land Affairs 1994:8). The commitment to gender equity at this level of over arching principle has been carried forward into the second phase of the Land Reform. The final Draft of LRAD policy to document includes a subsection on "Gender and LRAD" claiming that LRAD provides an excellent vehicle for redressing gender imbalances in land access and land ownership and will help government meet its international commitments (Ministry of Agriculture and Land Affairs 2000,4). Thirty per cent of the people through the programme should go to women. (Ministry of Agriculture and Land Affairs 2000:3).

In several documents, the White Paper's intentions to direct more attention to meeting women's needs and concerns are missing (Razavi 2003: 124). The National Criteria for project approval developed by Minister Hanekom's team in late 1998 employ gender – neutral languages in such a way that the undertaking to target women is submerged. In deciding whether to approve projects submitted by provincial offices or send them back, the Minister was guided by terms of reference that specified 'landless people', 'unemployed people'; 'the group', 'beneficiaries', 'community', and the like but never 'men' nor 'men and women' nor 'women' as special target group. Furthermore, potential beneficiaries eligible for the land grant are identified simply as "households" with no

acknowledgement of any embedded gender dynamics (Department of Land Affairs 1999, Section 2,8).

The problem also lies in the way in which the responsibility for the gender policy has been managed within the DLA. Day to day responsibility for it has been assigned to the Gender Unit, which was established, within what was then a district Policy Branch of the National DLA. Its staffing complement is relatively junior, without practical experience of land issues and land reform. The unit was handicapped by its weak institutional location and lack of authority.

The failure of DLA to operationalize its gender policy effectively also shows weaknesses in the conceptualisation of its task (Razavi 2001: 126). Most gender policy directives operate at a level of general statements and normative prescriptions, in the absence of specific operational directions, staff experience as unhelpful, even onerous.

Gender operates as a fuzzy code word that in common parlance has come to mean, in some imprecise way, 'women'. There is a lack of clarity on how to do gender. The term tends to make both groups indistinct. There are no clearly sexed being in land reform.

In DLA documents, the distinction between strategic and practical gender needs is presented in the abstract as a distinction between good practice and bad. Addressing women's strategic needs expedites women's empowerment and also facilitates the fundamental social transformation essential for the establishment of gender equality (Department of Land Affairs, Gender Unit no date (a) 5). To the extent that the DLA's Gender policy is carried forward in the field, officials are more likely to follow Women in Development than a Gender and Development approach. In projects, DLA planners necessarily focus on what would be classified as practical gender interests for both men and women, such as water supply for irrigation or domestic consumption and fencing. The Gender Unit has not analyzed the specific contributions of Land Reform to the fundamental transformation of gender relationships that it presents as the goal. How important is land compared to other resources?

What types of land projects would best empower women? Razavi (2003:128) claims that Gender Units' advocacy of independent rights in land for women is another issue. It is not always clear whether this call for independent rights refers to specifically to individual rights for women as distinct from joint rights with their husbands, or to their identification

in joint title deeds as full rights holders, along with their husbands, or some combination of both.

DLA's uncritical reliance on external research and international orthodoxies has hindered critical reflection on South African conditions in its development of its policy on gender. Although the international discourse on gender has been important in legitimising the struggle for gender equity, the authority given to international structures and experts is potentially disabling, suggesting there are ready-made solutions to pre-given problems of inequity and subordination.

2.2.7 **THE MEANING OF GENDER EQUITY TO RURAL WOMEN**

The biggest obstacle to gender-sensitivity reform at the local level is the deeply entrenched acceptance of male traditional authority and patriarchal controls in households and local government (Coetzee, Gray, Hendriks and Wood 2001:169).

The contradiction between government commitment to gender equality and its persistent engagement with the politics of traditionalism form the biggest obstacle for the rural women.

South Africa defines itself as a non-racial and non-sexist society and governmental concedes that rural society is patriarchal in its functioning and that rural women are disadvantaged by patriarchal control. Government stops short of acknowledging that in order to redress these disadvantages, certain changes have to be made. Walker (1995:58-69) identifies the need to transform in two overlapping arenas of structure and discourse:

- Structurally, key institutions in rural society have to be transformed i.e. institutions of local government
- The legitimating debates or discourses of traditions, customs and African culture that are used to defend these politico- legal institutions need to be transformed.

According to Walker (1995:58-69) government is reluctant to dismantle the institutional patriarchal system. Government continues to look to gain political control. She engages herself with traditionalism while traditional authority serves to overlook rural men and women who favour the democratization of local government (Coetzee et al 2001: 170). Walker (1995:68) is of the opinion that the democratic transformation of authority and land allocation institutions would deepen the process of political democracy and create an enabling environment for gender equality and women's empowerment. African tradition

must not be swept away or aside. “Tradition” and “custom” have to be critically deconstructed so that rural policy is not developed on the basis of a historical, partisan, and self-serving uses that traditionalists make of these terms. (Walker 1995:68). "Tradition" is not gender-neutral. Men and women do not stand in the same relations to “traditions”. According to Coetzee et al (2001:171) strategic interventions are essential:

- For women’s movement to represent rural women, its starting point must be to adopt a concept of tradition as dynamic and constantly changing.
- Women’s movement needs to affirm the principle of gender equality and relations.
- Government and the ruling party need to examine their own strategies more critically.

Coetzee et al (2001: 172) sees one of the biggest difficult aspects of the above challenges as how to change men’s attitudes. Men and women can work together in women’s movement but the attitudes of men would continue forming obstacles. The question that the problem raises is deep and complex. How can men learn to change behaviours and construct new identities based on gender sensitive meanings and uses of power? Is changing men’s attitudes a task for the women movement?

2.2.8 **AFRICAN WOMEN IN PONDOLAND: A CHALLENGE**

Mthwa is the name of a petty chiefdom allied to the name of a petty chiefdom allied to the paramountcy of Western Pondoland (Nyandeni), Transkei (de Beer et al 1994:172).

The little chiefdom is situated on both sides of the lower part of the Mngazi river, which South West of Port St Johns, flows into the Indian Ocean. Hunter (1964:116) claims that politically, the former chiefdom has been strongly curtailed territorially, and has been changed into an administrative area under the national administrative system, known by the name of the capital village, TOMBO under Swazini Tribal Authority. According to de Beer et al (1994:173) the present – day chiefdom comprises six villages each of which consists of a closely built-up residential area surrounded by pasturage, arable land and some bushes. The climate is that of the coastal zone, with more than a thousand millimetres of rainfall per annum. Temperature may be low, but rarely falls below freezing point. The vegetation is characterized by the frequent expanses of dense bush, alternating with stretches of high grass and is favourable to cattle- holding as well as cultivation.

At Tombo, Mthwa society, men have legal dominance. Because of the legal dominance of men, we might assume that in cases of households where a male head is lacking, as for example, in a widow's household, reference is always made to a certain male person who would act as the "head". Under certain circumstances, women can rightfully control their respective homesteads. In short, where there is a living husband, he is always referred to as the "head". If there is no male, a widow living in her late husband's homestead with her married son will not refer to the son as homestead head. In other words, if there is no husband, a senior woman, either the widow of the late homestead head or a "free-woman," will be in control of the homestead.

According to Huner (1964:161) a free- woman or a widow controlling a homestead will be referred to as **ukhehlehazi wasekhaya** ("the female old woman of the homestead"). She is the factor unifying all the members of the homestead, and she holds authority, which would otherwise be her husband's. Thus agnatic kinship, in Mthwa society, does not mean authority shared by the kinsmen in the sense that one of them could decide on domestic matters of an agnatically – related but female-controlled homestead.

Internally, a homestead is a juristically self- sufficient social unit, irrespective of whether its head is man or woman. However, control of a homestead does not entitle a female head to become a member of the court of jury at the village headman's place: she does not become one of the "legal authorities" of Mthwa society. Thus outside her homestead, a female head remains a legal minor, subject to men. Control of a homestead and legal maturity are not coterminous. While a man or a woman can hold the former, the latter is restricted to male members of Mthwa society. Lorenz (2002:40) also asserts that women are treated as minors by common law, marriages and property laws because of ancient and reverted traditions and customs. Customs, which had their origins in the antiquity of the people, no doubt, served purpose of great value in bygone times.

We may distinguish three types of resources upon which a homestead head may draw. The first two are of a material kind: goods provided for by nature through his own efforts e.g. life- stock and implements (Kuckert 1984: 191). The third type of resource is human, from which he draws in organizing a labour force. Indeed the men at Tombo occasionally speak about their families as **impahla yam** ("my property") (Hunter 1964: 191).

Grass and woods are among the richest resources of Tombo, with plentiful rain preventing long drought. Wood is used for building and fuel as it so plentiful and accessible. Grain grows in great variety and is used for two purposes in particular: feeding for animals and roof thatching. Like wood, grass is economically freely available within the area making up the village. Like grass, soil for building also belongs freely to the community. Only for the cutting of green wood for building purposes is the chief's permission necessary.

Of natural resources, the most important is land, for building, gardening and agriculture. Because of the natural increase over natural decrease, land is in demand. The land is yet never sold: it belongs to all. Official allotment draws a fair share for all who have a right to it, i.e. heads of the homesteads who are up to date with the taxes. The allotment of the land includes an area big enough to build several houses plus one garden.

When the population was sparse and the land abundant, the wife of a homestead head was free to choose a suitable stretch of land so long as she did not encroach an area that had already been claimed by someone else. In actual fact the homestead had its right on land independently. The actual cultivation shows the cooperation of several homesteads.

Tombo's fields are situated into specific areas. One is to the west of the village; the second and preferable one is in the Mngazi River valley along the Mngazi river (This is the area in which our projects lay). According to Hunter (1964:193) there are two answers to the question of field allotment. In the past the land was distributed on the basis of clan membership. The present day distribution of the fields does not show this clan-based pattern. A person chooses a field because of the quality of the soil. It is not enough simply to say that a piece of land is attached to a single homestead. Fields adds a certain dimension of "interest" to the individual homestead, which cultivate the land. It implies that the land divides rather than integrates their society.

The second aspect of the connection between a field and an economically self- interested homestead comes to the fore when a work party of the amalima- type is in progress in the field. Hunter (1964:89) claims that a woman wishes to make ilima she consults with her husband, and then tells her neighbours that there will be an ilima in such and such a field on such and such date/ day. According to Hunter (1964: 195) ilima is organised by the homestead head.

A third factor that indicates how homestead – based interests affect land ownership relates to the rule concerning the inheritance of the field: Nobody can claim a field on the ground that its former owner was a kinsman, except where there is a direct inheritance from father to son. This is the case with the land used for the two projects, as fields are owned as inheritance from fathers to sons. This well shows the reason why fields are owned by men and owned by women as widows. Another assumption is that not only is the field part of natural resource which has been rightfully allotted by the chief to a particular homestead head, it is also an expression of the status to a particular homestead head as a person who has gained full maturity as a person who has gained full mature social and legal status in the society and who, therefore, has a right to a piece of arable land independently of the land held by other homestead heads, whether they be kinsmen or not. The right to, and the acquisition of, a piece of land is a symbolic expression of the homestead itself as an economically independent unit.

Just as the inherited field was acquired by a certain homestead head, so the field will continue to be at disposal of one of that homestead head's sons. If there are further sons, they may settle-out and, eventually, apply for their own fields, each of them in his own right as a (new) homestead head.

The possession of a piece of arable land does not contribute to integrating Mthwa Society, although the land in its totality is owned by the Mthwa society as a whole. The borrowing of the fields shows still further the individualization, which characterizes the Mthwa homestead and its exclusive control over an allocated field. Only the homestead head can let his field.

Hunter (1964: 71) claims that crops grown by Pondo before contact with Europeans were maize, millet, sorghum, various kinds of pumpkin, and calabashes. Maize is now the staple crop. Maize is the crop universally planted in the fields, although some fields have pumpkin as a subsidiary crop, planted between maize. This uniformity is strengthened by the second factor: most of the homesteads begin tilling soil for the new year simultaneously. This affects the availability of labour (Hunter1964: 200).

To clear the bush country, the trees are cut down, branches piled over stumps, and when dry set alight. Chopping trees is the work of men, but the women may help in clearing the piles. Much more **Umzi** may assist them, or they make **amalima** (work parties). Men and

women formally did planting. The taboo on women working with cattle has prevented them from assisting in planting when ploughs are used and ploughing is regarded as the work of **umzi** usually work together for weeding, and again they may be assisted by the men. The women and older men of the **umzi** alone usually do reaping. In better harvest, men acquire prestige and women take pride in their fields.

Mthwa society believes in the neutral forces of pollution, which acts without any personal agent (de Beer et al 1994:112). The negative force befalls man (and indirectly domestic animals) from time to time without human interventions. Ritual pollution makes a person socially unacceptable to a certain degree. Hunter (1936:46-7) identifies the female cycle of the menses as **umlaza**. **Umlaza** denotes the condition of the woman during her monthly period, which is considered dangerous to males and livestock, cattle in particular. Such woman avoids cattle, otherwise cows becomes barren and would go dry. According to de Beer (1994:213), the most conspicuous form of pollution is that which occurs at death. It is called **izila**. When a person dies, his or her social environment will be affected by the pollution of **izila**. All the members of his homestead and all agnatic relatives will be affected. The outward sign of this period is the restricted social and economic life. The most severely polluted person is the chief mourner, a man's wife, or the mother of a deceased child. The polluted person will be very restricted in his or her social involvement and spatial movement.

The theory of social closure can possible explains gendered inequalities as observed and experienced by Pondo tribe. The next section will provide a theoretical framework within which the advancement of rural Pondo women and resistance thereto by rural Pondo men can be placed.

2.2.9 **SOCIAL CLOSURE**

Colclough (2002) suggests that there is a need for a more focused concern on social exclusion on the basis of gender. Project evaluation must not end output measures. There is, at times, good news for the project in terms of conventional output measures, but rather less so when it comes to the question of social exclusion or inequalities. Our study is, therefore, informed by the theory of social closure.

2.2.9.1 AN OVERVIEW OF SOCIAL CLOSURE THEORY

Giddens (1994:220) claims that Parkin proposed an approach drawing more heavily on Weber than on Marx. Parkin agrees with Marx, as Weber did, that ownership of property – the means of production - is the basic foundation of class structure. The means of production is the basic foundation of class structure. Property, however, is only one form of social closure, which can be monopolised by a minority and used as a basis of power over others.

The concept of social closure emerged as an alternative to the Marxist theories of inequality and of how the latter is generated, maintained and transformed (Marshall 1996: 60). Marx was struck by the inequalities the capitalist system creates. Although aristocrats lived a life of luxury, agrarian societies were relatively poor (Giddens 1994:216). Max Weber saw closure as being one of the means by which commercial and property classes moved along the continuum of legitimating and reproducing their life chances in the direction of social class and status group. Sanderson (1994:206) argues that it may be the case that the Marxist stress on property ownership can be subsumed wider under the concept of social closure.

In most societies of the world, a hierarchical or stratified social system tends to be developed in which an elite group seeks to maximize rewards by restricting access to resource and opportunities to a limited circle of the eligible (Parkin 1979: 44). Abbot & Sapsford (1987:47) state that social positions are opening “for themselves and to close off access to them by those from lower social classes. Those in the upper positions have command of necessary resources to do so. The better-off farmers capture many of social interventions and become better - off still. They use their links with agencies to make further demands upon agencies (Colclough 2002). They do this to draw down resources for themselves. It is thus noticed closure functions through the mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion and can be founded on the individualistic and collective criteria (Marshall 1996:60).

Two types of process are involved in social closure. Exclusion refers to strategies that groups adopt to separate outsiders from themselves; preventing them from having access to valued resources (Giddens 1994:221). According to Parkin (1979:25) the basis for exclusion can include one or a number of different social characteristics or credentials, including race, sex, religion, education, gender social status and geographic region of

origin. It means besides property or wealth, most of the characteristics Weber associated with status differences may be used to create social closure. For example, in all modern societies, a family in class position plays a large part in determining the status placement of the offspring. Van der Zanden (1993:193) argues that by the same token, no modern society denies its male members the opportunity to be upward mobile. The two examples show the importance and evidence of status class and sex in the process of inclusion and exclusion. Usurpation refers to the attempts of the less privileged to acquire resources previously monopolised by others. Both strategies may be used simultaneously in some circumstances. Parkin calls this dual closure (Giddens 1994: 221). The notion indicates that those in the middle of the stratification system to some extent cast their eyes towards the top, yet are also concerned to distinguish themselves from others lower down.

Sorokin (1959:11) argues that concrete forms of social stratification are different and numerous. If the economic status of the members of the society is unequal, if among them there are both wealth and poor, the society is economically stratified, regardless of whether, in its constitution it is styled “the society of equal individuals” or not. If the social ranks within a group are hierarchically superposed with respect to the authority and prestige, their honour and titles, if there are rulers and the ruled, then what are their names, these things mean that group is politically stratified, regardless of what is written in its constitution or proclaimed in its declarations. Varying in form, social stratification has existed in all societies, which proclaimed the equality of members of society. It does not, however, mean that the stratification is quantitatively identical in all societies and at all times. Colclough (2002) agrees saying that while it is true that both Oraons and Mundas communities follow an animistic religion, and maintain higher degree of gender equalities than some other communities, there is still a considerable degree of stratification based on land (which is linked to status).

According to Human & Kruger (1990:19) two reciprocal forms of social closure exist; they operate from each side of what is referred to as the “ structural fault” in society. The differentiation of a given population into hierarchically superposed classes manifests itself in the existence of upper and lower social layers (Sorokin 1959:11). Its basis and very essence consists in an equal distribution of rights, privileges, duties and responsibilities, social values and privations, social power and influences among the members of the society. The reasoning behind it is that those in the upper positions are motivated to retain positions.

Max Weber used the theory to analyze the stratification of societies. He used the concept to indicate the strong tendency for social groups to seize upon certain social criteria as marks of distinction (Sanderson 1994:205). The emphasis also was on division of labour in the societies and on power (Turner 1994: 205).

Amongst the black societies themselves there is a gender stratification as positions occupied by males and women habitually carry with them different amount of income, power, prestige and other valued resources. Turner (1994:132) states that since humans abandoned hunting and gathering some 12, 000 to 18, 000 years ago, gender stratification has existed in all known societies. The system favoured males who have been more likely to occupy positions and play roles bringing the most power, material wealth and prestige. The explanation is found from both functional and conflict theories. According to the functional theory, sex- division of labour was more likely than any alternative to meet the survival needs of the early population (Turner 1994: 132). The argument with conflict theory is that because males were strong and powerful, they used the capacity for coercion to create and sustain a gender – based stratification system.

2.2.9.2 SOCIAL CLOSURE AND RURAL WOMEN ADVANCEMENT

In the investigation of rural men's attitudes towards the advancement of rural women, the researcher assumes the social closure theory is an informing one. Following this, the hypothesis of the study is that rural men display negative attitudes to the advancement of rural women by closing them off opportunities for their (rural men) benefits. The advantage is that within this theory the advancement of rural women and resistance of rural men thereto can be placed. To maintain the created inequality, only men were catered for in the location of land at Port St Johns (Rawlins et al 2000:21). Accordingly, the land tenure system put rural men in an upper stratum. According to Colclough (1998:5) land as a productive asset is crucial in determining the position of women. Rural women are associated with weaker position than men. Inheritance was always along the male line. According to Giddens (1994:216) the means of production consisted primarily of land and instruments to tend the crop and animals before the rise of modern industry. This is still the case at Port St Johns. The material position of most women like land for crops tends to reflect that of their fathers or husbands (Giddens 1994: 230) It can be argued, women tend to be confined to a private domain - the domestic world of the family, children and the

household. Men, on the other hand, live more of a public life, and they determine how wealth and power are distributed. Their world is that of the paid work.

Cousins (2003: 41) maintains that agriculture remains the aspect of the agrarians questions in Africa. In South Africa in general and Port St Johns in particular, research confirms the central importance of small plot agriculture, mostly, for domestic consumption, often located in large 'gardens' adjacent to homesteads rather than in most distant fields. According to Cousins (2003: 41) around 70% of households in the former reserves are engaged in some form of crop production. Participation in this form of production is highly gendered, with women taking major responsibility for it as one aspect of domestic reproduction.

Lee & Woolard (2003:30) claim that higher levels of productivity in the household as a result of improved technology are allowing more flexibility when it comes to women who wish to enter the workforce. This improved economy's infrastructure, which has led to a decrease in the traditional tasks carried out by women, for example, the fetching of wood and water for households and irrigation.

Lee et al (2003: 30) further state that participation of women in South African labour market has been rising steadily for several reasons. One of the varieties of reasons has been put forward for the increase. A conventional role of women in today's society has changed.

Women accounted for approximately 23% of the labour force in the 1960's but by the mid-1980s they made up approximately 36% and by the early 1990s, they made approximately 41%. Using data from October Household Survey of 1995, 1999 as well as the Labour Force Survey of September 2002, one can see that there has been a considerable increase in number of women of working age - about two million. Even though there has been an increase in the size of both the male and female labour force, men's share of the labour force has come down (Lee et al 2003:31). This can be seen by the increase in women's share of labour force by 5% and drop in men's share of the labour force by 5% of the same period. This happens as a result of women's upward mobility. Men, however, still dominate the skilled positions such as operators and skilled agriculture.

Razavi (2003: 21) claims that in recent years, academics and a wide range of development practitioners have placed increasing emphasis, on secure property rights as a solution to

women's unequal access to land; female poverty and women's subordination. Some gender activists believe that the new grant system does, in theory open up more possibilities for women to acquire land rights that are independent of family and male control as declared in the LRAD. The recent activities by states, departments, and companies to increase the number of rural women in higher levels have been noticed (Fage 2002: 589). These activities to increase the number of rural women in higher-level positions have had, and will continue to have a number of consequences.

It appears to be fairly widely accepted that the upward mobility of rural women is crucial in the future development of South Africa. It is therefore, crucial that an understanding of the forces likely to oppose rural women upward mobility will be important to managing the process. From model outlined above, it is apparent that one of the crucial factors that will play a major role in the process of the upward mobility of rural women is the attitude of those who currently constitute the various substrata.

It is clearly an oversimplification of the realities of the social structure. The diverse ideologies that are held to arise from differing structural positions are not, necessarily generalisable to all members of the specific sex group. The model yet provides a useful framework for examining and understanding gender attitudes.

CHAPTER 3

3. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

According to Kerlinger (1988:28) research plans are deliberately and specifically conceived and executed to bring empirical evidence to bear on the research topic. Research problems can be and are stated in the form of hypothesis. At some point in the research, they are stated so that they can be empirically tested.

3.2 SURVEY RESEARCH METHOD

To achieve relevant results, the study is based on and guided by the quantitative research method, which requires a statistical analysis of the data. A survey was used to study the population. The researcher used the survey research method for the following reasons. Firstly, a survey has the advantage of being transparent and countable. Secondly, one main attraction of a survey is that it is accurate as individuals can give a remarkable accurate portrait of the values, beliefs and attitudes within a community. The researcher used the survey method to elicit respondents' opinions and feelings. Since the objective of the study is to measure and investigate the attitudes of rural men to rural women, the survey method is deemed to be most appropriate.

3.3 DATA COLLECTING INSTRUMENT

The researcher used questionnaires to obtain the raw material for the hypothesis testing. The questionnaires were composed of closed ended questions, and attitudinal items regarding gender and demographic information about age, marital status and education of the respondents. The questionnaire was used as a measuring instrument, which began with three categorical variables: age, educational standard and marital status.

Age: It is categorized into two age groups with the belief that they are perceived and treated as relevant in the study. The researcher assumes that the older the people in the project, the higher the status and traditional views, hence land property. It is, however, important that the younger people are included to determine the difference across the age.

Educational standards: Educational standard is categorized into two groups. The extent to which education can, in principle, operate. Like age, education is one of the criteria to privileged positions. It is assumed that theoretically, the increase in education means increase in years of schooling, the higher the possibility of positive attitude to women advancement.

Marital Status: Marital Status is categorized into unmarried, widowed and married groups. In the traditional societies like Pondoland, marital status provides some rights and obligations. For example, married people are thought to be elderly people to be responsible for their families. That puts them in a certain status and provides them with opportunities. This also helped the researcher to know if there were differences between married and unmarried respondents between different age and education groups regarding the advancement of women. The assumption with the use of questionnaires is that they are the powerful tools in gathering of data in a standardized manner.

Many of the questions in the questionnaire were similar to or derived from questionnaires used by other researchers. Questionnaires used by Kruger & Human (1990) and Human and Allie (1989) were used to this purpose. Kruger et al (1990) studied attitudes of skills and semi- skills of White and Indians in sugar milling industry in South Africa. While Human et al (1989) investigated the attitudes of white English speaking male managers to the vertical mobility of African women.

The indicators used in the questionnaire are based on many years of attitudinal research by earlier researchers (Human et al 1989) consultation involving affirmative action projects (Kruger et al 1990), and other quantitative research (Ogundipe – Leslie 1994). Work by Kruger et al (1990) was informed by the theory of social closure (Kruger et al 1990).

3.4 THE PILOT STUDY AND ADMINISTRATION OF QUESTIONNAIRES

The questionnaire was piloted in two rounds. In the first pilot the researcher administered questionnaires in Xhosa as a locally used language to twenty subjects who were in the study population. Many of the originally planned attitudinal statements on women characteristics and attributes were found to be repetitive.

A second pilot was then conducted with a revised questionnaire to the same 20 subjects. After this pilot questions were rephrased to clarify the meaning and ambiguous items were dropped.

The questionnaire was finalized in English. Permission to administer questionnaires was requested from the two participating projects. The project managers accepted the request and granted permission. Instructions to subjects include the following. They were advised as follows: “Don’t worry about why you feel about each statement. Don’t worry about whether it is just you or people who feel that way. Just mark it the way you see it”. They were asked to rate attitudinal statements on a five-point scale to express their feelings. The subjects were informed about the purpose of the study. They were also told about the reliability of the instrument, but they were not given any information on any of the attributes. The reason for this was that any explanation would potentially influence the respondent’s rating. The subjects were requested to put mark (✓) in the respective square next to a statement to indicate the choice corresponding with their feelings.

3.5 SURVEY PERIOD AND PROJECTS COVERED

Because this was a small - scale study no sampling methods were applied. All black male participants in two projects were included. Twenty persons were from Thandanani while 25 persons were from Umngazi Maize producing project. The researcher was aware of the risk of non- response. To limit the problem, he used a captured group method, which would produce a high response rate. In one day, 04 March 2004 as permitted he met the gathered individual subjects at the meeting place of Thandanani Maize Producing Project to administer the questionnaires to all subjects.

3.6 DATA ANALYSIS

The section describes in detail treatment and analysis of the collected data. Methods of data analysis are strongly determined by the research questions to be answered. It is helpful to describe the indicators used. The researcher measured the variables: attitudes towards advancement. Constructs such as attitudes (of rural men) towards advancement (of rural women) are even less directly observable. By this we mean that they may be measured only indirectly by using so-called indicators. The researcher used different indicators to measure variables.

The first critical question of the study is: What attitudes are displayed by rural men to the advancement of rural women? Advancement of women can be measured by their (women) superiority over rural men; promotion of women into jobs previously enjoyed by

rural men; men's characteristics; and reverse discrimination. To measure women's characteristics as men three indicators were used: women's productivity; helpfulness, hard working, intelligence; and creativity. Five items were used to measure affirmative policy action: Men's understanding of affirmative policy action (A/A); worthfulness of affirmative policy action; helpfulness and usefulness of affirmative action policy.

To measure superiority of women over rural men, three indicators were used: - this is based on previous review of literature where women's superiority over men is taken as irrelevant and worthless (Epstein 1970): men's unhappiness to work for a women manager; women superiority has a conflict potential; and men's unhappiness for a women superior/ management even if qualified.

To measure women's promotion to jobs previously enjoyed by rural men, six indicators were used: Women's promotion has a conflict potential; equal promotional opportunities on equal educational qualifications; jobs reservations for men first (This is based on Gordon's findings that men and women felt jobs should not be opened for women when men are unemployed (Gordon 1996); rural women's promotions to jobs previously enjoyed by men threatened the status and jobs of men.

To measure reverse discrimination three indicators were used: men's unfair discrimination in favour of women; women's better promotional chances; and attention paid on training women. To measure men's attitude towards living together with women, happiness in living in neighbourhood with rural women was used as the indicator.

The second critical question of the study is: How are men's displayed negative attitudes towards women's advancement expressed? The measurement to measure the strategies used to display negative attitudes by rural men are based on the findings of Moore. Moore (1981) found that African American women tend not to be included in collaborative socio economic projects. Three indicators were used to measure close working of men with women: upward mobility of women spoil enjoyments of social circle; men's enjoyment in socializing with rural women; and rural men's preference of seeking alternative work when mixed with rural women. Women may often be at a disadvantage when they are eligible for promotion as our theory of social closure theory shows (Human et al 1990).

The third critical question of the study is: With what effect regarding rural women's advancement? Two measures are applied here: rural men working in close co-operation with rural women; work facilities. To measure attitudes of rural men working closely with rural women, three indicators were used: unacceptance of rural women working closely with rural men; improvement of women's abilities in working of rural men with rural women; and uncomfotability or stressfulness of rural men in working with rural women. Using more advanced technologies in success. Men's attitudes to use the technologies are measured by the indicator "capabilities of women to use technologies". This is due to the fact that the task is valued and maintained as 'mens' task. This is based on unfair traditional judgement of women's capabilities.

Some questions are positive while others are negative. Including both positively and negatively phrased items helps reduce response set bias. The questionnaires have at least 31 items, which could possibly not stress the respondents. An example of a questionnaire appears on Appendix A. The researcher is concerned with a response set which occurs when respondents answer all questions from a certain point of view. Some items in the questionnaires are reverse scored.

Summated rating scale was used. According to Kerlinger (1988:453) a summated rating scale is a set of attitude items, all of which are considered of approximately equal "attitude value", and to each of which subjects respond with degrees of agreement or disagreement. The scores of the items are summed, or summed and averaged, to yield an individual's attitude score.

The questions were in the form of statements to which the respondents could respond with a tick on an option on a five point scale ranging from "strongly agree" through "agree," "uncertain," "disagree" to "strongly disagree". This assumption is well recognized in social science research. It provides a useful method of determining trends in the data of this type. The Likert- type scale easily measures the attitudes of the people. The scale was introduced by Likert (1903 - 1981) (Welman et al 1998). It is currently the most popular type of scale in social sciences as it is easy to compile and administer.

Throughout the study, the descriptive method of analysing the data has been used. The completed questionnaires were coded and the data set was analysed with aid of the SPSS

programme. Cross tabulations and frequency analysis were used. The statistical analysis has been carried out on the assumption that the data can be treated as interval data.

CHAPTER 4

4. PRESENTATION OF THE STUDY FINDINGS

The chapter looks at the characteristics of the respondents and the overall impression forms the findings. Since the two projects are crucial to be known by the reader, the researcher here below describes Tandanani and Umngazi Irrigation Maize Producing Projects. The findings are descriptively and statistically presented.

4.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE PROJECTS

Development Projects: Umngazi And Thandanani

The development projects referred to in the study is based on maize production in Transkei in the area bounded by Umngazi River and Indian Ocean. The area itself is appropriate for crop and vegetable production because of its extensive fertile soils and level land is adaptable to mechanical cultivation. The projects established have a total area of about 65 ha and are 89 km from Umthatha and connected by road R61. A mean annual rainfall is approximately 1000 mm, and falls within the frost-free area of the Eastern Cape.

There are no population figures for specific survey area. The population is, of course, fairly dense, however, and the average holding is approximately 50 X 50 M. per households. There is an imbalance in the ratio of men to women. Most are absent from the area for lengthy periods of time. It is estimated by local authorities that in 2001, 72. 8 per cent of the population between the ages 18-44 was females.

Historical background

The area in which the projects are developed is still administered by tribal authorities. Land is allocated on the basis of traditional land tenure. Before the projects were established, farmers were unorganized and were growing maize under dry land. The aim of maize cultivation was for home consumption. It means, therefore, that maize production was important to the Pondoland rural economy. The level of rain indicated the extent of land to be cultivated in a particular season. As the production level of maize was declining, as farmers could not afford buying the necessary inputs.

Government activities

To maintain maize production level, the Department of Agriculture had to assist farmers financially. According to the development policy of the Department of Agriculture, Eastern Cape Province (1999/2000); farmers had to be assisted. The Department of Agriculture aimed at supporting the farmers with the following objectives:

- To promote sustainable utilization of natural resources
- To encourage increased food production
- To increase economic activities from agriculture
- To facilitate equitable access to and participation by previously disadvantaged farmers in agricultural activities and resources, and to develop integrated and sustainable developments.

The Department of Agriculture further functions:

- To train representatives through extension services,
- To provide financial assistance to the projects engaged in agricultural activities
- To provide extension services.

The Department of Agriculture's objectives helped farmers as motivation factor in the formation of the project. The Department of Labour through independent service providers or contractors provides the managed skills for planting through marketing. The local municipality provides the infield and major access for the development of the developed area.

Projects' purpose and objectives

The general purpose of the projects has been to improve and modernize agricultural methods and practices of the village and thus help integrate them into the economy of Port St Johns. The founder of the two projects believed that the old traditional aim of growing maize was no longer valid. They were convinced that growing of maize in particular and using land in general should include an element of income and nutrition.

Management of the projects

The total number of members of the two projects is 140. Thandanani project has 20 males and 45 females. Umngazi project has 25 males and 50 females. Membership is open to all who either own or contract the land. Modernizing influences lead to a change in social relations between people in the community. For administrative reasons, each project has a management committee and they were elected democratically. Office bearers are not, generally, speaking, traditional leaders. They are part of the local agricultural associations and they represent an emergent group of leaders who gain their authority from farming knowledge and experience among the landowners in respect of Umngazi Project.

With respect Thandanani Project the leaders are taken from the members of the project who are not necessarily members of the project but who contracted the land. Three of the four chairpersons, one of the treasurers and two of four secretaries are men in fact. Through the committees, farmers are approached and arrangements are made to get financial assistance and providing farmers (members) express a desire to have maize developed on his or her landholdings.

Responsibilities of members

The main difference is observed in the task of planting which is labour intensive and is almost exclusively men task when plant maize seed. It is exclusively men's task in irrigated areas when planting maize seedlings. Male members of the projects prepare the land and women plant maize seedlings along with pre-emergent herbicide, and put initial fertilizer. Women are largely responsible for weeding and top-dressing. Women members of the projects do harvesting.

Projects' achievements

It was established that maize yields obtained prior the projects went into operation was 1 ton per hectare. As the projects participants have since been allocated a one-hectare allotment, which is his land, it can be estimated that the pre-project gross income size would have been R95-00 for the average farmer. The figures make it clear that farmers were able to earn a net income of R33-85 before the operation of the projects and depending on climatic factors. The calculations in table 1 are derived from the details of

this programme. All prices recorded in the table are for 1990 season, unless otherwise stated.

TABLE 1: PRE-PROJECT NET INCOME FROM MAIZE, 1988 PRICE

ITEM	AMOUNT
Gross income from 140 hectares	R13300.00
Less: Cultivation costs	R2779.00
Cost threshing and transport	R1960.00
Equals: Net income per 140 hectares	R8561.00
Net income per hectare	R 61.15

With the establishment of the projects, each farmer is able to earn a net of R4610-00 a year. Another consideration made is that maize is the principal crop, cabbage is the second weak and spinach is the insignificant one. It can be conceived that farmers can get more than the net income as shown above. It is important to recognize, however, that institutional changes bring about changes within individuals: changes in the way they think, the way they perceive the world and the way they confront social reality. The development project has been created by and has created a modern consciousness (Cross et al 1988:236). Two characteristics can be noticed:

- Functional rationality – an engineering approach to life, which assumes all difficulties can be solved through a rational problem solving technique, and
- Modern bureaucracy – in which interaction is streamlined by set of procedures, and rules, and regulations and principles are more important than individual circumstances.

The maize development has, however; created a number of jobs, as irrigation is associated with higher income and labour intensification. At peak times in the planting seasons, the projects employ many casual workers who are not members of the projects. The work is, however seasonal, and the wages cannot compete with those paid in the urban areas.

Thandanani project works under contract farming which is another achievement. The land used was and is still owned by their traditional owners as allocated under the traditional land tenure system. Project members use it on contract basis. Contract farming is

appreciated and supported by some farmers and donors as it complements current paradigms that advocate economic growth (Porter & Phillips- Howard 1995:57). It is also argued that one can draw particular attention to the tensions and “oppositional energies” worked by contract arrangements; the way the contract functions simultaneously as both a means of subordination and a point of resistance (Porter et al 1995:57). The tension within the households which could result from increased demands on women’s labour in contract schemes are described with reference to Gambian irrigated rice scheme, where women have resisted of labour claims by male household heads for double cropping of rice. Whether there are benefits or not with it, contract farming has spread in Africa. In South Africa, contracting has developed for a number of crops, including maize and vegetables.

4.2 **RESPONSE RATE**

In all a total of 45 respondent’s questionnaires representing a response rate of 100% were returned, all of which were usable. A hundred percent external validity was achieved for the returned questionnaires because of the capture group method used. Closed ended questions also increased the response rate.

4.3 **CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS**

According to TABLE 2, a total of 45 black male members in the two projects formed the subjects of the study population. Approximately 16, 13, 27, 36 and 9% of the respondents were of 17-25, 26 –35, 36 -45, 46 -50, 56 and above 56 years age group respectively (17-35 = younger respondents, from 36 and above 56 = older). In terms of education level 29, 18, 22, 22 and 8% of the respondents had standard 2, 5, 7, 10 and above. Approximately 60% of the respondents were married, 29% of the respondents were single (not married) and 11.1% of respondents were widowed.

TABLE 2: DEMOGRAPHIC COMPOSITION OF RESPONDENTS

DEMOGRAPHIC ITEMS	FREQUENCY (N)	PERCENTAGE (%)
AGE DISTRIBUTION: Y & O		
17-35 (Younger respondents)	13	28.9
36-56+ (Older respondents)	32	71.1
Total	45	100.0
EDUCATION (STD): J & S		
7 (Junior meaning 9 years of formal schooling)	21	46.7
8 -Above (Senior meaning 10 and above years of formal schooling)	24	53.3
Total	45	100.0
MARITAL STATUS		
Married (M)	27	60.0
Unmarried (UN)	13	28.9
Widowed (W)	5	11.1
Total	45	100.0

4.4 GENERAL FINDINGS

With respect to the general findings, significant differences between responses of different groups are noted together with the combined percentages of respondents either agreeing or strongly agreeing with specific statements.

The respondents were asked to indicate rank order of agreement or disagreement on a five-point scale or range. Answers were scored from strongly agree down to strongly disagree. Since only facts were required about the attitudes of respondents in general, frequency distributions and percentage distributions were used and summarized as seen in Tables 3, 7, 11, 15, 19, 23, 27 and 31.

4.4.1 STATEMENTS ON WOMEN CHARACTERISTICS, AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND EQUITY ISSUES

When asked if the respondents understood affirmative action policy, the majority of the respondents (95.6%) agreed they understood the affirmative action policy. It was only 4.4% of the respondents that disagreed with the statement.

The majority of the respondents (88.9%) felt affirmative action policy was a good thing. It was noted that 11.1% of the respondents disagreed with the statement, “ affirmative action policy is a good thing”. It is only 28.9% of the respondents who agreed affirmative action policy did not help them in their jobs.

On the question of same pay, more respondents (88.9%) agreed that rural women doing the same job as men should receive the same pay. The majority of the respondents (93.3%) felt that rural women doing the same work as men should be treated equally as men in terms of training. The majority of the respondents (82.2%) felt rural women are able to do the same work as men.

Again 84.5% of the respondents saw rural women positively as hard workers. 91.1% of the respondents felt rural women are equally intelligent as rural men. The majority of the respondents (93.4%) felt rural women are helpful as rural men. 85.1% of the respondents were positive about the creativity of rural women (see Table 3).

TABLE 3: ATTITUDES OF RURAL MEN ABOUT RURAL WOMEN CHARACTERISTICS, AFFIRMATIVE ACTION & EQUITY ISSUES

ITEMS		SA	A	U	D	SD
1. I understand affirmative action policy	% N	26.7 12	68.9 31		4.4 2	
2. Affirmative action policy is a good thing	% N	53.3 24	35.6 16	2.2 1	8.9 4	
3. Affirmative action policy has helped me in my job	% N	13.3 6	57.8 26	11.1 5	11.1 5	6.7 3
4. Black females doing the same work as black males should receive the same pay	% N	51.1 23	37.8 17	4.4 2	6.7 3	
5. Black females doing the same work as black males should be treated equally in terms of training as males	% N	55.5 25	37.8 17		6.7 3	
6. Black females will be able to do the same work as black males	% N	22.2 10	60.0 27	4.4 2	13.4 6	
7. Black females are productive as black males	% N	53.3 24	37.8 17		8.9 4	
8. Black females are working hard as black males	% N	48.9 22	35.6 16	8.9 4	6.6 3	
9. Black females are equally intelligent as black males	% N	57.8 26	33.3 15		8.9 4	
10. Black females are helpful like black males	% N	57.8 26	35.6 16		6.6 3	
11. Black females are creative like black males	% N	54.6 24	31.8 15		13.6 6	

The researcher has decided to reduce the scale from five-point scale to a two- point scale in a cross table. When collating the scale, the researcher combined strongly agree to form agree points. The neutral center and uncertain points were combined with strongly disagree and disagree. It is assumed that uncertain responses reflect not only those who were unsure of the validity of the question statement but also those who disagree. There

are merits in the combination. The items take up less space and that is crucial in the presentation of the findings.

Cross-tabulation does not give the idea of the strength of the association, or relationship. The researcher wanted to assess the relationship between variables. Chi-square test was used to assess whether there is a significant relationship between variables. The significance at level $p < 0.05$ was set. In the case of both age and education categories, $df = 1$; critical value = 3.84 and for marital status, $df = 2$ and a critical value of 5.991 is applicable.

AGE

While the majority of both younger and older respondents felt affirmative action policy is helpful, younger respondents (100.0%) than older respondents (59.4%) expressed this opinion. There is a significant difference between younger and older respondents on the statement as seen in Table 4.

TABLE 4: ATTITUDES OF RURAL MEN ABOUT RURAL WOMEN CHARACTERISTICS, AFFIRMATIVE ACTION & EQUITY ISSUES BY AGE

ITEMS		A		NOT A&U		A		NOT A & U		X ²
		Y	O	Y	O	Y	O			
1. I understand affirmative action policy	% N	95.6 43	4.4 2	100.0 13	93.8 30	0 0	6.2 2	0.85		
2. Affirmative action policy is a good thing	% N	88.9 40	11.1 5	92.3 12	87.5 28	9.7 1	12.5 4	0.22		
3. Affirmative action policy has helped me in my job	% N	71.1 32	28.9 13	100.0 13	59.4 19	0 0	40.6 13	7.42*		
4. Black females doing the same work as black males should receive the same pay	% N	88.9 40	11.1 5	84.6 11	90.7 29	15.4 2	9.3 3	0.34		
5. Black females doing the same work as males should be treated equally in training as males	% N	91.3 42	8.7 3	100.0 13	90.7 29	0 0	9.3 3	1.31		
6. Black females will be able to do the same work as black males	% N	82.2 37	17.8 8	69.2 9	87.5 28	30.8 4	12.5 4	2.12		
7. Black females are productive as black males	% N	91.1 41	8.9 4	100.0 13	87.5 28	0 0	12.5 4	1.78		
8. Black females are working hard as black males	% N	84.5 38	15.5 7	92.3 12	81.25 26	7.7 1	18.75 6	0.86		
9. Black females are equally intelligent as black males	% N	91.1 41	8.9 4	92.3 12	90.7 29	7.7 1	9.3 3	0.03		
10. Black females are helpful like black males	% N	93.4 42	6.6 3	100.0 13	90.7 29	0 0	9.3 3	1.30		
11. Black females are creative like black males	% N	86.7 39	13.3 6	92.3 12	84.3 27	7.7 1	15.7 5	0.50		

*= SIGNIFICANCE OF LEVEL P=0.05

EDUCATION

More senior education respondents (100.0%) than junior education respondents (76.1%) felt affirmative action policy is a good thing. This difference is significant statistically.

87.5% of the senior education respondents and 52.3% of the junior education respondents felt affirmative action policy is helpful. This is also a significant difference (Table 5).

TABLE 5: ATTITUDES OF RURAL WOMEN ABOUT RURAL WOMEN CHARACTERISTICS, AFFIRMATIVE ACTION & EQUITY ISSUES BY EDUCATION

ITEMS		A	NOT A & U	A		NOT A & U		X ²
				J	S	J	S	
1. I understand affirmative action policy	% N	95.6 43	4.4 2	90.4 19	100.0 24	9.6 2	0 0	2.39
2. Affirmative action policy is a good thing	% N	88.9 40	11.1 5	76.1 16	100.0 24	23.9 5	0 0	6.43*
3. Affirmative action policy has helped me in my job	% N	71.1 32	28.9 13	52.3 11	87.5 21	47.7 10	12.5 3	6.72*
4. Black females doing the same work as black males should receive the same pay	% N	88.9 40	11.1 5	85.7 18	91.7 22	14.3 3	83 2	0.40
5. Black females doing the same work as black males should be treated equally in terms of training as males	% N	91.3 42	8.1 3	90.4 19	95.8 23	9.6 2	4.2 1	0.51
6. Black females will be able to do the same work as black males	% N	82.2 37	17.8 8	71.4 15	91.7 22	28.6 6	83 2	3.14
7. Black females are productive as black males	% N	91.1 41	8.9 4	90.4 19	91.7 22	96 2	8.3 2	0.02
8. Black females are working hard as black males	% N	84.5 38	15.5 7	76.1 16	87.5 22	23.9 5	12.5 2	2.04
9. Black females are equally intelligent as black males	% N	91.1 41	8.9 4	85.7 18	95.8 23	14.3 3	4.2 1	1.42
10. Black females are helpful like black males	% N	93.4 42	6.6 3	90.4 19	95.8 23	9.6 2	4.2 1	0.52
11. Black females are creative like black males	% N	86.7 39	13.3 6	57.8 18	87.5 21	42.2 3	12.5 3	0.03

MARITAL STATUS

100.0% of the married respondents agreed with the statement “ I understand affirmative action policy”, 100.0% of the unmarried respondents agreed with the statement and 60.0%

of the widowed respondents agreed with the statement. A significant difference exists between the groups.

77.8% of the married respondents agreed with the statement “ Affirmative action policy is helpful”, 77.0% of the unmarried respondents agreed with the statement and 20.0% of the widowed respondents agreed with the statement. It was found that there was significant difference between married, unmarried and widowed respondents.

100.0% of the married respondents agreed with the statement “ Black females can do as black males”, 61.5% of the unmarried respondents agreed with the statement and 40.0% of the widowed respondents agreed with the statement. There is a significant difference in the responses between the groups in the statement.

96.2% of the married respondents agreed with the statement “ Black females are hard workers”, 61.5% of the unmarried respondents agreed with the statement and 80.0% of the widowed respondents agreed with the statement. A significant difference exists in the level of the responses.

100.0% of the married respondents agreed with the statement “ Black females are helpful”, 100.0% of the unmarried respondents agreed with the statement and 60.0% of the widowed respondents agreed with the same statement. A statistically significant difference was found in the level of responses as seen in Table 6.

TABLE 6: ATTITUDES OF RURAL MEN ABOUT RURAL WOMEN CHARACTERISTICS, AFFIRMATIVE ACTION & EQUITY ISSUES BY MARITAL STATUS

ITEMS		A	NOT A & U	A			NOT A & U			X ²
				M	UN	W	M	UN	W	
1. I understand affirmative action policy	% N	95.6 43	4.4 2	100.0 27	100.0 13	60.0 3	0 0	0 0	40 2	16.74*
2. Affirmative action policy is a good thing	% N	88.9 40	11.1 5	92.3 25	92.3 12	60.0 3	7.4 2	7.7 1	40.0 2	4.75
3. Affirmative action policy has helped me in my job	% N	71.1 32	28.9 13	77.8 21	77.0 10	20.0 1	22.2 6	23.0 3	80.0 4	7.16*
4. Black females doing the same work as black males should receive the same pay	% N	88.9	11.1	88.9	100.0	60.0	11.1	0	40.0	5.85
5. Black females doing the same work as black males should be treated equally in terms of training as males	% N	91.36 42	8.7 3	100.0 27	84.6 11	80.0 4	0 0	15.4 2	20.0 1	4.95
6. Black females will be able to do the same work as black males	% N	82.2 37	17.8 8	100.0 27	61.5 8	40.0 2	0 0	38.5 5	60.0 3	15.74*
7. Black females are productive as black males	% N	91.1 41	8.9 4	96.2 26	84.6 11	80.0 4	3.8 1	15.4 2	20.0 1	2.34
8. Black females are working hard as black males	% N	84.5 38	15.5 7	96.2 26	61.5 8	80.0 4	3.8 1	38.5 5	20.0 1	8.16*
9. Black females are equally intelligent as black males	% N	91.1 41	8.9 4	96.2 26	84.6 11	80.0 4	3.8 1	15.4 2	20.0 1	2.34
10. Black females are helpful like black males	% N	93.4 43	6.6 2	100.0 27	100.0 13	60.0 3	0.0 0	0.0 0	40.0 2	16.74*
11. Black females are creative like black males	% N	86.07 39	13.3 6	88.9 24	92.3 24	60.0 3	11.1 3	7.7 1	40.0 2	3.55

4.4.2 JOB SECURITY

Six questions were asked about the attitudes of rural men towards job security. The minority of the respondents (33.3%) agreed that jobs in the projects should be reserved

first for men. The majority of the respondents (53.4%) disagreed with the statement while 13.3% were uncertain. The majority of the respondents (84.4%) felt the promotion of women to positions previously held by men could promote conflict (Table 7). The respondents were positive with the statement “Rural women with equal qualifications and experience should receive equal promotional opportunities”. Only 8.9% of the respondents felt negative about the statement. With respect to the question “ I am happy to work on an equal footing with rural women”, 97.8% of the respondents agreed with the statement. Only 2.2% of the respondents agreed with the statement. More than half of the respondents (88.9%) felt the promotion of women to the positions equal to those of rural men, poses a threat the status of the rural men. The majority of the respondents (73.3%) agreed with the statement “ The promotion of black females to positions equal to those of black men poses a threat to job security”. 11.1% of the respondents was uncertain and 15.6% of the respondents disagreed with the statement as seen in Table 7.

TABLE 7: ATTITUDES OF RURAL MEN ABOUT JOB SECURITY

ITEMS		SA	A	U	D	SD
12. Jobs should be reserved for black males first	%	13.3	20.0	13.3	49.0	4.4
	N	6	9	6	22	2
13. Where black females are promoted into traditionally black males positions, conflict is possible	%	17.8	66.7		13.3	2.2
	N	8	30		6	1
14. Black females with equal qualifications and experience as black males should receive equal promotional opportunities	%	51.1	40.1	4.4	2.2	2.2
	N	23	18	2	1	1
15. I am happy to work on equal footing with black females	%	46.7	51.1			2.2
	N	21	23			1
16. The promotion of black females to positions equal to those of black males poses threat to the status of black males	%	24.4	64.5		11.1	
	N	11	29		5	
17. The promotion of black females to positions equal to those of black males poses threat to job security of black males	%	22.2	51.1	11.1	15.6	
	N	10	23	5	7	

AGE

All of the older respondents (100.0%) in contrast to 61.5% of the younger respondents felt the promotion of rural women to positions previously enjoyed by rural men poses a threat to rural men. The older respondents' responses were significantly different from the younger respondents' responses.

Older respondents (84.3%) were significantly more negative than younger respondents (46.1%) with respect to the statement to the effect that where rural women are promoted to positions previously held by rural men job security could be threatened as seen in Table 8.

TABLE 8: ATTITUDES OF RURAL MEN ABOUT JOB SECURITY BY AGE

ITEMS		A	A&U	A		NOT A & U		X ²
				Y	O	Y	O	
12. Jobs should be reserved for black males first	%	33.3	66.7	46.1	28.1	53.9	71.9	1.35
	N	15	30	6	9	7	23	
13. Where black females are promoted into traditionally black males positions, conflict is possible	%	84.4	15.6	84.7	84.3	15.3	15.7	0.0
	N	38	7	11	27	2	5	
14. Black females with equal qualifications and experience as black males should receive equal promotional opportunities	%	91.1	8.9	100.0	87.5	0	12.5	1.79
	N	41	4	13	28	0	4	
15. I am happy to work on equal footing with black females	%	97.8	2.2	100.0	96.9	0	3.1	0.60
	N	44	1	13	31	0	1	
16. The promotion of black females to positions equal to those of black males poses threat to the status of black males	%	88.9	11.1	61.5	100.0	38.4	0	13.85*
	N	40	5	8	32	5	0	
17. The promotion of black females to positions equal to those of black males poses threat to job security of black males	%	73.3	26.7	46.1	84.3	53.9	15.7	6.90*
	N	33	12	6	27	7	5	

EDUCATION

More senior education respondents (58.3%) than junior education respondents (4.8%) felt jobs should be reserved for men. There is a significant difference in the responses to the statement.

More senior education respondents (95.8%) were significantly negative than junior education respondents (71.4%) about whether promotion of females could lead to conflict.

100% of the senior education respondents and 80.9% of the education respondents
Felt rural women with equal qualifications and experience should receive equal opportunities. There exists a significant difference between the responses of the two groups as suggested in Table 9.

TABLE 9: ATTITUDES OF RURAL MEN ABOUT JOB SECURITY BY EDUCATION

ITEMS		A	NOT A & U	A		NOT A & U		X ²
				J	S	J	S	
12. Jobs should be reserved for black males first	% N	33.3 15	66.7 30	4.8 1	58.3 14	95.2 20	41.7 10	14.46*
13. Where black females are promoted into traditionally black males positions, conflict is possible	% N	84.4 38	15.6 7	71.4 15	95.8 23	28.6 6	4.2 1	5.08*
14. Black females with equal qualifications and experience as black males should receive equal promotional opportunities	% N	91.1 41	8.9 4	80.9 17	100.0 24	19.1 4	0 0	5.02*
15. I am happy to work on equal footing with black females	% N	97.8 44	2.2 1	100.0 21	95.9 23	0 0	4.1 1	0.89
16. The promotion of black females to positions equal to those of black males poses threat to the status of black males	% N	88.9 40	11.1 5	95.2 20	83.3 20	4.8 1	16.7 4	1.60
17. The promotion of black females to positions equal to those of black males poses threat to job security of black males	% N	73.3 33	26.7 12	81.0 17	66.7 16	19.0 4	33.3 8	1.17

MARITAL STATUS

77.8% of the married respondents felt jobs should be reserved for men first, 38.5% of the unmarried respondents held the same perception and 100.0% of the widowed respondents, also, held the same perception. There exists a significant difference between the groups as shown in Table 10 below.

TABLE 10: ATTITUDES OF RURAL MEN ABOUT JOB SECURITY BY MARITAL STATUS

ITEMS		A	NOT A & U	A			NOT A & U			X ²
				M	UN	W	M	UN	W	
12. Jobs should be reserved for black males first	%	33.3	66.7	77.8	38.5	100.0	22.2	61.5	0	12.33*
	N	15	30	5	5	5	21	8	0	
13. Where black females are promoted into traditionally black males positions, conflict is possible	%	84.4	15.6	85.2	84.6	80.0	14.8	15.4	20.0	0.09
	N	38	7	23	11	4	4	2	1	
14. Black females with equal qualifications and experience as black males should receive equal promotional opportunities	%	91.1	8.9	92.6	84.6	100.0	7.4	15.4	0	1.24
	N	41	4	25	11	5	2	2	0	
15. I am happy to work on equal footing with black females	%	97.8	2.2	96.2	100.0	100.0	3.8	0	0	0.68
	N	44	1	26	13	5	1	0	0	
16. The promotion of black females to positions equal to those of black males poses threat to the status of black males	%	88.9	11.1	88.9	84.6	100.0	11.1	15.4	0	0.86
	N	40	5	24	11	5	3	2	0	
17. The promotion of black females to positions equal to those of black males poses threat to job security of black males	%	73.3	26.7	63.0	84.6	100.0	37.0	15.4	0	4.14
	N	33	12	17	11	5	10	2	0	

4.4.3 WORKING IN CLOSE CO-OPERATION

Three questions were asked dealing with the attitudes of rural men towards working with rural women and the effects this has on respondents. With regard to the question “ It is a good thing if rural men and women work in close co-operation” the majority of the respondents agreed with the statement.

97.8% of the respondents felt working with rural women improves abilities of rural women. The majority of the respondents (84.4%) agreed that working closely with rural women makes one feel more uncomfortable with rural women on social basis (see Table 11).

TABLE 11: ATTITUDES OF RURAL MEN ABOUT CLOSE WORKING WITH RURAL WOMEN

ITEMS		SA	A	U	D	SD
18. It is not a good thing if black males and black females work in close co-operation	%	35.6	55.5	8.9		
	N	16	25	4		
19. Working in close co-operation with black females improved one’s attitudes towards the ability of black females.	%	46.7	51.1		2.2	
	N	21	23		1	
20. Working in close co-operation with the black females make one feel more uncomfortable with black females on social basis	%	26.78	57.8	4.4	11.1	
	N	12	26	2	5	

AGE

No significant differences exist in the level of agreement between younger and older respondents on the questions dealing with attitudes of rural men towards working closely with rural women and the effect this has on respondents (Table 12).

TABLE 12: ATTITUDES OF RURAL MEN ABOUT WORKING CLOSELY WITH RURAL WOMEN AND ITS EFFECTS BY AGE

ITEMS		A	NOT A&U	A		NOT A & U		X ²
				Y	O	Y	O	
18. It is not a good thing if black males and black females work in close co-operation	% N	91.1 41	8.9 4	84.6 11	93.8 30	15.4 2	6.2 2	0.95
19. Working in close co-operation with black females improved one's attitudes towards the ability of black females	% N	97.8 44	2.2 1	92.3 12	100.0 32	7.7 1	0 0	2.52
20. Working in close co-operation with the black females make one feel more uncomfortable with black females on social basis	% N	84.4 38	15.6 7	84.7 11	84.4 27	15.3 2	15.6 5	0.0

EDUCATION

No statistically significant differences found in the level of agreement between junior and senior educated respondents on the question dealing with attitudes of rural men towards working closely with rural women and the effects this has on respondents (Table 13).

TABLE 13: ATTITUDES OF RURAL MEN ABOUT WORKING CLOSELY WITH RURAL WOMEN AND ITS EFFECT ON RESPONDENTS BY EDUCATION

		A	NOT A&U	A		NOT A & U		
ITEMS				J	S	J	S	X ²
18. It is not a good thing if black males and black females work in close co-operation	% N	91.1 41	8.9 4	90.4 19	91.7 22	9.6 2	8.3 2	0.02
19. Working in close co-operation with black females improved one's attitudes towards the ability of black females.	% N	97.8 44	2.2 1	95.2 20	100.0 24	4.8 1	0 0	1.17
20. Working in close co-operation with the black females make one feel more uncomfortable with black females on social basis	% N	84.4 38	15.6 7	85.7 18	83.3 20	14.3 3	16.7 4	0.05

MARITAL STATUS

100.0% of the married respondents felt uncomfortable to work closely with women, 69.2% of the unmarried respondents were uncomfortable to work closely with women and 40.0% of the widowed respondents held the same perception. No significant difference exists in the responses (see Table 14).

TABLE 14: ATTITUDES OF RURAL MEN ABOUT WORKING WITH RURAL WOMEN BY MARITAL STATUS

ITEMS		A	NOT A & U	A			NOT A & U			X ²
				M	UN	W	M	UN	W	
18. It is not a good thing if black males and black females work in close co-operation	% N	91.1 41	8.9 4	85.1 23	100.0 13	100.0 5	14.9 4	0 0	0 0	2.93
19. Working in close co-operation with black females improved one's attitudes towards the ability of black females	% N	97.8 44	2.2 1	100.0 27	92.3 12	100.0 5	0 0	7.7 1	0 0	2.52
20. Working in close co-operation with the black females make one feel more uncomfortable with black females on social basis	% N	84.4 38	15.6 7	100.0 27	69.2 9	40.0 2	0 0	15.4 4	0 0	9.23*

4.4.4 REVERSE DISCRIMINATION

Three questions were asked about the attitudes of rural men to women in the context of reverse discrimination. With regard to the statement “ Affirmative action policy does not mean rural men are unfairly discriminated against in favour of rural women” nearly all (97.8%) the respondents agreed with the statement. The majority of the respondents (86.7%) agreed with the statement “ Rural women does not have better chance of promotion than men because of projects’ guiding statements”.

Two thirds of the respondents (66.6%) felt more attention is paid to the training of rural women. Only 13.3% of the respondents disagreed with the statement. 20.1% of the respondents were uncertain about the statement as shown in Table 15.

TABLE 15: ATTITUDES OF RURAL MEN TO RURAL WOMEN IN THE CONTEXT OF REVERSE DISCRIMINATION

ITEMS		SA	A	U	D	SD
21. Affirmative action does not mean black males are unfairly discriminated against in favour of black females	%	53.3	44.4		2.2	
	N	24	20		1	
22. Black females do not have a better chance of promotion than black males because of the projects' policies/constitution	%	26.7	60.0		13.3	
	N	12	27		6	
23. More attention is paid to the training of black females than males	%	42.2	24.4	20.1	13.3	
	N	19	11	9	6	

AGE

Table 16 suggests that no statistically significant difference observed in the level of agreement between younger and older respondents with the statements on attitudes of rural men to rural women in the context of reverse discrimination.

TABLE 16: ATTITUDES OF RURAL MEN TO RURAL WOMEN IN THE CONTEXT OF REVERSE DISCRIMINATION

ITEMS		A	NOT A&U	A		NOT A & U		X ²
				Y	O	Y	O	
21. Affirmative action policy does not mean black males are unfairly discriminated against in favour of black females	% N	97.8 44	2.2 1	92.3 12	100.0 32	0 1	0 0	2.56
22. Black females do not have a better chance of promotion than black males because of the projects' policies/ constitution	% N	86.4 39	13.6 6	77.0 10	82.7 29	23 3	13.0 3	1.51
23. More attention is paid to the training of black females than males	% N	66.6 30	33.4 15	84.7 11	59.3 19	15.3 2	14.7 13	2.66

EDUCATION

There is no significant difference found in the level of agreement between the junior and Senior education respondents as suggested in Table 17 below.

TABLE 17: ATTITUDES OF RURAL MEN TO RURAL WOMEN IN THE CONTEXT OF REVERSE DISCRIMINATION BY EDUCATION

ITEMS		A	NOT A&U	A		NOT A & U		X ²
				J	S	J	S	
21. Affirmative action policy does not mean black males are unfairly discriminated against in favour of black females	% N	97.8 44	2.2 1	95.2 20	100.0 24	4.8 1	0 0	1.17
22. Black females do not have a better chance of promotion than black males because of the projects' policies/ constitution	% N	86.4 39	13.6 6	85.7 18	87.5 21	14.3 3	12.5 3	0.03
23. More attention is paid to the training of black females than males	% N	66.6 30	33.4 15	76.12 16	58.3 14	23.8 51	14.7 10	1.60

MARITAL STATUS

Table 18 indicates the fact that it is only on marital status where a significant difference exists. 55.6% of the married respondents felt rural men are discriminated against through training, 76.9% of the unmarried respondents indicated the same perception and 100.0% of the widowed respondents held the same perception.

TABLE 18: ATTITUDES OF RURAL MEN TO RURAL WOMEN IN THE CONTEXT OF REVERSE DISCRIMINATION BY MARITAL STATUS

ITEMS		A	NOT A&U	A			NOT A & U			X ²
				M	UN	W	M	UN	W	
21. Affirmative action policy does not mean black males are unfairly discriminated against in favour of black females	%	97.8	2.2	100.0	92.3	100.0	0	7.7	0	2.52
	N	44	1	27	12	5	0	1	0	
22. Black females do not have a better chance of promotion than black males because of the projects' policies/ constitution	%	86.4	13.6	88.9	76.9	100.0	11.1	23.1	0	1.95
	N	39	6	24	10	5	3	3	0	
23. More attention is paid to the training of black females than males	%	66.6	33.4	55.6	76.9	100.0	44.4	23.1	0	4.62
	N	30	15	15	10	5	12	3	0	

4.4.5 RURAL WOMEN SUPERIORS

Three questions were asked concerning the attitudes of rural men to rural women superiors. With respect to the question “ I would be unhappy to work under a woman superior” 75.6% of the respondents agreed. Only 8.8% of the respondents expressed disagreement with the statement. 15.6% of the respondents were unsure. With respect to the statement “ Having a black female superior over men would lead to conflict” 68.9% of the respondents agreed. 55.6% of the respondents felt even if women are qualified, they are still unacceptable to be superiors over men. Nearly a half (44.4%) of the respondents felt women are acceptable if qualified for the position as shown in Table 19.

TABLE 19: ATTITUDES OF RURAL MEN ABOUT RURAL WOMEN SUPERIORITY

ITEMS		SA	A	U	D	SD
24. I would be unhappy to work under a female supervisor	%	44.4	31.2	15.6	4.4	4.4
	N	20	14	7	2	2
25. Having a black female superior over black males would lead to conflict	%	24.4	44.5		31.1	
	N	11	20		14	
26. I would be happy to work under female superior if she is qualified	%	17.8	37.8		37.8	6.6
	N	8	17		17	3

AGE

No significant difference exists in the level of agreement between responses of the age groups with regard to the attitudes of rural men about rural women superiority (Table 20).

TABLE 20: ATTITUDES OF RURAL MEN ABOUT RURAL WOMEN SUPERIORITY BY AGE

ITEMS		A	NOT A&U	A		NOT A & U		X ²
				Y	O	Y	O	
24. I would be unhappy to work under a female supervisor	%	75.6	24.4	77.0	75.0	23.0	3.1	0.01
	N	34	11	10	24	3	8	
25. Having a black female superior over black males would lead to conflict	%	68.9	31.1	84.7	62.5	15.3	37.5	2.11
	N	31	14	11	20	2	12	
26. I would be happy to work under female superior if she is qualified	%	55.6	44.4	53.9	56.2	46.1	43.8	0.02
	N	25	20	7	18	6	14	

EDUCATION

Table 21 will indicate that there is, however, no significant difference between education qualification levels: junior and senior education groups.

TABLE 21: ATTITUDES OF RURAL MEN ABOUT RURAL WOMEN SUPERIORITY BY EDUCATION

ITEMS		A	NOT A&U	A		NOT A & U		X ²
				J	S	J	S	
24. I would be unhappy to work under a female supervisor	% N	75.6 34	24.4 11	66.7 14	83.3 20	33.3 7	16.7 4	0.69
25. Having a black female superior over black males would lead to conflict	% N	68.9 31	31.1 14	66.7 14	70.9 17	33.3 7	29.1 7	0.09
26. I would be happy to work under female superior if she is qualified	% N	55.6 25	44.4 20	85.8 18	29.1 17	14.2 3	70.9 7	1.43

MARITAL STATUS

A statistically significant difference exists in the level of agreement between the responses on the question of unhappiness to work under women superiors: married (96.2%), unmarried (23.0%) and widowed respondents (100.0%) as pointed in Table 22.

TABLE 22: ATTITUDES OF RURAL MEN ABOUT RURAL WOMEN SUPERIORITY BY MARITAL STATUS

ITEM		A	NOT A & U	A			NOT A & U			X ²
				M	UN	W	M	UN	W	
24. I would be unhappy to work for a female supervisor	% N	75.6 34	24.4 11	96.2 26	23.0 3	100.0 5	3.8 1	77.0 10	0 0	27.29*
25. Having a black female superior over black males would lead to conflict	% N	68.9 31	31.1 14	66.7 18	84.7 11	40.0 2	33.3 9	15.3 2	60.0 3	3.51
26. I would be happy to work for female superior if she is qualified	% N	55.6 25	44.4 20	63.0 17	53.9 7	20.0 1	37.0 10	46.1 6	80.0 4	3.18

4.4.6 RURAL WOMEN NEIGHBOURHOOD

Table 23 suggests that the majority of the respondents feel they are happy to be neighbors of women. A question was asked regarding to the attitudes of rural men towards black woman neighborhood. The majority of the respondents (84.4%) indicated a positive response. 8.9% of the respondents felt unsure about the statement.

TABLE 23: ATTITUDES OF RURAL MEN ABOUT NEIGHBOURING WITH RURAL WOMEN

ITEMS		SA	A	U	D	SD
27. I would be happy to have a black female neighbour provided our living standards were similar	%	24.4	60.0	8.9	6.7	
	N	11	27	4	3	

On the question asked with regard to the attitudes black men have towards neighboring with black women, no statistically significant difference exist between all groups of respondents as given in Tables 24, 25, and 26 respectively.

TABLE 24: ATTITUDES OF RURAL MEN ABOUT NEIGHBOURING WITH RURAL WOMEN BY AGE

		A	NOT A&U	A		NOT A & U		
ITEMS				Y	O	Y	O	X²
27. I would be happy to have a black female neighbour provided our living standards were similar	%	84.4	1.6	84.7	84.3	15.3	15.7	0.0
	N	38	7	11	27	2	5	

TABLE 25: ATTITUDES OF RURAL MEN ABOUT NEIGHBOURING WITH RURAL WOMEN BY EDUCATION

ITEMS		A	NOT A&U	A		NOT A & U		X ²
				J	S	J	S	
27. I would be happy to have a black female neighbour provided our living standards were similar	% N	84.4 38	15.6 7	80.9 17	87.5 21	19.1 4	12.5 3	0.37

TABLE 26: ATTITUDES OF RURAL MEN ABOUT NEIGHBOURING WITH RURAL WOMEN BY MARITAL STATUS

ITEM		A	NOT A & U	A			NOT A & U			X ²
				M	UN	W	M	UN	W	
27. I would be happy to have a black female neighbour provided our living standards were similar	% N	84.4 28	15.6 7	81.4 22	92.3 12	80.0 4	18.6 5	7.7 1	20.0 1	0.87

4.4.7 SOCIAL NETWORKS IN THE WORKPLACE

Questions were asked concerning attitudes of rural men in the context of informal networks in the workplace. The majority of the respondents (84.5%) felt having rural women move up into position previously held by rural men will spoil and disturb the enjoyments of social groups in the workplace. With regard to the statement “ I would enjoy socializing with rural women if we were of the same level or rank”. 75.6% of the respondents agreed and 17.8% of the respondents felt unsure. With regard to the statement “ I could not seek alternative work if most colleagues were females”. 64.5% of the respondents agreed with the statement and 35.5% of the respondents disagreed with the statement as given in Table 27.

TABLE 27: ATTITUDES OF RURAL MEN ABOUT RURAL WOMEN IN SOCIAL NETWORKING

ITEMS		SA	A	U	D	SD
28. Having black females move up into jobs previously held by black males will spoil any enjoyment of social circles at work	%	6.7	77.8		15.5	
	N	3	35		7	
29. I could enjoy socialising with black females if we were of the same level	%	46.7	28.9	17.8	4.4	2.2
	N	21	13	8	2	1
30. I could not seek alternative work if most colleagues were black females	%	13.3	51.2		22.2	13.3
	N	6	23		10	6

AGE and EDUCATION

Tables 28 and 29 indicate that on the questions asked with regard to the attitudes of black males towards women in the context of the informal networks in the workplace, no statistically significant differences were found between both the age and education groups.

TABLE 28: ATTITUDES OF RURAL MEN ABOUT RURAL WOMEN IN SOCIAL NETWORKING BY AGE

ITEMS		A	NOT A&U	A		NOT A & U		X ²
				Y	O	Y	O	
28. Having black females move up into jobs previously held by black males will spoil any enjoyment of social circles at work	%	84.5	15.5	69.2	90.7	30.8	9.3	3.22
	N	38	7	9	29	4	3	
29. I could enjoy socialising with black females if we were of the same level	%	75.6	24.4	92.3	68.7	7.7	31.3	2.78
	N	34	11	12	22	7	1	
30. I could not seek alternative work if most colleagues were black females	%	64.5	35.5	46.1	71.1	53.9	28.1	2.67
	N	29	16	6	23	7	9	

TABLE 29: ATTITUDES OF RURAL MEN ABOUT RURAL WOMEN IN SOCIAL NETWORKING BY EDUCATION

ITEMS		A	NOT A&U	A		NOT A & U		X ²
				J	S	J	S	
28. Having black females move up into jobs previously held by black males will spoil any enjoyment of social circles at work	%	84.5	15.5	95.2	75.0	4.8	25.0	3.50
	N	38	7	20	18	1	6	
29. I could enjoy socialising with black females if we were of the same level	%	75.6	24.4	85.8	66.7	14.2	33.3	2.20
	N	32	11	18	16	3	8	
30. I could not seek alternative work if most colleagues were black females	%	64.5	35.5	76.1	54.1	23.9	45.9	2.38
	N	29	16	16	13	5	11	

MARITAL STATUS

92.6% of the married respondents agreed with the statement “ Having rural women move Up into jobs traditionally enjoyed by rural men will spoil the enjoyments of the groups at workplace”, 77.0% of the unmarried respondents agreed with the statement and 60.0% of the widowed respondents agreed with the statement. A significant difference exists on marital status.

77.8% of the married respondents agreed with the statement “ I could not seek alternative work if most colleagues were females”, 38.4% of the unmarried respondents agreed with the statement and 80.0% agreed with the statement. A significant difference exists on marital status as Table 30 shows.

TABLE 30: ATTITUDES OF RURAL MEN ABOUT RURAL WOMEN IN SOCIAL NETWORKING AT WORKPLACE BY MARITAL STATUS

ITEM		A	NOT A&U	A			NOT A & U			X ²
				M	UN	W	M	UN	W	
28. Having black females move up into jobs previously held by black males will spoil any enjoyment of social circles at work	%	84.5	15.5	92.6	77.0	60.0	7.4	23.0	40.0	6.61*
	N	38	7	25	10	3	1	10	3	
29. I could enjoy socialising with black females if we were of the same level	%	75.6	24.4	66.7	84.7	100.0	33.3	15.3	0	3.35
	N	34	11	18	11	5	9	2	0	
30. I could not seek alternative work if most colleagues were black females	%	64.5	35.5	77.8	38.4	80.0	22.2	61.6	20.0	6.55*
	N	29	16	21	5	5	6	8	1	

4.4.8 WORK FACILITIES

A question was asked concerning attitudes of black men towards women capabilities in using agriculturally advanced technologies. Only 28,8% of the respondents disagreed with the statement that women are less capable of using advanced technologies. The majority of respondents (71.2%) agreed with the statement, indicating the point that women are less capable to use advanced technologies (Table 31).

TABLE 31: ATTITUDES OF RURAL MEN ABOUT WOMEN'S CAPABILITIES IN USING ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY

ITEMS		SA	A	U	D	SD
31. Black females are not capable of using agriculturally advanced technology	%	28.9	42.3		24.4	4.4
	N	13	19		11	2

AGE, EDUCATION AND MARITAL STATUS

Tables 32, 33 and 34 respectively indicate that no significant difference exist in the level of agreements between all groups with regard women capabilities.

TABLE 32: ATTITUDES OF RURAL MEN ABOUT MEN ABOUT WOMEN'S CAPABILITIES IN USING ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY BY AGE

		A	NOT A & U	A		NOT A & U		
ITEMS				Y	O	Y	O	X ²
31. Black females are not capable of using agriculturally advanced technology	% N	71.2 32	28.8 13	84.7 11	65.7 21	15.3 2	37.5 11	1.62

TABLE 33: ATTITUDES OF RURAL MEN ABOUT WOMEN'S CAPABILITIES IN USING ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY BY EDUCATION

		A	NOT A&U	A		NOT A & U		
ITEMS				J	S	J	S	x ²
31. Black females are not capable of using agriculturally advanced technology	% N	71.2 32	28.8 13	66.7 14	75.0 18	33.3 7	25.2 6	0.38

**TABLE 34: ATTITUDES OF RURAL MEN ABOUT WOMEN'S CAPABILITIES IN USING
ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY BY MARITAL STATUS**

ITEM		A	NOT A & U	A			NOT A & U			χ^2
				M	UN	W	M	UN	W	
31. Black females are not capable of using agriculturally advanced technology	% N	71.2 32	28.8 13	59.2 16	92.3 12	80.0 4	40.8 11	7.7 1	20 1	4.88

CHAPTER 5

5 DISCUSSION

The findings of the survey reported in the previous chapter will be discussed in the chapter. This will be done by testing the three hypotheses stated earlier against these survey findings as well as the relevant insights developed from literature review.

The first hypothesis states rural men display negative attitudes towards the advancement of rural women.

The findings reveal that rural men are positive regarding the general policy for the advancement of women. Men recognize the practices that are inequitable and support principles such as equal opportunities and fairness with respect to women. They also express positive attitudes about the inherent nature of women. While holding these perceptions, however, they display feelings indicating that women are inherently inferior. Men appear to express sexist attitudes, that is, human abilities are sex determined. By expressing these attitudes men in fact look down on women. This is supported by the fact that men are most negative about working for woman superiors and they do not accept the idea of women in leadership positions. Marital status appears to be a significant variable in this area. Married men express negative attitudes significantly more than unmarried men with respect to items regarding women superior positions (Table 22). The majority of men (Table 19) also felt that having woman superiors over men would lead to conflict. These factual statements display negative stereotyping of women by men and provide support for the conclusion that the hypothesis is to be confirmed.

Beliefs and practices within the Pondo culture might be explaining men's negative attitudes to women and their advancement. De Beer et al (1994) contend that each individual member of the Pondo homestead must fulfill the work that has been entrusted to the member and that he or she will contribute to the well-being of the homestead. This unquestioned fulfillment is the organizational basis of the homestead-based working group. This basis is not a matter of "mutual helpfulness" but the acceptance of a hierarchical order of things and structure. Men are perceived as superior in this order.

Rural men might develop negative attitudes towards women advancement because of especially male parental support and encouragement. In a male dominated social structure,

society itself contributes to gender difference in attitudes towards women. It has different expectations about farming for adult women and men and expressed as from their early and youthful years.

According to Angelon (1991) as was seen in the literature review, the work that equals or exceeds that of men in practical value can characterize rural women as hard workers, intelligent and even helpful, but that does not automatically lead to equality. For example, rural women, in many small-scale agricultural societies, also make contributions to subsistence work in the fields, often much harder than men, yet their status usually remains quite low. This possibly explains the tendency of rural men, being positive about women characteristics yet perceiving them inferior and unable to “hold their own” in management. Weil (1981) adds to the explanation saying that a husband derives more benefits from his wife’s training than from her occupation. He might feel marriage to an “over educated” and intelligent wife stressful. That is, when the wife’s education is higher than her husband’s.

According to the theory of social closure, in support of the hypothesis, the negative feelings towards women can be explained in terms of social distance and hierarchy between men and women. Women in rural areas are perceived as inferior, minors and incapable of doing men’s tasks. Attempts to change their position in social structure therefore tend to be seen as a problem and the discourse on women’s changing role becomes essentially focused on control.

The second hypothesis states that displayed negative attitudes are expressed through exclusionary strategies to rural women.

The first hypothesis has been supported that rural men have negative attitudes to women. In the second hypothesis, it is stated that displayed attitudes are expressed in some strategies and tactics. For example, men prefer to have and would enjoy participating in exclusive informal social networks at the work place. The majority (84.5%; Table 27) of the respondents expressed a positive feeling and preference towards the community of men and the maintenance of social groups or circling with men at work. Married, older and junior educated men expressed a stronger preference than unmarried, younger and senior educated men for circling with men. This can be explained possibly by saying that the former are still more conservative and more traditional than the latter even though all

men regardless of age, education or marital status, know much about equity issues. Rural men also tend to strengthen these strategies. They are positive about networking within the circles of men and they close their informal social networks and contact in the work environment as ways of closing information to a limited group of men and hence in controlling the work situation. The results tend to support the second hypothesis.

Some reasons can be offered for this finding. According to De Beer et al (1994), under economic conditions, homestead heads, usually men, pledge themselves to assist one another should the need arise. In the pledge, women are the out-group. Men presumably do so to capture some of the benefits and to ensure their power is not challenged. This concurs with Hunter (1979) who argues that rural men use traditional rules to prevent women from inheriting the land. According to traditional rule, there is a direct inheritance from father to son, and current inherited land by a male head of the homestead will continue to be at the disposal of one of the sons. Giddens (1994) indicates that rural men hold positions of wealth and power that provide advantages and positions to perpetuate benefits to their male offspring.

In this study, social closure seems to function through the twin mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion. With respect to socio-economic advancement, rural men apparently use exclusionary tactics in controlling women's access to such positions and traditional strategies in perpetuating the advantageous male position of their sons. It may be concluded that men are resistant to changes that will disturb their familiar social order which helps to ensure that they remain in and maintain their privileged positions.

The third hypothesis states that men's negative attitudes will limit rural women's advancement.

As concluded with reference to the second hypothesis, strategies and tactics used by men, in essence, are practiced with the view of limiting women's advancement. In other words, men's behaviour, as based on sexist attitudes, will affect negatively and hamper women's development, abilities and experiences. On the positive side, nearly all the respondents (97.8%; Table 11) agreed that working closely with rural women would improve the abilities of women. Yet they (rural men) felt that it is not a good thing to work closely with rural women (91.1%; Table 11). This would make men socially uncomfortably (84.6%; Table 11). The majority of men also believe that women are not capable of using agriculturally advanced technology (71.2%; Table 31). Men are therefore presumably not

inclined to put women in the position to learn by experience, are feeling uncomfortable having them in close proximity in a work situation, and have little faith to them using advanced technologies.

These feelings, to put limitations put on to women, resonate with some previous work. Visvanathan et al (1997) contend that rural women's opportunities to engage in wage labour and non-agricultural enterprises are far more limited. Wives' economic opportunities are nonetheless highly conditioned by the state of the economy that is male dominated. It is male privilege that makes men unlikely to ally themselves to the cause of women's advancement with out powerful persuasion (Young, 1992). Lessing (1994) is of the opinion that there are some aspects of traditional black culture that may hold women back. In addition, black women's status as subordinate to men was aggravated by the way black tradition was interpreted in South African law. This might have affected black women's self-esteem and ability to own and run businesses and socio-economic projects and limited them coping creativity with the tasks involved.

According to this study's findings and interpretation of the social closure theory, a top-down process is originating from men that aim at excluding women from opportunities toward their advancement. Opportunities are therefore closed off to women. It can be expected however that women, as powerless group, will attempt to gain access to the advantages and opportunities enjoyed by men through training and women movements, as examples of empowerment strategies. The next chapter as a conclusion to the study and recommendation for dealing with the disadvantaged position of rural black women will address the possible solutions flowing from this research.

CHAPTER 6

6. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The chapter presents conclusions drawn from the findings and results of the data analysis. It further contains recommendations that emerged from the study.

6.1 CONCLUSION

The attitude of rural men towards the advancement of African women in the irrigation maize producing projects at Port St Johns were found to be differentiated. Men in the projects accept principles such as equal opportunities, fairness and non-discrimination. However, they display a strong feeling that women are inherently less capable than men and seemed to have little faith that women could actually “hold their own” in management positions.

Many aspects of rural men’s attitude described by the hypotheses discussed above can be usefully explained in terms of theoretical model of social closure. This has been noticed strongly where rural men use exclusionary strategies to maintain their position and opportunities. Many of the attitudes shown and highlighted in the study present obstacles to the success of programmes designed to facilitate the advancement of rural women into higher-level positions. As stated earlier, the aim of the study was to investigate the attitudes of the African men to the advancement of African women in two-irrigation maize producing project at Port St Johns (Eastern Cape Province).

My first objective was to measure the attitudes displayed by African men towards rural women’s advancement. This study has shown that many of the conclusions from other findings (Human et al 1990; Angelon 1991) remain valid for nearly 10 years later. They are positive in their understanding of affirmative action policy, women’s characteristics and meaning of reverse discrimination. They are, however, negative in their perception of women as superiors of over rural men.

My second major objective was to get beyond that and sought to investigate how men’s attitudes to the advancement of African women are expressed. The findings show that African men use exclusionary tactics to display their negative attitudes towards rural women’s socio- economic advancement. For example, rural men bond together and

deliberate on ideas. Rural men maintain their community as men with their language and traditional rule to command property or inheritance over men and keep rural women as the 'out-group'.

My third objective was to investigate the effects of African men's attitudes with regard to African women advancement. The findings show that African women advancement could be limited by men's attitudes. African women are marginalized and identified as a minor to put forward their ideas. Rural women's abilities and capabilities are less likely to be improved as the effect of men's attitude. The differentiation of the findings hopefully shows African women's situation can be corrected with the introduction of new educational programmes, as it is another way of climbing the ladder. This is, further more, suggested by the fact that the independent variable 'education' has clear effects on women's advancement. The more educated respondents were likely to favour women's upward mobility. Women are powerless and dependent. Their advancement and their acquisition of skills through education improve their feelings about women status. It can be said more and more 'tribal' boys are receiving an education, and that many young men have become so familiar with the world of money and the commodity as to make mockery of the ideas of the 'ignorant tribal' or the 'noble savage'. The strength of the study is that our findings are confirmed. Our data support the hypothesis. Our interpretation of the data is along the lines of the theory and the reasoning behind the hypothesis. Upheld predictions are evidence for the validity of the reasoning behind the problems statement.

Finally, more research is required if we are to make full sense of advancement of women. Our results show the centrality of rural men's attitude in farming community. Researchers should continue to draw insights of previous research findings. On that ground they will expand and certainly will help expand knowledge base in the sociology of farming community.

Overall, the results reported have call for greater attention to the intergenerational process underlying socially vibrant rural communities. Attitudes are shaped not only by age but also by education.

6.2 **RECOMMENDATIONS**

Stemming from the results of the findings, a set of study recommendations have been developed and are expected to help alleviate the problem. The researcher feels certain that the recommendations will effectively attain their intended goals, if properly implemented. Advising that rural men have negative attitudes towards rural women presumably means that such intended tendency is changeable (Lord 1997: 216).

We are all, including the government departments and non- government organizations; faced with the formidable task of breaking down the stereotypes men have of women. Gendered resistances to women of men are rooted in stereotypes. **In order to achieve success in men's relationship with women one must break down its various elements consciously:** men personify authority; women are inherently inferior; men are essentially superior (Niehoff 1969: 136).

Rural women may buy land, with the financial assistance of South African government and register it in the group's name for protection.

Their action is legitimated partly through the national development ideology, which stresses the importance of community action. Women can call both on the state's ideology of modernity and development and also on earlier forms of social organization to lay claim to land rights. (Colclough 1998:80).

Appropriate networks by must be organized and supported.

The success of rural women also depends on the structure and nature of social support networks, which are family – based, institutions - based and friendship – based networks. The networks in which these rural women are embedded could potentially shape their experience of poverty and achievement of mobility (Birch 1998:114). Social ties not only provide and lead on jobs, but also impact lessons about how to get ahead and function successfully in the work world. Jobs in the work world come with training, which leads to upper positions previously held by men even in development projects.

The Department of Agriculture should as an agent of change confer the rights and privileges upon excluded members of the community.

The powerless excluded community members may thus have a better access to the means of life. This can practically happen as the department finances women agricultural

projects, and opens chances and opportunities for women to be service providers in fencing the projects.

Women should secure rights to land by manipulation of the boundaries between the sphere of customary land rights and the state- legitimated realm.

Women's actual contribution to commercial production, in terms of their labour input, does not alone give them enough power (or the kind of power, ideologically legitimated power) to get access to income commensurate with the labour they put in (Colchough 1998:80).

Women should come up and form co-operatives to promote interests and meet their needs.

Rural co-operatives are dynamic agencies through which it is possible to carry out programs of a social and cultural, as well as of an economic nature (Niehoff 1969: 94). Co-operative organized along technical lines is a conquest of incalculable value in the progress of a community. The Department of Agriculture offers assistance in the formation of co-operatives.

The use of female agricultural technicians should be considered by the Department of Agriculture in working with rural women.

Where male agricultural technicians are employed, they should be gender sensitive so that they can learn the felt needs of the local people, as well as educate them in principles of range management to promote the kind of change gradually. Of course the change should be gradual not to disrupt social structure or total neglect of communicated idea (Niehoff 1969:156).

Traditional rural men should be manipulated to adopt an attitude vicariously by watching others and imitating what they successfully do.

Such vicarious learning experiences may come from posters, television and other media portrayals. Because table television and video rentals are so widely available, observational learning or modeling may play a very crucial role in shaping the 'actions' component of attitudes.

Visible and formally women's organizations for governments and projects should be institutionalized to relate to in a systematic ways.

Other formal organizations like Women' National Coalition (WNC) exist at national levels. Some of them may have organizational units that stretch down to the village level. Rural women have a clear perception of their situation and their needs, and very precise notions of what would be and immediate benefit to rural women. They are able to share ideas with agencies.

Women entrepreneurs must enjoy greater visibility to stimulate women with entrepreneurial potential and to improve awareness of women's role in this field.

Awareness needs to take place on a number of fronts. Greater public awareness through the use of the media, including campaigns and exhibitions needs to be promoted. There are various parties that can make this possible, including academics, business advisors and the government, as well as pressure groups for women. All of these can bring the media's attention to the role that women already play in the business world.

The boundaries which create occupational segregation should be broken down so that any growth in women's businesses is not just a product of the expansion of the service sector.

To do this, women must move into areas of work such as new technology. Before this can happen, they must have access to the skills and competences required. This will need to occur as a matter of course, not just as a demand for more trained workers arising from a skills shortage only. A true balance between the sexes would see comparably levels of a service sector not primarily dependent on women (Curran et al 1991).

The establishment of co-operatives for women should be encouraged.

They are also breaking gender stereotypes by training for such nontraditional jobs as electricians. For breaking stereotypes about the division of labour women may be taught accounting – traditional male activities.

All agencies should adopt and implement equal opportunity policies for their agency staff and clients.

It may be objected that to maintain that women have a distinctive contribution to make is contrary to feminist principles. However, for the foreseeable future, such proposition can be entertained without compromising the feminist position on equal opportunity. In the idea, non- sexist world of future, it will be recognized that human abilities are not sex-

linked. Job specifications and selection test should be prepared according to methods which are not gender biased (Novarra 1980:43).

The government should repeal and enforce those laws which discriminate against women in respect of rights of inheritance, ownership and control of property.

This would mean promotion of understanding of the need for such measures. It is essential to promote ownership and co-ownership of land to effectively give women with absentee husbands the legal rights to make decision on the land they manage (Overholt et al 1985:39).

The organisational and economic structures of the producer co-op must institutionalize women's participation and paying them directly for farm work.

Each co-operative farm member's output of work and corresponding forms of payment should be computed on an individual basis, whatever a person's family status may be. This change which enhances the partnership status of the wife, favors more independent behavior of women and creates conditions which will promote, in the long run, their equal status within the house (Overholt 1985: 45).

Feminists need to explore the possibilities and perhaps give greater attention to how and in what areas men can be approached and their help enlisted in struggle for women's rights and opportunities

. The grounds for united actions of men and women should not be ignored. To assume that opposition to patriarchy always pits men against women overlooks the positive role men can and do play in support of women (Gordon 1996: 10).

South African government, in general and the department of agriculture in particular, may employ more women as part of affirmative action policy.

Our study findings show that the majority of rural married men favour women's advancement. As a result of experience, not only a matter of an original pattern of motivations, attitudes change. Hoffman & Nye (1974) found that husbands of working wives to be less traditional than husbands of unemployed women.

The Department of Agriculture and other NGO's should continue encouraging agricultural events like women farmer's days, women's agricultural shows.

Prizes should be awarded to female winner of the year. In this process of pairing the attitude object (rural women) with pleasant event (of prize giving) rural men's negative attitudes may be affected positively. These activities, of course need to be budgeted for.

The Department of Labour should consider enforcing minimum wages.

A variety of reasons have been put forward to explain increased female labour force participation. The conventional role of women in today's society has changed. Women are changing their attitudes with respect to their place in the society. Women are also looking for higher wages than before, which provides an incentive for other women to enter into the labour force in hope of receiving more equitable wage. The same incentives to women are rewarding to men who are pleased by their women's wages. Thus, men's attitudes are positively changed towards advancing women.

Behaving positively towards rural women's advancement should be rewarded.

By rewarding rural men for being attitudinally positive to rural women's advancement we would be eliciting and reinforcing the positive attitude also. It means those projects that are composed of both men and women should be financially assisted especially if their top-managers are women and especially if it could be found rural men act for the women's top positions.

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APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE

FIRST SECTION

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Mark with **X** in an appropriate block.

Age:

10-16 (), 17- 25 (), 26- 35 (), 36-45 (), 46- 55 (), 56+-()

Educational Standard:

Grade 2 (), 5 (), 7 (), 10 () above ()

Marital Status:

Single (), Married (), Widowed (), Divorced ().

SECOND SECTION

QUESTIONS ON PERSONAL VIEWS

1. QUESTIONS ON WOMEN CHARACTERISTICS, AFFIRMATIVE ACTION & EQUITY ISSUES

ITEMS	S. AGREE	AGREE.	UNCERTAIN	DISAGREE	S. DISAGREE
1. I understand affirmative action policy					
2. Affirmative action policy is a good thing					
3. Affirmative action policy has helped me in my job					
4. Black females doing the same work as black males should receive the same pay					
5. Black females doing the same work as black males should be treated equally in terms of training as males					
6. Black females will be able to do the same work as black males					
7. Black females are productive as black males					
8. Black females are working hard as black males.					
9. Black females are equally intelligent as black males					
10. Black females are helpful like black males					
11. Black females are creative like black males					

2. JOB SECURITY

ITEMS	S. AGREE	AGREE	UNCERTAIN	DISAGREE	S. DISAGREE
12. Jobs should be reserved for black males first					
13. Where black females are promoted into traditionally black males positions, conflict is possible					
14. Black females with equal qualifications and experience as black males should receive equal promotional opportunities					
15. I am happy to work on equal footing with black females					
16. The promotion of black females to positions equal to those of black males poses threat to the status of black males					
17. The promotion of black females to positions equal to those of black males poses threat to job security of black males					

3. WORKING IN CLOSE CO-OPERATION WITH BLACK FEMALES

ITEMS	S. AGREE	AGREE	UNCERTAIN	DISAGREE	S. DISAGREE
18 It is not a good thing if black males and black females work in close co-operation					
19. Working in close co-operation with black females improved one's attitudes towards the ability of black females					
20. Working in close co-operation with the black females make one feel more uncomfortable with black females on social basis					

4. REVERSE DISCRIMINATION

ITEMS	S. AGREE	AGREE	UNCERTAIN	DISAGREE	S. DISAGREE
21 Affirmative action policy does not mean black males are unfairly discriminated against in favour of black females					
22. Black females do not have a better chance of promotion than black males because of the projects' policies/ constitution					
23. More attention is paid to the training of black females than males					

5. BLACK FEMALE SUPERIORS

ITEMS	S. AGREE	AGREE	UNCERTAIN	DISAGREE	S. DISAGREE
24. I would be unhappy to work under a female supervisor					
25. Having a black female superior over black males would lead to conflict					
26. I would be happy to work under female superior if she is qualified					

6. LIVING WITH BLACK FEMALE NEIGHBOUR

ITEMS	S. AGREE	AGREE	UNCERTAIN	DISAGREE	S. DISAGREE
27. I would be happy to have a black female neighbour provided our living standards were similar.					

7. SOCIAL THREAT AT WORK

ITEMS	S. AGREE	AGREE	UNCERTAIN	DISAGREE	S. DISAGREE
28. Having black females move up into jobs previously held by black males will spoil any enjoyment of social circles at work					
29. I could enjoy socialising with black females if we were of the same level					
30. I could not seek alternative work if most colleagues were black females					

8. WORK FACILITIES

ITEMS	S. AGREE	AGREE	UNCERTAIN	DISAGREE	S. DISAGREE
31. Black females are not capable of using agriculturally advanced technology					