

Land redistribution and gender: A Case Study

by

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Declaration of Original work

I Susan Dada, Student number **29578991** declare that this dissertation is my own unaided original work. I have fully acknowledged all sources, printed and electronic, I consulted in writing this dissertation, using the prescribed ways of referencing. I understand what plagiarism is and I am aware of University policy in this regard.

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Abstract

Land redistribution is one of the three components of the national land reform programme carried out by the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform in South Africa. Its aim is to redistribute land to the landless poor, farm workers and upcoming farmers mainly for residential and commercial uses with a view to improving livelihoods and their quality of life (DLA, 1997; Bradstock, 2005). A gender policy that indicates how women should access and benefit from the land redistribution programme (DLA, 1997) was developed to facilitate the land redistribution process. This research takes the form of a case study and explores how these gender considerations were implemented as well as the lived realities on a redistributed farm.

The research seeks to understand gender dynamics in decision-making and resource allocation on a redistributed farm. The extent to which roles and relationships, division of labour and power relations have changed as beneficiaries take on the responsibility of managing the farm with a view to enhancing their livelihood strategy is explored. Results suggest the gender policy has not adequately addressed the issues around equity with gendered power relations and division of labour evident.

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Abbreviations

AgriSETA	Agricultural Sector Education and Training Authority
DLA	Department of Land Affairs
ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
GAD	Gender and Development
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/ Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
LRAD	Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development
MFTF	Mokopane Farmers Trust Farm
SAPs	Structural adjustment policies
SAWAU	South African Women's Agricultural Union
UIF	Unemployment Insurance Fund
WID	Women in Development
WAD	Women and Development

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Background

Land redistribution is one of the three components of the national land reform programme carried out by the Department of Rural Development and Land Reform as provided for under the “White Paper on South African Land Policy” (DLA¹, 1997). Within the same programme two other components are carried out namely land restitution and land tenure reform. The aim of land redistribution is to redistribute land to the landless poor, farm workers, labour tenants and upcoming farmers mainly for residential and commercial uses with a view to improve their livelihoods and quality of life. The purpose of land restitution is to restore land to those people that were displaced as a result of the Natives Land Act of 1913 and the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936 while land tenure reform is set to address issues related to insecurity of tenure that came about during the apartheid era in the former homelands (DLA, 1997; Bradstock, 2005).

This research focuses on the land redistribution component with special attention to gender as administered by government policy guidelines given the specific gender policy that indicates how women should access and benefit from the land redistribution programme (DLA, 1997). Three aspects of the gender policy are examined and these relate to legal prescriptions on participation by women, mechanisms of project planning and beneficiary selection, as well as specific provision for women to enable them access financial and support services under the land redistribution programme which has created some opportunities for women. The selected case study involves employees from a farm, who collectively benefited from the land redistribution programme by obtaining ownership of the property.

¹ In 2009 the Department of Land Affairs was renamed Department of Rural Development and Land Reform.

Land redistribution forms part of the government's plan of action that seeks to address rural poverty and inequitable land distribution. The land redistribution policy's main focus is to help groups and individuals to obtain land through the land market with assistance from the government through provision of subsidies. The acquisition is facilitated within the context of a market led programme that is based on a "willing seller/willing buyer" principle while protecting the existing property rights of the owners (Bradstock, 2005; Cousins, 1995).

In November 2000, the "Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development" (LRAD) policy put in place a plan to transfer 30% of agricultural land that was white owned to black ownership over a 15 year period. The department's strategy was to acquire and allocate strategically located land by 2014. The expectation was that with the access to land, the issue of food security would be addressed which in turn would improve the livelihoods of beneficiaries. Historically this figure of 30% had been raised by the World Bank documents suggesting a timeframe of five years but as Walker (2003) indicates the complexity of the legislation and lack of funds and support resulted in failure to reach set targets.

The target for 2012/2013 was set at 321 122 hectares but the actual figure acquired was 157 556 hectares. Officially, the failure to achieve this target is attributed to the department's change from a hectare target approach to the one of acquiring existing agricultural concerns under the Recapitalisation and Development Programme which supports land reform beneficiaries and rural communities. Hence, besides simply purchasing property, the policy provides for a period of financial support to ensure that concerns are viable after obtaining the property and have access to an initial amount of working capital.

The land redistribution programme provides for women's participation in a very specific manner given that in South Africa women's land rights may be seen to be more insecure compared to those of men. Historically, in some parts of South Africa

where communal tenure operated a woman could not hold land as a man had to be involved in obtaining it (Thorp 1997). As far as women are concerned, there was a tendency to link property ownership to the husband which meant the only way to access land was through marriage and where inheritance was concerned it was mostly the males that were allowed to inherit and have access to land. This traditional practice was driven by the fear held by men if women inherited land their authority would be undermined and communities would disintegrate as a result (Thorp, 1997; Small 1997). It indicates how patriarchy was entrenched in society to the extent that the issues of women were regarded as secondary to those of men and their right of access to land was denied through the practice of customary law (Meer, 1997; Rangan & Gilmartin, 2002). The result was that women were not allowed to own land nor have full rights to land. They could only access land through their kinship ties which implied they could not make any decisions related to land matters given their position in society.

One other factor that perpetrated women's inability to own land was the migrant labour system. The migrant labour system operated on a basis where men were targeted as the migrants and women were left in the rural areas and depended on the income they received from their husbands. In this way the women ended up contributing to the social reproduction of labour through their involvement in the subsistence economy within the reserves by maintaining households. The women's mobility was constrained by the expectation by the males that they should keep the rural base going while they leave during the period of employment and return when they are unemployed. As a result the number of adult women in the rural areas is higher than that of men. With a decline in the mining industry which was a key employer of men, demographics in these rural areas have been changing. High unemployment and poverty have resulted in increased demand for land in the rural areas as people struggle to maintain their livelihoods by drawing on various options (Meer, 1997; Shackleton et al., 2001; Walker, 2003).

To address the issues relating to women and land in South Africa, the then Minister of Land Affairs approved a “Land Reform Gender Policy Document” in April 1997 to encourage participation of women in the land redistribution programme. The aim of the policy was to provide an avenue for women to access, acquire and manage land in a productive manner and access financial assistance in the form of credit for production. The Department of Land Affairs set out one of its guiding principles to “actively promote the principle of gender equity in land reform”. Thus gender equity became a key outcome that was to be achieved by this strategy that targeted women as beneficiaries. It aligned policy to the expressed intent in the constitution to promote gender equality (Cousins, 1995; Walker, 2003).

Consequently, the objective of the research was to examine issues related to land redistribution and gender with particular reference to a trust farm located in Limpopo Province in South Africa. To protect the privacy of participants a pseudonym - Mokopane Farmers Trust Farm (MFTF) is used to refer to this case study. MFTF presents a case where farm workers came together, acquired the land and became beneficiaries. This scenario within the context of the research presented an opportunity to examine whether change in institutional structures through the land redistribution programme promoted gender equity with a specific focus on women on the farm. It raises the question whether men and women have equal opportunities to access and own land and benefit from the proceeds or productivity. The research examines the extent to which policies the department put in place to ensure women participate and benefit from the land redistribution programme are achieved.

1.2. Research problem

The study examines issues surrounding land redistribution and gender at the Mokopane Farmers Trust Farm (MFTF) in Limpopo Province in South Africa with specific reference to women.

1.3. Research question

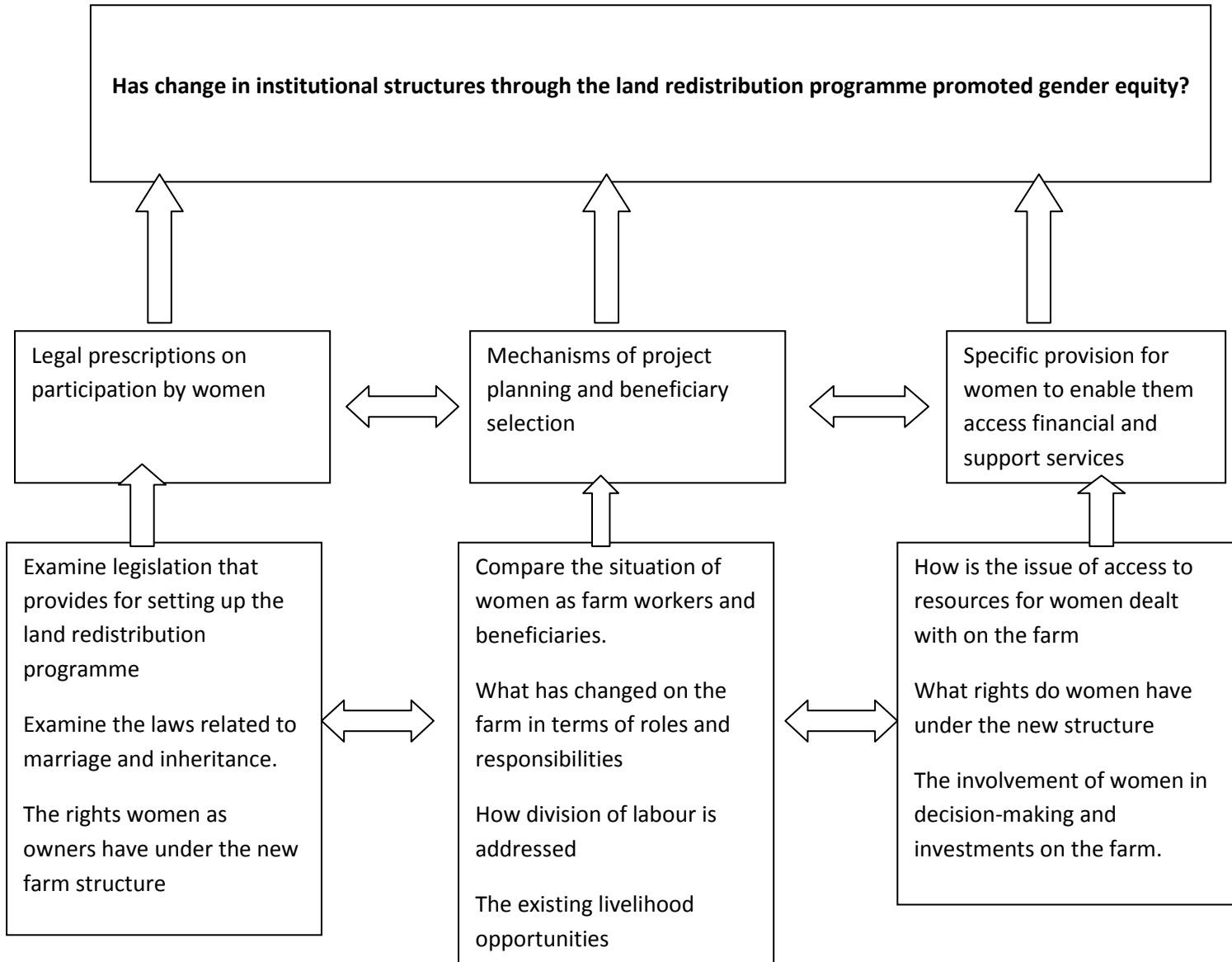
The main research question is: Has change in institutional structures through the land redistribution programme promoted gender equity?

1.4. Objectives of the study

The following objectives were formulated to guide the study:

1. To investigate the extent to which legislation regarding gender equity was adhered to in the light of land redistribution.
2. To compare the welfare of women on the farm in relation to ownership of assets before and after becoming beneficiaries.
3. To explore the challenges faced by women as they relate with men on the farm through the various roles they perform.

The figure below presents a summary of the objectives and how these relate to the research question.



1.5 Study area

The study was carried out at the MFTF which is located in Waterberg District, Limpopo province in South Africa. MFTF is situated 60 km from Polokwane in the Mokopong Local Municipality of the Mogoto/ Mokopane area. The farm is 486 hectares in size and commercial agriculture is practiced. The farm grows citrus fruit, grapes and vegetables. When the transfer occurred on 5th March 2010 there were 55 beneficiaries on record (38 women and 17 men). At the beginning of the study in January 2013 there were 46 active beneficiaries (36 women and 10 men) and by the time the fieldwork came to an end in September 2014 there were 29 active beneficiaries (26 women and three men). Currently, the farm is managed by a board of 5 trustees (2 male and 3 female), a management committee of five members (2 male and 3 female) and two male partners.

The choice of MFTF was influenced by the following factors: It is one of the farms where farm workers benefited from the land redistribution programme and became beneficiaries which provided a change in institutional ownership. The number of women beneficiaries is significant and this provided an opportunity to consider questions around land redistribution and gender. Out of all the farms that were available as possible research areas, MFTF was the closest to the area where the researcher is based, in this case Pretoria. This made frequent visits to the study site possible during the data collection phase.

1.6 Outline of chapters

The first chapter introduces the concept of land redistribution and outlines the research problem, the research question to be answered, the objectives of the study, and the study area. In this chapter the basis and justification of the research is addressed.

In the second chapter the concepts of land redistribution programme in South Africa, gender equity, roles and relations as well as rural livelihoods are examined and these form the basis upon which the research was carried out.

The third chapter addresses the theories that support the research as well as the critiques of these theories which include: The Women in Development (WID), Women and Development (WAD) and Gender and Development (GAD) as well as the concept of gender mainstreaming. This is to ensure that the research is grounded on theory and it complements and adds to the academic work that exists on the subject.

The fourth chapter addresses the methodological aspects of the research. A qualitative research methodology was employed and the data collection methods and data analysis are discussed. This chapter also introduces the themes that emerge in the research as well as questions of ethics and reflexivity.

The themes which stem from the objectives and results of the research are discussed in the fifth chapter. These include (i) Governance and administration which covers the farm acquisition process, farm management and administration, the MFTF in partnership, the administration of shares and government support, (ii) Gender roles, (iii) Access to and control of resources and decision making, (iv) Women, men and their livelihoods and (v) Intensification of work.

The sixth chapter covers the key arguments that arise based on previous research carried out as outlined in the literature review and how the findings complement the theory that underpins the study. Emerging trends and recommendations as well as the conclusion are covered.

Chapter 2: Land redistribution and gender

2.1. Introduction

This section explores the available literature and debates surrounding the issue of land redistribution and gender. It examines the narratives around the concept of land redistribution and the position of women in relation to land in South Africa. Gender equity, roles and relations are examined as well as issues around women and livelihoods.

2.2. Land redistribution programme in South Africa

The new South African Constitution that was approved in December 1996 affirms a commitment to gender rights which provides for equal participation by women through the Bill of Rights and related conventions and declarations that aim to promote the interests of women (Rangan & Gilmartin, 2002). The Bill of Rights advocates for the right to life, equality, dignity among others. The constitution therefore sets out the rules on how the government works and relates to its citizens. Previously women were regarded as minors and whatever they earned fell under the administration of the husband. They could not own or access credit unless this was done through the husband who was considered a guardian. Furthermore they could not enter into agreements on their own. Through the recognition of the customary marriages act women have a constitutional right in areas of age consent divorce and property as all new marriages are formed in community of property (Broimohanlall et al. 1999).

The transition period between the old and new constitution therefore provided a window of opportunity for women to challenge gender boundaries however the extent to which this has been translated into practice remains a matter of concern.

The political participation of women through the quota system in South Africa has resulted in a greater number of women taking on representation and decision making roles. The end result has been a demand in gender-equitable public policies. (Hassim 2008). Walker (2003) argues that there is a difference between what is said and laid out in policy documents and the treatment of gender issues in practice. She further attributes this to the difficulties of implementing the gender policy due to limitations related to an inadequate understanding and management of the task, as well as lack of political accountability on the issue of women's land rights.

The Department of Land Affairs gender policy provided guidelines on how women should access and benefit from the land redistribution programme (DLA, 1997). The gender policy in combination with the communal Land Rights Act (2004) which addresses the empowerment of women by prohibiting discrimination against women, on gender basis when dealing with land matters, provides the legal and institutional framework within which the land redistribution programme is administered. Institutional change is a requirement for gender equity to occur. The degree to which change in institutions is possible is highly dependent on the ability of government to implement the policy by providing support and resources for implementation. The institutional structures that promote women's participation in land matters have been laid down. It requires at least one third of the membership of a land administration committee to be female (Cousins, 2007). According to Obeng-Odoom (2012), even with laid down policies and structures, it is not easy to implement the laid down policies as these are affected by customs that impinge negatively on women and their rights to own land.

Historically South Africa was described as a patriarchal society where women's issues were secondary to those of men. Men were considered the decision makers and tended to control resources functioning within the household given their position of being head of the family. This meant they were the bread winners and provided the finance while the women were perceived as dependants and performed the reproductive role which included bearing and caring for children and household

chores (Moser 2003). This situation produced inequalities between men and women in the rural areas through legal prescriptions on participation by women in land issues. For example women were not allowed to own land but could only access and cultivate land that belonged to their husbands or male relatives who acquired it through permits to occupy (Cross & Friedman 1988; Rangan & Gilmartin, 2002; Thorp 1997).

The circumstances in which women find themselves was contributed to through the tacit agreement between traditional leaders and colonial overseers to control women. It was exacerbated by the 1913 Land Act that created reserves for blacks² and prohibited the sale of land to blacks in the territory designated for white ownership (Davenport, 1991). In a bid to address the injustice that women suffered as a result of these land policies, the land reform program has identified land redistribution as a mechanism to address the inequalities that were perpetrated as a result of these policies.

Insecurity is felt by women as a result of inheritance and customary marriage practices when their husbands (fathers) die, or when they get divorced. Their access to land for residential rights and productive activities is at risk (Meer, 1997; Small, 1997; Thorp, 1997). However in contrast Fay (2009) is of the view that through communal ownership of land gender relations are fostered and equality is promoted. In this case women are viewed as part of a group, a household and are therefore not discriminated against. They can access land through their male heirs. This implies women have access to land through their cultural linkages and derive benefits the land offers through their male heirs, a situation that still promotes patriarchy.

² The use of racial terminology in this study reflects the classification that was imposed within the country and is still used in government departments for statistical purposes

To date land based inequalities continue to prevail despite efforts to address these issues in government policy and strategy. It has been observed that the government faces challenges in its attempt to implement policies in areas where women's access to and control of land has not improved (Cross et al. 2002). Some of the strategies the government has put in place include the land reform programme. Through the land reform programme, provision of land for the poor and disadvantaged groups such as women and the landless is done with a view to improving livelihoods. Through land redistribution programme women in rural areas have an opportunity to participate and acquire land with a view to improving their status (Bradstock, 2005, Sikor et al, 2009).

In a bid to tackle the issue of poverty and the inequalities the government has set up the land redistribution programme to improve the land based livelihoods of rural people. Its aim is to improve their quality of life by encouraging individuals and groups to come together and acquire land through the land redistribution programme.

Under this programme the "market assisted" mechanism of "willing seller/willing buyer" approach was applied by the government in redistributing land. The government set out to act as an intermediary and facilitates the transfer of land by offering loans to smallholders to purchase land from large land owners. This differed from earlier approaches where some governments bought the land, subdivided it and later sold to individuals or groups. Such programmes were undertaken in Brazil, Colombia and Philippines (Atkins, 1988, Cross & Friedman 1988).

The following factors have been identified as barriers to participation in the land redistribution programme: households should be able to contribute their time, labour and skills as well as bear the risk of farming, access credit, consult extension services and insurance costs and be able to contribute towards upfront farm management costs out of pocket. These barriers have been identified as some of the reasons affecting the implementation of the land redistribution process (Zimmermann, 2000). The research will examine how these barriers were dealt with in the case of the MFTF through the land acquisition process.

The paternalistic notion of women providing a stable source of labour that is cheap, and flexible, is a factor that contributed to gender inequality within the fruit farming sector has been challenged through new commercial practices which include farming on redistributed farms where women are able to seek and gain employment and are no longer dependent on the male partners for employment (Orton et al. 2001). The ownership of land by women under the land redistribution programme provides women access to land under a trust and this becomes an opportunity for women to own land independent of their relationship to males.

Thus the positive effects of the land reform programme for women have been identified as improved access to land, security of tenure, and access to credit among others (Kepe & Cousins, 2002). Findings from a study carried out by Walker in three communities within KwaZulu-Natal indicates that women were formally included in the first phase of the redistribution programme but their actual participation was not clearly indicated as some participated jointly with their husbands. The study indicated that male headed households had access to larger plot sizes than female headed households.

2.3. Gender equity, roles and relations

Gender has been defined as a “constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between sexes” (Scott, 1995). It is a “social construct” which means the roles of men and women are learnt, may differ and change over time. Oakley (1987) indicates that the identity of men and women is determined socially and psychologically. This includes their history and culture the institutional terrain they find themselves in, socialization and experiences all which shapes roles. This means gender is present in people’s lives and through their interaction they share and experience these roles (Meer, 1999).

According to Francis (1998) gender relations shape who men and women are and how they should treat and relate to one another. There are material, social, ideological and moral dimensions to the gender relations as they are expressed in a context which determines actions around the division of labour, sexuality, affection, and ideas about rights and responsibilities. Considering this provides insight on how power relations shape households and affect livelihoods. In the context of land redistribution, issues relating to ownership of land and paid work are likely to have a direct impact on livelihood strategies and gender relations of the beneficiaries.

Women and men have different roles in society which are guided by cultural, and religious prescriptions. Whereas women tend to take responsibility for domestic work, which includes, cooking and taking care of household duties, men on the other hand tend to take on the productive activities which include formal employment that result in earning of wages. However this division is changing as evidenced by new models of production. In cases where women participate in productive activities they are paid lower wages in comparison to their male counterparts. A study carried out in deciduous farms in the Western Cape indicated that, men tended to earn higher wages in jobs that have were categorized as high paying which included driving supervision and irrigation while women worked in the packing facilities harvesting and sorting at lower wages (Kritzinger & Vorster, 1996, UNISA Gender and Development reader 2011).

Gender relations produce inequalities and the inequalities should be understood in light of other social inequalities. The differences that exist between men and women produce inequalities and result in constructed roles, assumptions, prejudices and values in relation to culture (UNRISD, 2005). When examining land redistribution and gender, women's issues were considered with specific reference to equity, roles and relations and the way they relate to men. Women should play a part in decision making to avoid men's interests being taken as community interests during planning of projects and programmes. There is a possibility that a project designed to benefit women can be taken over by men (Goetz et al, 1995 Meer, 1997).

Gender equity implies that men and women are exposed to similar situations and have an opportunity to gain access to livelihood resources and carry out their day to day activities within the community (Rangan & Gilmartin, 2002). In the context of a farm, division of labour plays a role where certain activities (tasks/jobs) roles are male or female dominated. There are jobs or tasks that are physically demanding such as digging holes and operating heavy machinery which require men's input while other jobs are better suited for females such as sorting and packing which women are able to handle with care and are referred to having a soft touch as compared to how the men would handle such tasks (Kritzinger & Vorster 1996). This is a crucial issue, given the differing capabilities in the fairness with which jobs are assigned and administered as well as how far they are "valued".

In South Africa the policy on gender equity has enabled a greater number of women to occupy decision making positions. Women have mobilized around their interests and organised women groups that advocate for the rights of women in different spheres of the society. For example in agriculture the women voice their issues through the South African Women's Agricultural Union (SAWAU), while in politics, the ANC Women's League advances interests of women in the party (Walker, 2003).

When examining issues related to gender with regard to the labour market, issues related to access to employment, division of labour/occupational segregation where certain jobs are categorized for men or women and differences in wages exist, women tend to be disadvantaged in comparison to men of the same race, class and ethnicity. Work allocated to women tends to be perceived in the light of female characteristics such as patience and caring or the allocation is based on traditional activities such as cooking and cleaning (Kritzinger & Vorster, 1996, UNISA Gender and Development reader, 2011).

Patriarchy still plays a role in most parts of the world and in Africa women still hold on to their traditional roles in the management of household domestic labour and subsistence. This situation is slowly changing. The consequence of patriarchal

dominance is that men advance their needs and interests and presume they represent those of the community (Meer, 1997, Walker, 1997). In the context of the former reserves, the relationship that existed within rural households was such that, men needed access to women's labour and women needed access to cash income that was generated by the men. This was the manner in which either gender cooperated resulting in a situation where cooperation and bargaining power were fostered. Bargaining power meant the person that had the upper hand and ability to control the most essential resources required by the household made decisions related to their use.

Patriarchal gender relations have affected the status of women farm workers in the fruit farms in South Africa where differences are seen in wages earned between men and women, the nature of work considered for either gender and how women's choices and participation in decisions on the farm are experienced. The women's employment on the farms was regarded as part of the employment of the male partner and in turn it contributed to the structure of the farm as they provided additional labour. Their entry into farm employment was by virtue of being a spouse or member of a family that lived on the farm. The male was therefore considered as the main employee while the women were regarded as additional labour units acquired through the employment of the males. This resulted in inequalities where the men had power over the labour provided by the women (Kritzinger & Vorster, 1996, Orton et al., 2001).

2.4. The concept of rural livelihoods and gender

Livelihood studies focus on how people play active roles in making decisions concerning their subsistence (Hajdu, 2006). Chambers & Conway (1992) define a livelihood as a means of gaining a living, and identify capabilities, assets (material and social resources) and activities as playing a role. The assets are natural (natural resource base), social (social networks and associations), financial (savings, credit,

cattle), physical (farm equipment) and human (education, skills and health of household members). Livelihoods are shaped by accidents of birth and choice. The accident of birth describes how one is socialized and their experiences as they engage with the opposite gender and the social economic and ecological environment in which they live. These may include aspects such as their race and class. The accident of choice includes aspects that contribute to ones education and migration patterns that may have an impact on the person's life.

The different livelihood strategies that households choose are influenced and dependent on the above factors and prevailing circumstances of an individual. The assumption is that as the people draw on the different livelihood assets that are filtered through structures and processes, they become livelihood strategies which they use to pursue various livelihood outcomes (Ellis, 1999; Hajdu, 2006; Sallu et al., 2010). Women as beneficiaries of the land redistribution programme have an opportunity and responsibility to influence their livelihood strategies through land as a resource to enhance their day to day lives.

Referring to 'sustainable livelihood' Ellis defines a livelihood and rural livelihood diversification as:

'...the activities, the assets, and the access that jointly determine the living gained by an individual or household. Rural livelihood diversification is then defined as 'the process by which households construct a diverse portfolio of activities and social support capabilities for survival and in order to improve their standard of living...'' (Ellis, 1998)

Chambers & Conway (1992) identify rural livelihood activities as those related to cultivation, herding, hunting and gathering, reciprocal or wage labour, trading and hawking, artisanal work such as weaving and carving processing and providing

services in transport among others. These activities provide food, cash and other goods for human needs. Therefore a livelihood is considered to be sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stress and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future. This in turn provides sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation and contributes to the net benefits of other livelihoods locally and globally (Carney, 1998).

Access to and control of resources within a household plays an important role given that men tend to have more power and authority vested in them over the women through patriarchy. This contributes to the inequalities experienced in society that relate to access to land, control over resources, access to paid labour, and strategies for income diversification (Denton, 2002; Hajdu, 2006; Smit et al., 2006; Ellis, 2002).

Land and agricultural production remain the main source of livelihood for the beneficiaries. Previously most rural households relied on agriculture and agriculture alone cannot provide enough means for survival thus prompting for diversification in livelihood strategies (Hajdu, 2006; Smit & Pilifosova, 2003). This was due to the political and social structures that prohibited movement especially for women from the rural areas to urban areas.

Hajdu, (2006) introduces the concept of local perspectives which focuses on understanding how people feel, think and perceive their situations when choosing between available livelihood options. This brings out the notion of local people focusing on what is important for them with the emphasis on local knowledge and empowerment. They make choices and reinvest in assets driven by their own preferences and priorities on one hand, while vulnerability and the context in which they operate also influences these decisions.

Hajdu, (2006) points out that an important aspect of studying rural livelihoods is that it provides a practical understanding and view of what an individual's own needs are, which in turn collectively leads to livelihoods at a community level.

Hall (2007) observes that local situations in relation to available livelihood options are continuously changing. This includes seasonal fluctuations and sudden unique changes. This has resulted in the need for diversification and multiple livelihood strategies. This is crucial where conditions are marginal as a result.

Therefore in examining rural livelihoods in the context of land redistribution, the study will identify the different livelihood strategies employed by the beneficiaries and find out what has changed as we compare their situation in the past and at present.

Smit et al. (2003) have identified causal relationships between movement from unpaid to paid work and from agriculture towards non-agricultural work; and movement from household based labour activities to individual labour activities. Such causal relationships are bound to occur within the context of land redistribution.

In conclusion the new constitution through the bill of rights has provided women an opportunity to participate and own property in their own capacity. Inequalities that were perpetrated based on gendered divisions in society can be addressed through legislation to ensure the livelihood strategies for women and their participation in the labour market are improved. Gendered roles form the basis for planning of programmes to ensure the needs for men and women are adequately addressed while maintaining their relations.

Chapter 3: Theoretical perspectives on land redistribution and gender

3.1 Introduction

In this section the various theories and debates that have given rise to Gender studies and are relevant in the context of land redistribution and gender are examined. These theories will provide an understanding of gender and institutional changes and its application within the land redistribution programme. These include women in development (WID), women and development (WAD) gender and development (GAD) and gender mainstreaming. These theories emerged following the failure of the modernization approach that was used up to the 1970's to incorporate the poor and in particular women in development programmes.

Land redistribution and gender has both structural and institutional dimensions that have to be considered which relate to both men and women in society and how patriarchy has contributed to the current structure that provides a male dividend (privilege) when addressing development issues. The relationship between men and women in society is affected by the structural inequalities that define this relationship (Meena, 1992). The Government has laid down legislation that will address the structural inequalities within the land redistribution programme. The legislation provides for a specific manner in which women should participate in the land redistribution programme.

Their relevance to this study is that no single theory can address all issues around land redistribution and gender without reference to another. A combination of mixed approaches in this study context is best suited to provide an understanding of gender issues and their relevance. In the next section we examine each of the theories.

3.2 Women in development (WID)

The women in development approach (WID) was a response to development efforts that were considered to be gender blind and male oriented (Parpart et al., 2002). The WID approach is located within the liberal framework which addresses development with a view of increasing efficiency in production and services within a competitive market situation. Women who constituted a majority of agricultural producers had not been part of the mainstream in the development plans. They were added to existing project plans as a way to improve production (Meena, 1992). It is evident today that women still constitute a majority of the workforce in the fruit farms and are therefore a factor of production when one looks at issues relating to labour. The WID approach was mainly concerned with issues of social justice and equity for women (Razavi et al., 1995)

The women in development (WID) approach focused on the productive role of women and targeted individuals as the medium for social change. It acknowledged the existing social structures but did not question their source of oppression and subordination. The social status of women at the time was characterised by levels of ignorance, poverty, poor health and high maternal mortality rates that contributed to their inability to participate development programmes (Visvanathan et al., 1997).

The emphasis of programmes was to incorporate women into development projects that would provide them with economic gains and improve their position in the families and communities which in turn would improve their livelihoods. Women had been excluded from benefiting from development activity and therefore specialized women's projects were developed with a view to improving their position within the household. Emphasis was placed on equality and development of plans that would reduce the disadvantages and discrimination faced by women in the production sector (Akerkar, 2001; Boserup, 1970, Hafner-Burton & Pollack, 2002; Rathgeber, 1990).

The disadvantage of the WID approach was that women were simply added to a development situation that resulted in them being viewed as tokens. They were sidelined in the process of development policies and practices. In the case of women in the third world, they were relegated to a homogenous category where they were characterised as being passive and traditional and the assumption was that by extending education and employment opportunities it would solve their problems (Visvanathan et al., 1997). The WID approach did not take into consideration issues related to the subordination of women (Pearson & Jackson, 1984; Rai, 2002).

As a result the WID approach did not empower women as their status did not improve, they still had no access to resources and their participation in the design, implementation and control of development programmes was still lacking (Meena, 1992). This situation led to the development of the women and development (WAD) approach which is discussed in the next section.

3.3 Women and development (WAD)

The Women and development (WAD) approach developed from the critique of the WID approach during the second half of the 1970's. It draws mainly from the dependency theory and its focus is centered on the fact that women have always been part of the development process. Its main focus is the relationship between women and development processes (Rathgeber, 1990).

WAD approach had the assumption that women have always been part of the development process and do not only form a part of a strategy. Women are viewed as agents for change and are provided with an opportunity to participate within social and economic structures that are predominantly male dominated. This approach focused on the relationship between women and development processes rather than strategies for integration of women into development. It focused on the impact of

class and offered a more critical view of women's positions. It assumed that women's position will improve when the international structures become equitable. Women's issues were viewed within the structures of international and class inequalities (Rathgeber, 1990).

The women and development approach accepted women as important economic actors in their societies. Their work in public and private spheres was seen to be central to the maintenance of social structures. WAD critiqued the integration of women in development proposed by the WID approach. It argued that such an approach sustained existing structures of inequality. The WID approach did not take into consideration the patriarchal relationships and issues of oppression of women. The argument advanced was that women were oppressed but not equally or in the same way.

According to WAD, there is no single situation that defines women. The problems encountered by women are caused by oppressive global structures based on class, race, ethnicity and capital. The assumption is that the women's position would improve once international structures become more equitable and therefore gender roles do not play a role (Freedman, 2001; Rathgeber, 1990; Visvanathan et al., 1997).

In the context of land redistribution and gender, experiences from other economies where land redistribution has taken place form the basis for the current practice which takes into account lessons learnt. In the case of South Africa the specific gender policy that indicates how women should access and benefit from the land redistribution programme (DLA, 1997) challenges the institution of patriarchy and provides an opportunity for women to own land. By the 1980's the WAD approach had been further developed and a new approach of gender and development emerged.

3.4 Gender and development (GAD)

The gender and development (GAD) was influenced by socialist feminist thinking. It offers a holistic perspective in its approach by looking at all aspects of women's lives. It does not emphasize the element of female commonality but recognizes the contributions made by women within the household context. It is based on the understanding that women's lives are affected by the social relations with men who set the parameters for their beliefs and actions. This approach acknowledges the differences that exist in society and advocates for a need to have varied solutions to problems in the world of development (Baden et al., 1998, Rathgeber, 1990 Visvanathan et al., 1997)

Gender and development (GAD) approach links relations of production to reproduction and takes consideration of women's lives. The approach looks at social interactions between men and women and the contexts and constructions of masculinities and femininities and challenges the structures of development projects. It is considered a holistic approach as it takes into consideration the social and political organization of aspects of society. Its main emphasis is the social construction of gender through assigning specific roles and responsibilities while considering the expectations of both men and women. GAD acknowledges the need to understand gender relations and provides an opportunity for one to address issues related to division of labour and power. The focus is on all processes and factors that contribute to productive and reproductive aspects of women and men in the context of division of labour. Participation by the government is of importance especially in promoting the position of women (Akerkar, 2001, Parpart, 1991; Rathgeber, 1990).

Development policies and practices are designed to cater for both male and female attributes and programmes are designed to seek for solutions that address problems affecting each gender specifically. Thus GAD advocates for short and long term approaches to women's issues. Short term approaches address issues related to

education, legal systems and credit while long term issues are those that relate to institutions and collective actions that challenge women's positions such as women's empowerment and challenging patriarchal, political and economic inequalities, in order to understand the dynamics of social and economic change in societies in transition (Baden et al., 1998; Parpart, 1991; Scott, 1995).

The shift to GAD was as a result of the criticism of WID and WAD approaches and the introduction and effect of the structural adjustment policies (SAPs) on developing countries as well as the decision by multinational and bilateral donors to directly fund NGOs to implement development projects as opposed to financing the same measures through governments. The GAD approach recognized the importance of women as agents and participants in development whose needs were better identified under this approach which to a minimum degree addressed the extent to which gender relations generate and perpetuate gender inequalities. It stresses the importance of being aware of the inequalities that emerge from the differences between men and women. The relationship between men and women is such that without the involvement of men, women may not achieve what they set out to achieve. This approach further recognizes that it is possible to alter gender relations given that they are social, cultural and historical (Moser, 1993; Pearson et al., 1984).

The GAD approach advocates for a holistic approach when providing gender related solutions in development programming. GAD emphasizes the government's duty to provide social services in promoting women's emancipation and emphasizes the need for women to organize themselves to create an effective political voice. It does recognize that patriarchy operates within and across classes to oppress women and thus gives special consideration to oppression of women in the household. In order to achieve GAD's intended goal of ensuring equitable, sustainable development, both men and women have to become decision makers. For this to happen disadvantaged women have to be empowered in order to change and this can be achieved by identifying and addressing practical and strategic gender needs

determined by women and men with a view to improve their condition (Bazillis, 1991; Hafner-Burton & Pollack, 2002; Visvanathan et al., 1997).

The three approaches discussed above are not applied in isolation. There is an overlap in the different approaches as each one of them plays a role given the interventions to be addressed at a point in time. One factor that all the above approaches did not adequately address was in relation to issues of gender equality and equity which gave rise to the concept of gender mainstreaming.

3.5 Gender mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming may be described as a global strategy for achieving gender equality and promoting sustainable economic development. This concept was developed during the 1995 Beijing platform for action (Rathgeber, 1990; True, 2003). In 1996 a resolution was passed by the United Nations that adopted gender mainstreaming as its official policy. As a result each UN member state is expected to ensure its implementation. Gender mainstreaming involves the (re)organization, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes. The end result is to incorporate a gender equality perspective in all policies at all levels and at all stages, by policy makers (Council of Europe 1998:15, True, 2003). Gender mainstreaming is defined as follows:

“Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women’s as well as men’s concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal

spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.”(Mainstreaming the gender perspective into all policies and programmes in the United Nations System, ECOSOC July 1997. Chapter IV)

The aim of gender mainstreaming is to eliminate gender inequality. As an approach it focuses on systems, processes that generate inequalities and addresses issues of gender equality and the mainstream. On the one hand it tends to shift away from a focus on “women’s issues” while on the other it generates debate around traditional male and female roles. It focuses on the analysis of the roles and behavior of women and that of men as well as the interaction between them. The implication is that both men and women are required to adapt to change (Bretherton, 2001; True & Mintrom, 2001; Walby, 2005). Gender mainstreaming involves reorganizing policy processes, procedures and actions that are considered to be gender blind and gender biased. This is done with a view to promote more equitable relations between men and women, by addressing the systems and structures that promote the differences between them (Verloo, 2001).

In order to achieve the desired outcomes of successful implementation the principles and practices should be formulated in the strategy and applied when formulating policies and implement these at all sections, levels and departments of an organization. Thus the goal of gender mainstreaming therefore is not only about gender equality but being able to implement and achieve it. The factors that hinder mainstreaming gender have are identified as the selective processes that exists when it comes to institutionalization and how new ideas are received which is based on the interest that exists at the time (Bretherton, 2001, Daly, 2005).

For purposes of this case study the concept of gender mainstreaming will play a role when examining how women and men deal with issues relating to administration and

management of the farm in areas of decision making, access to and control of resources, and labour relations. Are these functions carried out with a view to promoting and achieving gender equity and equality?

The theories discussed above cannot function in isolation but work in complementarity to each other. While one theory addresses a specific gender need, it is complemented by one other to ensure a wholistic approach on the subject. The WID WAD and GAD addressed the different needs for women within the development process while gender mainstreaming takes into consideration the structures and processes that facilitate implementation gender programmes with a view to fostering gender equity.

Chapter 4: Methodology: A case study of land redistribution and gender

4.1 Introduction

The section below outlines the methodology underpinning this study detailing how research was carried out. It addresses selection of the research site, the research methods used to collect information, data analysis and interpretation as well as limitations to the research and ethical issues.

4.2 Qualitative research

Qualitative research in social sciences aims to generate an in-depth understanding of human behavior. It draws on observing people in their own settings and interacting with them on their terms. It investigates the why and how decisions are made and not just what where and when. The data presented is obtained from small but focused samples rather than large samples in comparison to quantitative research. The outcomes and validity of research within a qualitative inquiry are greatly dependent on the skill, competence and objectivity of the researcher. The researcher has to know what qualifies as an object of research and has the duty to identify its presence or absence in the data collected (Guba & Lincoln, 1981, Kirk et al., 1986).

In qualitative research meanings take on significance. It is characterised by the following phases of research: The conceptualization phase which includes preparation and research design. The field work phase which includes observation data collection or information gathering. The interpretation phase which is concerned with evaluation and analysis and provides an understanding and explanation in which communication and packaging of the information is carried out with a view to producing a message (Jarvilnoma et al., 2003)

Somekh and Lewin (2011) indicate the need to strike a balance between observation and the researcher's role and perspective in light of the participants when carrying out qualitative research. This has an implication on the way information is interpreted and the meanings assigned to the information at the end of the research.

In comparison to other research methods and taking the above into consideration, the qualitative research method was deemed the most appropriate for this research. The case study methodology was applied to the field site which was one of the farms that had been transferred to previous farm workers who became beneficiaries. For purposes of this research the farm has been given the pseudonym of Mokopane Farmers Trust Farm (MFTF) to ensure confidentiality. The farm environment provided an opportunity to interact with both men and women operating in an environment that has multiple activities and from a gender perspective would provide the information that was required for purposes of this research.

4.3 Research design

The research at the MFTF was in the form of a case study and qualitative research methods were employed for data collection. Case studies seek to engage with and understand phenomenon with a view to represent the meaning individual social actors attach to their social settings. As a research approach it enables the researcher to study issues, observe and document the results. Case studies investigate occurrences at a specific point in time within a given context which requires one to pay attention to the social and historical context of the actions (Gillham, 2000; Somekh & Lewin, 2011). A case study offers an analysis of a case and phenomena with a view to finding information related to what people do how they do it, think and feel about it.

The case study set out to investigate the extent to which change in institutional structures through the land redistribution programme promoted gender equity at the MFTF. The information was collected through direct observation of activities and events around the farm, face to face interviews, focus group discussions, 24 hour schedules and secondary data from documents obtained from different sources that relate to the farm.

According to Patton (1990), this method provides an approach in which the fieldwork can be carried out with openness in focus group discussions, interviews, and direct observation as well as the study of documents. Face to face interviews provided an opportunity for the researcher to interact directly with the participants. Probes were used to obtain more detail where required. Data collected from the different sources mentioned above was recorded transcribed and analyzed with a view to finding meaning in what the participants said. These data collection methods form an invaluable element of qualitative research and rely on the ability of the researcher to ask for clarity and elaboration from the participants while administering interview schedules (Babbie, 1992).

4.4 Selecting the site and participants

The land redistribution programme is a national programme with a number of farms redistributed farms since November 2000. The researcher was in discussion with a colleague at the work place who was involved in a project that supported training of entrepreneurs in conjunction with AgriSETA and it was through the colleague that the researcher established contact with personnel from AgriSETA. A meeting was held with two AgriSETA personnel who suggested 3 farms that would be suitable for purposes of the research, located in Limpopo Province.

In selecting the farm where the research was carried out, the following factors played a role: distance from the location of the research base which is Pretoria, potential costs of transport and accommodation during the field visits and time. The farm selected had one unique aspect in comparison to the other two. It had been transferred to former employees who became beneficiaries. The above factors presented the researcher an opportunity to carry out the research on gender aspects that are present and those that could emerge within this context. The final decision was that the MFTF was selected as the most appropriate field site.

The process of transferring the land from the previous farm owner to beneficiaries of the MFTF took approximately 5 years. The land was transferred to the beneficiaries of the MFTF on 5th March 2010. At the time of transfer there were 55 beneficiaries (38 female and 17 male) on record and 5 of them were appointed to the board of trustees (2 male 3 female). When the field work began in January 2013, there were 46 beneficiaries (36 female and 10 male). By the end of the research in September 2014 there were 29 beneficiaries (26 female and 3 male). The rest of the beneficiaries were accounted for as follows: 6 had retired, 2 were deceased, 3 had left the farm to seek employment elsewhere, and 15 were inactive and staying at home. It is noted the number of beneficiaries that left the farm was mainly male while the women remained. This could be attributed to males having a responsibility to provide for their families and they left to search for paid work on other farms. In addition interviews were held with the farm manager and an officer from AgriSETA who was involved in capacity building of the beneficiaries.

When planning for the data collection, it was not possible to interview all the beneficiaries due to limited resources and time constraints. Therefore purposive sampling was used to select from the available beneficiaries during the interview period. The following data collection methods were used: face to face interviews, focus group discussions, an exercise using 24 hour schedules, review of secondary documents and direct observation.

With the assistance of the board of Trustees, a list of all the beneficiaries was obtained. The researcher learnt that there were three main departments on the farm namely administration, orchards, and irrigation/ chemicals. Each of the three departments was headed by a team leader. Initially the interviews were organised in such a way that participants were to be drawn from each department randomly. However during the research period this changed as some of the beneficiaries shifted roles and departments depending on what crops were in season and where labour was required. As such purposive sampling was employed to ensure that a beneficiary that had participated while in one department did not repeat the interviews in the event they had changed roles and departments. It also emerged the heads of department, the farm manager and AgriSETA officer held significant positions with a bearing on the success of the farm and they were purposely selected for the interview process. Ten face to face interviews were conducted.

In the research design, three focus groups were planned as follows: (i) board of trustees (ii) female beneficiaries and (iii) male beneficiaries. During the research period it was not possible to constitute the male focus group as the men were not always available at the same time and two of them had already participated during the focus group interview with the board of trustees. In addition over the course of the research the attrition of males was also greater. Thus two focus group discussions were held which included one with the board of trustees (2 male and 3 female) and the other comprising 10 female beneficiaries.

To ensure broader coverage a third data collection instrument was administered to collect data relating to the 24 hour schedules which provided information on how the beneficiaries spend their time and other activities they engage in besides working on the farm. This was carried out in all departments during one of the field visits where the schedules were administered to all the beneficiaries that were present on the farm. On this day there were 18 beneficiaries (5 males and 13 females). During the data collection, there were beneficiaries who did not speak English therefore the questionnaire was explained to them by those that could read and they assisted in

filling out the responses. During the focus group discussion, the services of an interpreter were used to translate, administer the questionnaire and facilitate the discussion.

4.5 Access to field study area

Before commencing the field work, a letter seeking permission to carry out the field work was sent to the board of trustees who in turn responded positively granting the researcher access to the farm. The researcher established contact with one of the trustees who became the main point of contact to gaining access each time a field visit was planned. The researcher not being a local person from the area where the research took place encountered suspicion on her motives for conducting the study. The reservations had to be overcome before the participants opened up and participated freely in the research giving their views about issues.

During the first visit to the farm, a meeting was held with the board of trustees where the researcher introduced herself and the research topic. Being the first time the researcher was in contact with the board of trustees (two males and three females) it took sometime before the conversation could flow. Gaining the confidence of the board of trustees was important as it would determine and set the ground for the subsequent field visits. The researcher on this visit was unable to record any of the discussions as being the first visit the researcher was not sure how the board of trustees would react to a recorded interview and as was evident in the way the discussion took place on the day, it would have been impossible to record the first interview. At the end of the discussion the researcher requested if it would be possible to record interviews to ensure the information provided was correct and accurate and the board of trustees granted permission. Each time interviews were to be recorded the researcher obtained permission to do so.

The following was taken into consideration when arranging for visits to the farm: Being a commercial enterprise, one had to ensure that the farms activities were not compromised and the visits were planned around times when activities on the farm were less demanding. The time when the researcher would arrive at the farm to carry out the interviews was of essence as it was best to arrange interviews and discussions during lunch time and after three p.m. during breaks. Evening visits were not encouraged as the beneficiaries left the farm to go and attend to their private matters and they all depended on organised transport from the farm to drop them off to the nearby location³ where they live.

In July 2013 there was a change in the ownership structure of the farm. Two males became partners at the farm and this impacted on the final stages of data collection. Through direct observation, a rift amongst the beneficiaries on the issue of entering into a partnership was apparent. The change in the farm ownership structure posed a challenge to the data collection as beneficiaries were split between supporters and opponents of establishing a partnership. One group advocated for the partnership while the other was opposed to it. This caused conflict amongst the beneficiaries and it was apparent in the way the participants provided answers especially during the focus group discussion.

4.6 Data collection process

A total of seven field trips were made to the farm in the period January 2013 to September 2014. During this period the data collection methods that were used for the case study included primary sources of data collection which involved face to face interviews, focus group discussions, a review of secondary documents from MFTF such as minutes of meetings, project files and annual reports, information and data collected relating to land redistribution and direct observation. This information

³ Location refers to the place of residence, a colloquial term for a township established for Africans during apartheid. Participants still refer to their place of residence as the location.

was collected with a view to ensuring the information collected from one source was verified or complemented through another source. This would ensure validity and reliability of the data collected for purposes of this research.

4.6.1. Focus group discussions

Prior to the formation of the focus groups, a list of up to ten open ended questions was developed to guide the discussions. The questions were developed in each of the key areas that the research intended to address and the discussions lasted for a period of 45 to 90 minutes. The discussions were recorded with the permission of the participants.

The first focus group constituted five members who meet regularly as board of trustees. The setting for the meeting was the main office building where we sat in a semi-circle and we could see one another from the positions we sat. For this group the discussion went on as planned except for one of the members of the board of trustees who did not speak English but could understand and when she participated. One of the other trustees acted as an interpreter. The board of trustees shared their experiences about the farm and the administrative challenges they faced.

The focus group for the female beneficiaries was set in the field. The women preferred to sit on the ground with no chairs available. The participants were drawn from the different departments and unlike the focus group discussion with the board of trustees, this time round the group was much bigger. Not all of them could speak English. The researcher had the interview schedule translated into Sepedi and the researcher sought the services of a facilitator and interpreter translator who posed the questions in their vernacular. The discussion related to their experiences on the farm. The responses were translated from Sepedi to English by the interpreter, who facilitated the focus group discussion.

The discussions provided a platform where the participants shared their experience and concerns about the MFTF as a group. It centered on their involvement on the farm as workers and now as beneficiaries. The researcher on this occasion noted tension amongst the women participating in the focus group discussion. At the time there was division on the farm that was occasioned by the entry of partners. The partnership question had created a divide amongst the women and this affected the way they responded to the questions during the focus group discussion. Their way of expressing disagreement would be through silence and this was evident especially when the question around partnership was being discussed.

4.6.2. Face to face interviews

Face to face interviews were carried out with ten participants categorized as follows: Five beneficiaries (4 female, 1 male), three heads of department: irrigation (male), orchard (female), administration (female), the farm manager (male) and the AgriSETA officer (male). A total of 6 females and 4 males participated in these interviews.

Before carrying out the face to face interviews a semi-structured interview schedule was developed to aid in the data collection exercise. A room at the farm office was provided as the setting for the interviews. Each one of the participants came to this room for their scheduled interviews. The room provided privacy and it was convenient for both the researcher and participant to discuss matters without interference.

The exercise involved explaining to each of the participants what the research was about and ensuring that their participation was voluntary and confidentiality of their responses was ensured. With their permission the discussion was to be recorded.

Once this was established they signed the consent form (appendix IX). The questions were designed in such a way that they were open ended and provided room for discussion and probes where clarity was required. At the end of the interviews the researcher thanked the participants.

The face to face interviews engaged with their experiences on the farm, its status and questions of gender.

4.6.3. The Moser gender planning framework - 24 hour schedules

Women's roles are linked to the larger development planning process and Moser, (1993), introduces the idea of women's "three roles" these are mainly in the area of production, reproduction, and community management. These have a direct effect for women's participation in the development process. Kabeer (1994) provides an insight into social relations in relation to gender and attempts to locate the family and household within the network of social relations by connecting them to the community, market, and government. The outcome is that gender and other inequalities are created and reproduced within structural and institutional factors. (Moser, 1993). This formed the basis upon which the 24 hour schedule exercise was carried out as indicated below.

This exercise was administered during the second field visit in March 2013. The researcher prepared the 24 hour schedules as follows: one of the schedules was collecting data on how the beneficiaries spend their time during the work week on Monday to Friday while the other two schedules collected information on how the beneficiaries spend their time on Saturday and Sunday. The aim of the schedule was to get insights into the livelihood activities the beneficiaries are engaged in other than the paid work and to find out what other gendered activities they perform outside of the farm. In the event a participant did not read or write they were assisted by their

colleagues in the translation to Sepedi. The schedules were completed in English. The data focused on what they typically engage in and how they apportion their time throughout the week. The information collected was then consolidated and analyzed using the Moser gender planning framework.

4.6.4. Tape recording and field notes

Formal consent was sought in writing before any recording took place. When permission was granted discussions were captured by a tape recorder. The participants were informed about the need to record the information and issues around its confidentiality were addressed. They were informed about their right to withdraw their participation if they did not feel comfortable taking part in the research process.

During the first visit to the farm the discussion with the board of trustees was not recorded as consent to record was not sought. The relationship between the researcher and the participants had not been fully established and there was need to gain the confidence of the participants and assure them that the research was for study purposes and they need not fear that the information would be used for other purposes.

By the time the face to face interviews were conducted, the confidence and trust level between the researcher and participants had been established through the field visits and interaction with the board of trustees and it was possible to record the interviews. A tape recorder was used to capture the information during the discussion and the reason given to the participants for recording was that it was important to capture the information in its originality and it would save the researcher time to write down notes while carrying out the interview at the same time. In this way it would affect the flow of the conversation.

In the case of the focus group discussion, the participants granted consent that the group discussion could be recorded and this made it easier to keep the discussions going as the facilitator concentrated on the discussions while the researcher recorded the proceedings. As indicated earlier the facilitator took on the role of translating the questions asked and responses to ensure the information recorded was accurate.

Field notes were taken throughout the visits as there were actions the researcher observed in the course of the discussions and while interacting with the participants in the course of the research period. The field notes were used to formulate questions that would enable the researcher to explore how what was observed was experienced by the participants.

4.7. Data analysis

Data analysis is the process concerned with ordering data with a view to finding meaning and structure through a process where ideas patterns and relationships emerge from different data sets and these are used to generate knowledge (Marshall & Rossman, 1995)

Qualitative data collected for this research includes data from face to face interviews, focus group discussions, secondary data from the literature gathered and analysis of documents collected from the farm, 24 hour schedules field notes and direct observation. The data collected is in the form of text and tapes. From a qualitative aspect this information has to be organised to be able to provide meaning within the context of the research.

Based on the qualitative data collected the data analysis approach advanced by Rubin & Rubin (2005) was deemed appropriate as a method of analyzing the data. Their approach provides four stages of analysis namely: recognition, clarifying and synthesizing, coding and final synthesizing.

During the recognition stage the following themes were identified and assigned topical markers: governance and administration, gender roles, access to and control of resources, decision making and livelihoods. Information linked to each of these themes was drawn from targeted interviews and coded paying attention to narratives as they emerged giving meaning to the subject under study.

Atlas ti⁴ was used to generate reports using a hermeneutic unit (file) which was created and contained the coded data in the form of themes, memos and networks. The steps below indicate how the programme was used to generate information for data analysis purposes:

The first step was to assign codes to the data collected and transcribed using the auto coding system. The assignment of codes was done based on the research questions and key words such as administration, decision-making, equity, gender balance, governance, household size, livelihoods, roles, were identified (appendix I). This meant the more words found within the transcribed data following a code word the more significant the attribute would be in relation to the subject under study (Archer, 2012).

The second step included further grouping and merging of the codes into themes (see appendix II). The following themes were created: Administration, decision-

⁴ Atlas ti is a computer aided programme used for qualitative data analysis

making, roles, livelihood and succession. The information contained in the themes will be discussed under the data analysis section.

4.8. Ethical issues

Ethical issues form an important part of social research. This is to ensure that information obtained during the course of the research is collected in such a manner that is considered appropriate and acceptable to all parties that take part in the research. Through the research activities, the researcher had to ensure that her presence on the farm did not cause harm to the beneficiaries and she had to conduct herself in a manner that did not provide room for doubt relating to her research activities on the farm.

There are a number of ethical issues that researcher was confronted with in the course of the research period and these are outlined as follows:

The issue of permission: The research was carried out on a farm which is a private entity owned by a group of people in the form of a trust. This meant the researcher had to first seek consent from the beneficiaries through the board of trustees before carrying out the research activities. A letter was written to the board of trustees introducing the researcher and explaining what the research was about. In response to this letter the board of trustees responded in the affirmative and granted the researcher access to the farm.

In the course of data collection, it involved direct contact to the beneficiaries which meant that the researcher had to assure them that the information they shared during the interviews was going to be kept confidential. This was done by first explaining to each one that the information they shared was purely voluntary. The

responses would be kept confidential and that they were free to withdraw from the research process at any time. To affirm this, the researcher had consent forms (appendix VII, VIII and IX) which they signed confirming the same.

Through the consent forms the researcher explained the reason behind the research and informed the participants about the confidentiality of the data collected and their responses. In this way an understanding was reached between both sides and the research went on as planned.

To ensure confidentiality, the farm and the participants were assigned pseudonyms and in this way their names do not appear in the research and it assures privacy.

In order to maintain good relations, at the end of each interview session the researcher thanked the participants for their input and informed them that the data and information collected will be used for purposes of this research only and it will be stored at the Department of Sociology archives at the University for fifteen years once the study comes to an end as part of the university requirements that govern research. This was important given the sensitivity of the subject of study which engages with land.

4.9. Reflexivity

According to Cranny et al (2003), as a researcher participating in qualitative data collection, one understands that the scholar is part of the research and therefore issues related to timing and data collection are of importance. These happen through interaction with people and one has to approach it from a performance and constructive point of view. Hartstock (1983) underpins the importance of connecting

everyday life with the analysis of social institutions that shape life. In this case the farm.

The research took place on a redistributed farm and at the time of conducting the research there was a need to remain focused on the research topic and collect the relevant information without influencing how the farm is run. Understanding the farms operations from an institutional perspective was important. The participants being previous farm workers and became beneficiaries faced challenges that required both administrative and structural adjustment to ensure the farm remained viable.

Experiencing the changes and challenges the beneficiaries faced while conducting the research was an aspect that one could not ignore. For example the researcher went to the farm at a time when the crop had been destroyed by hail which meant the beneficiaries could not make profit and it was low moment for the beneficiaries. During one other visit the water and electricity had been disconnected due to nonpayment of bills. These experiences had an effect in the way the research was carried out as emotions and personal judgment played a role in the way the researcher collected data and interpreted the findings during the research period. For example if the researcher approached the beneficiaries and they displayed a quiet outlook, it was possible to tell the difference from the first visit when they were all optimistic and engaged in the operations of the farm.

The researcher had to pay attention to her own gender. Being female and carrying out research on a redistributed farm that had a high percentage of beneficiaries being female, the researcher had the tendency to view herself as a woman speaking to other women which influenced the way the discussions took place.

There was a wide gap in relation to the level of education of the researcher in comparison to that of the participants. This played a role in the way the researcher

interpreted the information that was received and the observations made during the research.

The researcher did not speak Sepedi and this had an impact during some of the discussions as the researcher felt that some information or reactions that expressed in Sepedi may not be adequately translated into English or there is no equivalent translation of these words. To overcome this challenge the researcher approached a Sepedi speaker from her workplace. The colleague was known to the researcher for five years and she had the advantage of having carried out qualitative research in Limpopo area and understood the value and importance of translating and administering a questionnaire. The colleague accompanied the researcher to the field on two occasions. During the first occasion the researcher introduced her to the board of trustees and informed them of her role in assisting the researcher with the translation and interpretation challenges the researcher had to deal with during the research process.

During the second visit she was able to translate the questions for the focus group discussion and facilitate the group discussion. Before the discussion began she introduced herself to the women in Sepedi and explained what was required and then went on to facilitate the discussion. She then took time to type out the interviews and translated the Sepedi findings into English.

The research period was not without challenges. The following were some of the difficulties the researcher experienced: a follow on interview with the farm manager could not take place as he had left the farm and it was not possible to find him nor obtain his contact number. The farm went into partnership with two males and the researcher had to explain to them who she was and what the research aimed to achieve before finalizing the data collection. Meeting the new partners brought uncertainty as to whether they would permit the researcher to finalize the data collection. Despite the partnership and new farm structure, the researcher made two

field visits during this time of change and was able to finalize the data collection as planned.

In conclusion this chapter has presented the reason for choosing qualitative data, negotiating access to the study site, the research design and the methods of data collection which included the face to face interviews, focus group discussions, direct observation, field notes administration of the 24 hour schedules and review of secondary data. The challenges the researcher experienced and the ethical considerations that were undertaken before the research was carried out were discussed.

Chapter 5: Land redistribution and gender- Mokopane Farmers Trust Farm (MFTF)

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the case study and discussions on the themes that emerged during the data analysis which include gender roles, access to and control of resources and decision making, governance and administration and women and livelihoods. The study set to find out whether a change in institutional structures through the land redistribution programme has promoted gender equity.

5.2 Governance and administration

In addressing governance and administration issues at the MFTF, the discussion took into account the process followed during the acquisition of the farm, the structures and mechanisms that were put in place to oversee the day to day management, the administrative challenges faced by the beneficiaries and the board of trustees in managing the farm, the management of shares and the issue of partnership.

5.2.1 Farm acquisition process

The MFTF was a family farm that had been passed on from father to son and the son who we refer to in this research as the previous farm owner had immigrated to Zambia and only came to the farm at the end of each month. It was his idea to sell the farm to his workers. He approached the (black) foreman at the time and spoke to him about his wish to sell the farm to the workers. The foreman (who is one of the remaining males on the farm and works in a managerial position) thought this to be a good idea and suggested it to the other farm workers. The previous farm owner informed the workers that he had an offer from someone else but he preferred to

give first priority to them. He chose to sell the land through the land redistribution process where the willing buyer willing/ seller approach was to be followed.

In order to institute the land acquisition and transfer process, a board of trustees was formed to represent the former workers in 2004. The board of trustees consisted of three females and two males. Each worker had to provide a copy of their ID and complete a form. The foreman who would be the main discussant throughout the process had to sign an affidavit that indicated he was allowed to carry out transactions on behalf of the workers. With the help of the owner, the trustees presented a proposal to the Department of Agriculture which was subsequently rejected with lack of funds given as the reason for the decision. This decision was appealed by the farm workers and later that year the proposal was accepted and the transfer process began.

The process took five years to complete between 2004-2009 with the farm being formally handed over in March 2010. The process was hampered by several challenges. A major challenge was lack of capital from the beneficiaries to meet the stipulated requirement of their contribution to purchase the property. Their inability to raise their portion of the co-payment under the redistribution guidelines resulted in government paying this amount on their behalf as the excerpt below indicates:

“Eventually they said that they must pay I think 40 or 30 per cent and the government will pay the other. So it took six years then they” (government) gave the farm to the people (Johann⁵, farm manager)

It is noted that majority of the beneficiaries left the farm to seek employment on other farms. These were mainly men aged between forty to fifty years. The farm employs

⁵ Pseudonyms are not the participant’s real names.

two seasonal workers; one male and one female. In the past seasonal workers were employed during harvest time to provide additional labour. As the farm has no funds any more only two seasonal workers are available. Upon further enquiry it was noted the seasonal workers are the children of a female who serves in the board of trustees.

After the farm was transferred the farm manager who was male stayed on until July 2013 when he left. The beneficiaries live in the location which is about two kilometers from the farm. Before the farm was transferred four people stayed on the farm. These were a male driver, a male who attended to the cattle, a male who attended to the irrigation system and a female general worker. After the transfer of the farm, they all moved away. No one currently lives on the farm.

5.2.2 Farm management and administration

The day to day management of the farm after the handover in March 2010 was managed by the board of trustees and the management committee. The management committee is made up of five member's; three females and two males. One male and one female are members of the board of trustees who serve on the management committee while the other three are departmental heads and are appointed from the beneficiaries. Meetings are held each morning between the board of trustees and the management committee to discuss what has to be done and distribute tasks. This means, given the double role played by the board of trustee members, eight people are charged with the responsibility of distributing tasks on the farm. Out of these three are male and five are female. The meetings are informal and no agenda or minutes are taken.

Currently the farm is divided in three departments namely irrigation headed by a male, orchard headed by a female and vegetable and grape production headed by a

female. The working hours on the farm are 7.00 a.m. to 5.00 p.m. with a lunch break at 12.30 p.m. From July 2013, the farm went into partnership with two males who provided the capital the farm required to service its debts and for immediate operating expenses to get it to full production again. Successive years of poor harvest attributed to bad weather had contributed to the decline in production. The farm manager, who subsequently left indicates the importance of having capital and how the beneficiaries were unable to raise capital for the farm's operating expenses due to climatic changes and insufficient funds for operating expenses:

“And when they took over in March/ April, end of April they start picking oranges and there was no export for that year and the harvest of the grape was also I think maybe 50 per cent down so it was difficult for them so if maybe the government gave them some money and said alright we will give you some money for capital to operate the farm and then later after a couple of years we shall deduct it from you I think that would be better but to get a farm when there is no capital is hard especially if there is no crop in the field because expenses stay the same so the people are willing to work but if there is no capital it is difficult” (Johann, farm manager)

The current management structure of the farm consists of two partners, the board of trustees and the management committee. Meetings are held every Thursday between the three groups. The Thursday meeting is formal and an agenda is drawn up beforehand and minutes are taken. The chairperson (the previous foreman) at present is a male who sits on the trust board as well as the management committee. A meeting is held once a month where the beneficiaries, the board of trustees, the management committee and the two partners meet.

The shift from being farm workers to beneficiaries presented administrative challenges at the farm. A comparison of the changes as experienced by MFTF beneficiaries after the change is summarized in the table below:

Table 2: Difference between being workers and beneficiaries at MFTF

Workers	Beneficiaries
The farm belonged to the previous farm owner	They have a stake in the property and collectively own the farm
No decision-making as the owner made all decisions	Decision-making required in all aspects relating to the management of the farm
Worked as general workers on the farm	Became beneficiaries and in turn each one has a stake in the farm
Salaries were the farm owner's responsibility	Generate their own money from which they pay salaries
Salaries were set by the farm owner	They determine their own salaries through the board of trustees. The members elected to the board of trustees carry out this function
When they worked overtime they received more money	They do not receive any overtime when they work long hours and in some instances they receive no pay
As workers they performed duties as prescribed	They have taken on responsibility for what they do and the decisions they take
Payment of salaries was via payroll	They receive payment as cash in hand
Received unemployment insurance benefit (UIF)	The unemployment insurance benefit (UIF) has been withdrawn
Four people stayed on the farm	No one stays on the farm
The six departments on the farm were: Enterprise, Pest control, Administration, Workshop, Pack houses and Irrigation	The current departments are three in number and consist of: orchard, irrigation and vegetables/grapes

The situation of the beneficiaries has improved in some instances while in others the experience has not been positive. Their decision-making ability and ownership of the farm is positive while their lack of capital has resulted in deteriorating conditions of employment, contravening legislation. For instance salaries are paid in cash and UIF contributions made from the company are a loss of potential benefits for the beneficiaries.

5.2.3 MFTF in partnership

The beneficiaries took over the farm with the expectation that the conditions they had operated under over the years would remain the same however this was not the case. In the first year of taking over the farm, the weather conditions were adverse and the farm produce of that year was destroyed by a hailstorm. Similar weather conditions were experienced in subsequent years as well and this resulted in no or poor harvest and a deteriorating financial position on the farm. The citrus fruit production was the most severely affected since the farm did not have operating capital, its water and electricity supply had been disconnected. This meant the irrigation system could not be operated. In the worsening conditions the beneficiaries did not receive salaries for four months. This situation led to anxiety amongst some of the beneficiaries that the farm might cease to produce. Hence, the idea of forming a partnership was seen by them as the best option at the time.

The idea of getting partners on board was proposed by one of the female beneficiaries, a member of the board of trustees. She saw it as an opportunity to ensure the farm remained operational despite the challenges faced. The idea was based on what she observed happening in other similar farms that had been redistributed in the area. The proposal was not received well by some of the beneficiaries. It was estimated a quarter of the beneficiaries were against the idea of the partnership and these were mainly female beneficiaries.

The expectation was that the partners would provide the following: operating capital

and finance to settle outstanding debts by paying the creditors, to ensure market for the produce, to provide knowledge and skills required for production and to ensure the beneficiaries received their monthly salaries. Since majority of the beneficiaries were for the partnership the next task was to find the partners. In January 2013 the board of trustees led by the female beneficiary approached two male businessmen who bought their produce regularly. They were already familiar with the state of the farm as they had been their key clients. They discussed with them prospects of the partnership to which they agreed. The process took six months to come to an agreement and in July 2013 the partners came on board.

The conditions negotiated in the partnership were that: the partners receive forty five percent of the shareholding while the beneficiaries retain the balance for a ten year period. There is one signatory from the partner side and one from the beneficiary side, a trustee to operate the joint bank account. The terms of the agreement stipulated that the partners were to determine the salaries to be paid to the beneficiaries and the result was that the beneficiaries received an average salary cut of almost fifty percent for general workers to ensure adequate capital for operating expenses. Before the agreement beneficiary who worked as a general worker earned two thousand one hundred rand per month while those with additional administrative functions earned four thousand five hundred rand.

After the reduction in salaries general workers earn one thousand three hundred rand per month. Those with administrative functions their salaries were cut even more dropping to one thousand six hundred rand per month. To ensure they were food secure, the management designed a food package which contained one cabbage and thirty five leaves of spinach which each beneficiary receives every Friday.

With the arrival of the partners, they paid off the water and electricity bills that were outstanding, paid up the amounts that were owed to the creditors that supply chemicals, packaging materials and fertilizers. Paid the beneficiaries salaries and ensured the irrigation systems were up and running. As a result the orange trees and vineyards are in good shape and there is an expectation amongst the beneficiaries

that things will improve and they will be able to manage the farm on their own with the option to purchase shares back from the partners after ten years.

The beneficiaries who disapproved the partnership feared that the partners would take the money and run away. However this has not been the case and their trust has been slowly restored. The beneficiaries were initially unhappy with the reduction in salaries. However, receiving payment at the end of each month, they acknowledge it is better than the period when they worked and received no payment at all.

The partners reorganised the administrative structures. This was not received well by some beneficiaries resulting in three leaving the farm to seek employment elsewhere. The farm manager did not agree to the terms offered by the partners which included a substantial pay cut. He opted to retire.

We do not have a farm manager because our partial owners said they cannot afford to pay him. We explained to him that we have new owners and the amount that they are willing to pay. This was an offer he wasn't willing to take so he left (Sethole, trustee, female beneficiary)

In handling grievances, the partners do not directly address beneficiaries but report to the management committee if there are issues to be discussed.

In spite of the hardships there are psychological trade-offs. Beneficiaries that remain on the farm feel owning it is an achievement compared to others who simply are workers on someone else's property in the area. They are seen to be fortunate as other workers in the area failed to obtain ownership of farms. The beneficiaries feel responsible when they walk into the farm, realizing that they work for themselves and are happy to own the farm. They are optimistic that something good will come out of the farm once they start earning profits.

5.2.4 Administration of shares

Through the land redistribution programme women have an opportunity to own land through trusts. In the case of a trust the land is owned collectively or jointly and the understanding is that they all contribute their time and labour. Ownership of the farm is defined through the shares that are collectively owned. From the farm records obtained majority of the MFTF trust members are women. There is no clear shareholding structure and members operate on the basis of trust. If one is not happy they are free to leave at their own volition. If there are profits the board of trustees will decide how to distribute it. During the period of the research there had been no profits realized, only losses.

Most of the beneficiaries that left the farm had either gone to seek employment elsewhere or stayed at home. The trust does not have any laid down procedures for dealing with such cases as it operates under the assumption that when a beneficiary leaves on their own accord they have forfeited their ownership. If they retire or pass away they have an option to nominate someone to replace them.

We do not have anything in writing that directs us about our shares, we are supposed to sit down and decide. In the case of someone retiring or death, we just follow our title deed. If I die, someone else from the family can take over and inherit the shares (Sethole, trustee, female beneficiary)

We don't give them anything. We just say to them when we get some profit or some share we are going to call them. The other one is going to the pension and the other one is just leave. The other one is die (Masemola, trustee, female beneficiary)

Like I said we must get somebody who can replace because if we can leave there is going to be a gap (Chab, trustee, male beneficiary)

When asked who would inherit their benefits and the future plans for the farm most of the participants named their immediate family as beneficiaries. This view was shared by the beneficiaries during the focus group interview as follows:

“We are all working and hoping for a living to support our families and the future of our children. If I can happen that I want to withdraw or go on pension when I reach 60 years. According to the labour law, I will make an application to request the government old age pension as soon as it is approved I will inform the office and put 1 month notice. The office will give me blue card and I will go home until when dividend is shared I will still receive profit from the farm. The share will remain available until I appoint the beneficiary to inherit them when I die or the family will agree about the replacement if I die. The beneficiary means the main member it can be the spouse or the children. Currently we don't have any written policy or the rules that governs our shares and beneficiaries, we still have to sit down and agree about it if we feel it is important” (Phalane, participant focus group discussion)

The above shows the positive attitude the female beneficiaries have in the future of the farm and it provides an insight as to why most of the beneficiaries left behind are female as opposed to the males who have left. In addition the women sang songs collectively appealing to God and this indicated their strong belief that God will look after them. This indicates the solidarity and security felt amongst them (appendix VI).

5.2.5 Government support

There is evidence of support received from the government during the land acquisition process to ensure the farm is functional. The government paid the portion of the beneficiaries own contribution as they were unable to raise the amount during

the transfer period. Provision of extension services and visits and meetings held between the board of trustees and the agriculture officials was one other form of support. The government provided fertilizers and chemicals from the time the farm was handed over in 2010 until 2013. In 2014 the farm did not receive this input as the government could not provide any assistance citing budgetary constraints. This however did not stop the agriculture officials from visiting the farm and providing their support:

In terms of Government input, we get support from the Department of Agriculture. They give us chemicals, fertilizers and pesticides and this has helped us immensely (Sethole, trustee, female beneficiary)

AgriSETA provided training and capacity building for the beneficiaries and their mandate had three areas to be addressed the first was to assess the capacity of the beneficiaries and ensure that they would be able to farm and have basic knowledge systems on how to effectively plant, irrigate, fertilize, harvest, and spray chemicals . The second was on governance. Their role was to structure and strengthen governance and management systems given that governance and management constitute one of the primary pillars of successful enterprise management. The training addressed the dynamics around issues of managing the farm in terms of the trust deed. The third was enterprise development which involved strengthening the business part of the farm in terms of producing quality products, access to markets both local and international and branding the products. Other business development services included training in financial management systems and record keeping.

The beneficiaries had the capacity to produce in terms of planting spraying harvesting given that they were farm workers with years of experience and could tap into this tacit enterprise. What they lacked was experience in aspects of governance and business development.

The challenges faced ranged from lack in capital to levels of education in relation to financial management. The AgriSETA official charged with capacity building

describes the challenges:

The greatest challenge has been the problem of money. When you carry out the type of training that we do 70% is practical and 30% is theoretical. The theoretical part went on very well but the practical part was a challenge because at a point where we were supposed to start spraying and fertilizing they did not have money to buy those inputs and as a result the practical aspect of the training could not be carried out. But essentially most of the farmers there are much older and the physical demands on the work become very unbearable to them at some point and secondly their level of education is quite very low for them to actually grasp other aspects that relate to governance and management systems (Selo, extension officer)

The end result was that the capacity building programme came to an end in 2013 and this may be attributed to the challenges and experiences outlined above.

The governance and administrative issues presented above lead us to the theme that explores the gender roles as experienced on the farm which is discussed in the next section.

5.3 Gender roles

Gender roles are discussed in the context of land redistribution. The findings will address the objective that explores the current challenges faced by women at the MFTF as they become beneficiaries. The extent to which gender roles have changed or stayed the same coupled with the relationship between men and women on the farm. This is guided by the differences that exist between men and women that produce inequalities and result in constructed roles, assumptions prejudices and values in relation to culture (UNRISD, 2005).

Moser (1993), identifies gender division of labour within the household as one of the three planning stereotypes that affect gender roles. First, women are cast as “homemakers” whose role is to bear and rear children which accounts for their reproductive work. Second, women are engaged in productive work which includes formal employment. Third, women are engaged in the management of community resources. Men, on the other hand, are viewed as breadwinners, engage in paid work and take on leadership roles and participate in politics. Therefore, when one examines the gendered division of labour it provides an underlying principle that separates what men and women do and this accounts for the value placed on the type of work.

In order to examine how the issue of gender roles is dealt with at the MFTF, the following questions guided the data collection process: How is work distributed on the farm? This question looks into the day to day distribution of tasks on the farm. To what extent are roles gendered within the farm? The roles are examined in light of work considered to be appropriate for either gender. What new gender roles have emerged? In this case the shift in roles is explored where either gender takes on tasks that were considered to be for the opposite gender. Has institutional change affected the roles of women? This question explores whether women have had to take on new roles, other than those they had as workers. As a result are they spending more or less time on the farm?

The land redistribution programme provides for women to come together and benefit from the land redistribution programme. Based on the provision of the land redistribution policy that provides for two thirds of participants to be women, it was a strategy employed by the policy that would encourage women to participate in the land reform programme. In the case of MFTF, the former farm workers came together and under this policy became beneficiaries of the farm. The change in ownership provided an opportunity to address the existing division of labour strategy which meant women could get an opportunity to explore and take on tasks that were deemed to be for males. How are tasks distributed on the farm? The participants listed the tasks below as attributed to each gender:

Table 3: Distribution of tasks at MFTF

Men	Women
Digging holes	Weeding
Fixing pipes	Sanitation(orange falling from trees)
Workshop, fixing tractors and pick ups, changing tractor punctures	Planting
Spraying insecticides	Picking
Driving	Packing
Irrigation	Harvesting

From the table above men's tasks reflect work that requires more physical exertion in comparison to that of women. Women are perceived to work best in the pack houses and picking/harvesting fruit. These roles have followed the traditional gender divide where men take on the strenuous and more physical work while the women handle what is considered as more agile. For example women are deemed to excel in work within the pack house while men are best at working in the garage. The roles require different skills and levels of effort and have a bearing in the distribution of duties. This is expressed in the following excerpts given based on the farm manager and beneficiaries accounts on the issue relating to distribution of tasks:

“I see there are differences in the roles and responsibilities; there are some things that men can do that cannot be done by women and vice-versa” “For instance, women do not work in the garage. Men are most productive when working in the garage and also spraying insecticides on the crops at the farm” (Rosina, female beneficiary).

“Ja because most of the work are for women -the grading and packing. I don’t think the men can pack as quick (fast) as a woman. You got advantage in the long run you can use the women much better than men. Men can pick but they do always the hard work packing the bags and the boxes strapping and driving the trucks but in a pack house most of the work is for women. It’s done better by the women” (Johann, farm manager)

The women have learnt to take on tasks that were previously undertaken by the men and they take on responsibilities assigned to the men when they are not available to carry them out. Work related to fixing pipes and irrigation can be performed by either gender even though men tend to take the lead. In this case one notes that the women can perform the roles previously played by the men as indicated in the excerpt below:

“We both fix the pipes for irrigation, planting and fumigate. Sorting is mostly done by women and men do packaging but sometimes when men are not available we also do it. “We sit every morning for 10-15 minutes planning and informing each other about the sections that need to be attended and manpower” (Masemola, trustee, female beneficiary).

From the excerpts above one notes the way in which roles are distributed on the farm and gendered considerations of what men and women do best. The distribution of work is greatly influenced and affected by the large number of females who outnumber the males and this is attributed to the nature of work that is carried out on the farm which includes harvesting and packaging. These are routine tasks and women over the period on the farm are deemed to perform better than the men.

The notion of hard work as perceived by the men when looking at what they do is expressed through their activities which include packing boxes and strapping them on the trailer and transporting these by driving. This is perceived to be “hard work” in comparison to what women do which includes harvesting, grading and packing. Women acknowledge the differences that exist in the roles that both males and females play on the farm and which are perceived through the notion of “hard work” by comparing the physical work they carry out on the farm as indicated in the excerpt below:

“Men usually pack⁶ the boxes, work in irrigation, repairs/maintain things and drive us. According to me is not harder than having to pick a 15kg of bag on your shoulder and more than 100 bags a day and again to pack more than 100 boxes a day is not the same. Women work very hard on the farm and we do the majority of the work which includes packaging, spraying insecticides and collecting crops. If you were to ask a woman to pack five sacks for you it would be done very quickly and men tend to complain and seek assistance. I think so; according to me men are lazy because most of the work is done by women” (Sethole, trustee, female beneficiary).

The work on the farm largely depends on physical labour and given the number of men in comparison to the women it is easier for the one gender to take advantage and view the other as “not working hard” depending on the tasks to be accomplished at a given point in time. For example picking of citrus fruit or grapes is done mainly by the women while the loading of boxes onto the trailers is done by the men. When one examines the physical demands of the work in one case the women stand for long hours while picking the fruit while the men employ physical strength in loading the packed fruit onto the trailers.

⁶ Pack boxes refers to loading boxes already packed by women

With the change of ownership of the farm and examining roles from a gender perspective, the new situation presented an opportunity for roles to be redistributed or enhanced where women would have an opportunity to take on and participate in the roles that were previously handled and dominated by men. The roles in which the women could engage in include serving in the board of trustees, management committee and heading departments. The notable cases were where two of the women moved from being general workers and took on administrative roles of heading the orchard and fruit and vegetable departments. Three women serve in the board of trustees while two serve in the management committee as the third female serves on both bodies. This is confirmed by one of the participants who indicated as follows:

“I learned so much about the farm because I was inexperienced not knowing how to run the office. He (the farm manager) welcomed and orientated me on my duties; he (the farm manager) was not a full-time owner at the farm. However, I have learnt a lot from him (the farm manager) within the three years I have spent here. He(the farm manager) taught me a lot about administrative work, assisting the pack house, the packaging quality required for the pack house, and managing the pack house as a whole” (Sethole, trustee, female beneficiary).

Based on the discussions with the beneficiaries the following observations can be made: The change of ownership of the farm presents chances for women to advance and break into areas that were considered the sole preserve of men by taking on new and additional roles in the management of the farm. In the case of MFTF, there have been advances for women on the farm in the area of gender roles. Three women at the MFTF serve on the board of trustees, three in the management

committee and as two head departments. This indicates their entry into positions and roles that were previously dominated by men.

Despite the opportunities women have to improve on their involvement in the management of the farm as indicated above, it is noted that men still have a greater influence and take the lead in determining how work on the farm is distributed and carried out. They still hold the key leadership positions on the farm, serve as chair during meetings and with the new partners forming the trust it is two men that came aboard despite the suggestion to get into partnership coming from a female beneficiary. The situation above indicates male dominance when one considers the proportion of women to men on the farm with regard to representation.

The DLA policy has contributed in providing opportunities for women in the following ways: The women were able to participate in the land redistribution programme and became beneficiaries of the farm. They have an opportunity to organize themselves and work together with the men in the management of the farm. They have made gains through the additional roles they play on the farm in comparison to the previous time when they were farm workers. In as much as there have been setbacks, they still remain subservient to resistance.

Providing women with the opportunity to take on roles that were previously viewed as the reserve of males and working alongside males on the farm may be seen as one of the positive gains that change in institutional structures within the land redistribution context has contributed towards promoting gender equity. Both men and women have opportunities to contribute to the various roles on the farm and where redistribution of roles is required either gender may take on the responsibility. In the next section we examine how access to resources and decision making are dealt with at the MFTF.

5.4 Access to control of resources and decision-making

In this section we discuss how access to control of resources and decision-making is dealt with at the MFTF. The following questions guided the data collection around the issue of access to and control of resources on the MFTF? Who controls access to resources and opportunities? What kinds of decision making structures exist? Do these serve to empower women? To what extent do women have the leverage to decide on what investments will be carried out on the farm?

The following resources were identified at the MFTF: land which is 485 hectares. Out of this 100 were under cultivation, labour, capital, seeds, fertilizer, water and irrigation equipment, and machinery. The availability of these resources affect decisions made in relation to the area of farmland to be planted, how many people will work on the farm, what crops to plant, the technology to be used, where to sell the harvest which includes access to markets, and support from government departments in the form of farm visits and extension services.

The transfer of land from the previous owner to the beneficiaries under a trust meant there was a change in structure from single ownership to group ownership. The new structure resulted in the formation of a board of trustees whose mandate is to safeguard and acquire assets, manage finances, ensure markets for the farm produce and serve as signatories on behalf of the trust.

The composition of the board of trustees which includes three women provided women the opportunity to participate in decision making in matters relating to the management of the farm, including decisions on which assets to invest in and how to deploy human resources. However from the observations made during the field trips it was apparent that the final decision was taken by the male trustee who initiated the acquisition of the farm. He seemed to have the final word. The decision making by males on the farms increased with the arrival of two male partners. This gave the

impression that even though women had the opportunity to make decisions they still depended on the men to take the lead and to affirm the decisions, suggestions or contributions made.

Access to capital remained a challenge for the beneficiaries as the farm depended on availability of funds for the day to day operations. This included operating expenses as well as investment opportunities. From the onset the beneficiaries did not have capital to contribute as required under the land redistribution programme, a situation that led to the Government financing the farm purchase in full. The beneficiaries received a grant from the government, which was invested in the acquisition of assets and rebuilt the infrastructure for production of grapes as indicated below:

“Ja, they (Government) gave them a grant when they took the farm over. An amount of 36 million if I can remember correct but they bought a new tractor, a spray cart, a slasher. When the grapes were beaten (damaged) by the hail they had to change the poles I think 1000 poles so they took some of that money, 3000 holes they put new poles new wires new netting everything new and that takes a lot of money they put new 2.2 ha of grapes that is irrigation complete almost 2 million rand”
(Johann, farm manager)

In October 2010 seven months after the transfer of the farm, the movable assets available from the previous owner were valued at ZAR 298,002.09. The board of trustees entered into an agreement with him to utilize this stock as the opening stock for the MFTF and it was to fund the day to day operations of the farm. This was due to the inability of the beneficiaries to pay their cash contributions for the farms operating expenses.

The beneficiaries could not access capital a situation that contributed to their reliance on the sale of harvest of crops produced on the farm. The weather conditions over the following three years did not improve and damage of the crops

by hail contributed to the greatest losses. This meant the beneficiaries expectations at the time of taking over the farm and the reality of the situation as the years passed became uncertain. The unpredictable weather situation impacted on the quality of crop. The crop could not meet export quality and this resulted in the decision to sell it at the local market which was already oversupplied with the same products.

The end result was no profits were realized, payment of water and electricity bills became a problem and these services were cut off. This meant the irrigation system of the farm could not function and coupled with the poor weather condition, the future operations of the farm were under threat and closure was seen as a possibility if nothing was done about it. The future of the farm largely depended on access to capital as indicated in the excerpt below:

“The future of this farm rests primarily on getting capital. Its quite positive when you look on the one side which I am indicating now. If they get reasonable capital if they replant certain hectares of orchards if they get good financial support and management systems and most importantly the market obviously there is no way it cannot work. But now they don't have capital. The reality is they don't have capital they don't have capital to buy inputs and to pay wages, to pay overheads and operational costs and as a result I mean you can't run business without actually capital and face the whole truth”
(Selo, extension officer)

Inability by the trustees to secure additional funding from the government led them to a decision in July 2013 that saw them enter into a partnership with two males. The partners provided the capital that was immediately required to write off the accumulated debt and further provide the much needed capital for the operating expenses. This led to a situation where one of the female beneficiaries who was involved in the management of the farm walked away and deserted the farm as reported by the trustees. This meant the coming of the two partners partly eroded the

gains the women had made in the management sphere as the two males came on board at a time when capital was required and this meant the decision making previously done by the trustees was now shared between the two sides. The negotiation of the partnership was initiated by one of the female trustees who gives the following account:

“We as beneficiaries, we realized that we have a lot of debts and may lose our farm. We firstly started at the government to request for assistance. We met this “guys” our partners at the market and invited them to the farm shared our situation (informed them of the problems they faced at the farm). We presented our business plans. They agreed to come and help us. In July we started to work together. We decided to form a partnership to gain financial aids and they helped us overcome a lot of our problems”. (Sethole, trustee, female beneficiary)

When examining the issue of decision making at MFTF the areas in which decisions are made as well as the types of decisions were identified as follows: labour in relation to how many casuals to hire, the number of people to employ/deploy in the different departments, where to sell the crops/fruit, what to plant on the farm, when to introduce new crops/trees, succession issues relating to beneficiaries that die or retire or leave the farm for other reasons, how much to pay the beneficiaries (setting the wages), partnership issues.

There are opportunities for women to participate at all levels of management of the farm as they are the majority. However, one notes that the farm manager who has since left and was not replaced was a male, the two new partners are male, the irrigation department is headed by a man. This means the key decision making positions are held by the men.

Access to control of resources and decision-making at MFTF is mandate bestowed upon the board of trustees. Thus the members of the trust have the responsibility to make decisions and act on behalf of the beneficiaries. In partnership with the two

males and the management committee, the decision-making is shared between the three management structures which direct the farm operations at various levels.

5.5 Women, men and their livelihoods

The notion of women and their livelihoods at the MFTF was examined by identifying the existing livelihood opportunities that contribute towards sustainable livelihoods of women on the farm. The extent to which the activities on the farm have affected their lives at home and the changes experienced after becoming beneficiaries were explored.

From the preceding discussion around the theme on administration, it is evident that the land redistribution programme through the DLA provided women an opportunity to access and own land under a trust. Interviews held with female beneficiaries and a focus group comprising women only explored the issues around livelihoods in light of their work on the farm and family situation under the redistributed land.

Land is the resource from which the women gain a living by organizing their day to day lives around activities on the farm. Previously the women were employees and worked for salaries within a defined structure and did not have responsibilities other than those relating to their duties. This meant the income received was defined and they planned their expenditure within the defined salary structure. The salaries were paid at the end of each month and they had an opportunity to make extra income by working overtime. Their working hours were defined (7.30a.m. to 5.30 p.m.) except for the times when they had to work overtime.

The livelihoods of women at the MFTF are influenced through the various livelihood assets that exist on the farm. The livelihood assets include the natural resource base, social, physical and human are identified as follows: The natural resource base which is the land. The MFTF is 486 hectares and commercial agriculture is what is practiced. The beneficiaries grow citrus fruit, grapes and vegetables. This contributes to the livelihood strategies of the beneficiaries in the following ways; the

land is an asset which they are part owners through the shareholding. They are able to generate income from the farm produce if the farming conditions favour them. In this way the income received from the farm forms the basis from which they pay their wages and in return provide for their families.

The social assets include the trust and the social networks that exist within the farm. The farmers belong to the MFTF and have registered the farm with the department of Agriculture. Through this organization they are able to regulate the farms activities and receive support from the government and other institutions. They are in relationship with other farm owners and stakeholders within the sector as they have to produce and market their products within the open markets.

The physical and financial, assets include the farms assets, and capital. Under this category the farm machinery and equipment is considered which includes the buildings, vehicles, irrigation equipment, office equipment as well as the actual finances the farm has in their bank account. The MFTF has irrigation equipment, trailers, trucks, vehicles, buildings and machinery that form the asset base of the farm. In addition to this they have the farm produce which is sold and accounts for the finance received on the farm.

The human assets are the beneficiaries and for this asset class the education, skills level and wellbeing of the beneficiaries are important in the management of the farm. The farmers run a commercial farm and are expected to compete with other farms that are engaged in the production of similar crops and therefore the human assets play a great role in the way the farm is managed and eventually its profitability. The beneficiaries of the MFTF are former workers who worked as general assistants and the farm was managed by its owner and a farm manager who had technical and managerial skills. With the handover of the farms, the skills transfer was not sustained for long and the end result was the beneficiaries had to work and take on

these functions without formal training. This is expressed through the interview held with the AgriSETA officer as follows:

“I mean when you talk about accountability responsiveness and democratic aspects of governance when it comes to audited financial statements they cannot understand a lot of detail when it comes to that and when you talk about the business output and input it becomes a challenge to them because when they see oranges being transported to the market they look at it as money but the challenge that they still have to pay the cost, the dynamics around price change the market conditions in terms of quality in terms of prices which ultimately have a negative and positive effect sometimes they do not understand those dynamics quite very well. For them they see themselves as ultimately working very hard for nothing sometimes” (Selo, extension officer)

Despite the challenges above, through their engagement on the farm, the women are able to support themselves and their families from the income and food they receive and in turn provide for their households. From the focus group interview carried out hope for better lives through the acquisition of the farm was established as a unifying goal among the beneficiaries:

“We are all working and hoping for a living to support our families and the future of our children” (Masemene, participant focus group discussion).

Through the notion of local perspectives in livelihoods as advanced by Hajdu, (2006), the women at the MFTF shared how they feel, think and perceive their situation on the farm. In some instances the women felt they were better off when they worked as employees. This was driven by the lack of capital occasioned by their

inability to make profit after taking over the farm. They did not receive any wages and had to continue working on the farm despite this challenge. The interviews held with the beneficiaries give accounts of how they feel about the situation before and after acquiring the farm as follows:

Masemola, a trustee and female beneficiary, a mother of three (a daughter 21yrs, and two sons 12 and 2 years) plus a husband indicates that she was better organised when she was an employee and paid school fees for the child and to an extent supporting the extended family of her sister and grandchild. Since becoming a beneficiary this has not been possible as no salaries have been paid and she has to depend on the husband for financial support:

“Since we took over life is not improve its going down just because we don’t have money we didn’t get money to buy some food or any clothes or anything we just get a little bit of money and you can’t make anything with that money”
(Masemola, trustee, female beneficiary)

When one compares the above interview with one held with Chad with a family size of five (three sons aged 18, 14 and 6 and a spouse), the situation is no different. The man at the time the interviews were carried out depended on the wife’s income and food from the farm where she rendered her services.

The interview with Sethole, a trustee and female beneficiary aged 36 years indicated the change experienced by a female in taking on managerial duties. She had to invest time on weekends to ensure her duties at the farm were carried out. Lack of capital at the time prevented the board of trustees from employing additional staff and the effect of this on her family was that she still had to cook, wash and ensure the children were at school every morning and balance this with the work on the

farm. The husband was of the view that she should farm on her own rather than doing it in a group as he did not find it a good idea. To supplement the loss of income after taking over the farm this beneficiary engaged in selling atchaar to ensure she had bread and a lunch for the children.

“After being a beneficiary, I faced a lot of challenges that were mostly related to numerous changes. When I started as a beneficiary the “organogram”, the farm manager and the admin work had changed. I found myself taking responsibility of the marketing, office administration and finance. It was challenging because I had so much to do. I had to do the technical work and I also had to hold meetings as the trustee but I was committed, I even worked during weekends. I remember one day I was doing a Global gap audit, it was challenging because it has a lot of paper work and more technical work. I was overloaded and couldn’t get to employ anyone because we didn’t have money

My family life was affected but my husband was very supportive. He sometimes helped me because I would come back tired from trying to manage payrolls and other duties and it became very strenuous on the whole family but I have managed. My husband likes farming, since becoming a beneficiary he has been encouraging me to do farming on my own rather than doing in a group because he says is not good. No one helps me with the household work. I cook, do the washing, ensure that the children are at school every morning and balancing that with the farm work. I sometimes sell atchaar at a less price just to get a supplement for the bread and lunchbox for my kids. I am committed to what I do and the benefits are also fruitful” (Sethole, trustee, female beneficiary)

The interview with Rosina, a female beneficiary and mother of one daughter, indicates that life was good and easier when she worked as an employee for the previous owner. The situation deteriorated after they took over the farm as beneficiaries. This led her into getting into the business of selling eggs but with the arrival of the partners things have improved and her life has now changed for the better.

“At home I am selling eggs I have a business” (Rosina, female beneficiary)

From the excerpts above it implies the women have been empowered and are able to identify what their own needs at both individual and community level are and when faced with challenges look for alternative options that contribute to their wellbeing and in the process experience change in their lives. This may require engaging in additional livelihood activities to complement income received from the farm or diversifying their income sources and depending on their spouses income in some instances while whilst supporting their families and performing their domestic roles. Their commitment and definition of what being a beneficiary is expressed in the excerpt below:

“To be a beneficiary means you know several works in the farm and to qualify means you no longer need training we not teaching you, you already know meaning you can be sent to manage or assist in any section without supervision and we trust that you will make it. “you must start from the beginning to the end” there is no increase of money now we are still recouping from the damage but things are better than before because we used to come to work without a salary” (Phalane, participant focus group discussion)

It demonstrates the challenges the women face on the farm and the willingness to continue and hope that things will improve as they continue with their activities on the farm. In conclusion one notes that there was optimism as the beneficiaries acquired the farm and with the failure to make profit, their livelihood source which they had relied upon for many years was not as promising, a situation that resulted in their seeking alternative sources of income. They see the potential in the farm and hence stay on to work even if they do not earn wages but are optimistic things will improve in future. Most of the beneficiaries do not have additional businesses as they spend most of their time on the farm. They receive vegetables from the farm every Friday. The money received is mainly used for other household expenses and education.

5.5.1. Intensification of work

Intensification of work examines how work is distributed and shared on the farm. Traditionally women have been providing labour on the farms within the agricultural sector and in the form of unpaid work through their own and family labour where they received benefits in kind such as housing water and electricity through the employment of their spouses (Orton et al., 2001) or paid work.

Statistics indicate that in 2000 there were almost six million women employed in agriculture worldwide. However the work women perform is undervalued and remunerated at low wages and in some instances it is not even recognised. With the feminisation of agriculture in the 1990's there have been new employment opportunities especially for young women (Momsen, 2004). The older women are not able to take on the challenges due to their low literacy levels and age. This is evident in the case of MFTF where the younger women on the farm have taken on decision making roles while majority of the older women have remained in their positions as general workers.

According to Nagy (2008), in Norway and Sweden there have been policy initiatives at different levels to support women's participation in the labour force. A work-life model where wage earning activities are viewed as being full-time life-long and uninterrupted tends to favor men as women interrupt their employment to attend to reproductive roles especially those related to child bearing. Under this model women are expected to show a high commitment to work and their personal lives are in the background. The level of interruption is expected only during childbirth. They are accorded flexibility to enable them balance their family lives and employment. The expectation of men to participate in reproductive work is very low by both men and women.

The employment pattern requires one to follow what is referred to as "male rules" and expectations and women are expected to comply. This means for them to be regarded as equal to the men there should be no difference between them as they cannot be equal yet different. It is on this basis that worldwide most powerful positions are occupied by men and this is viewed as short term. In the case of MFTF this pattern has not changed. Most of the decision making positions are occupied by men and the women that work and serve on the committee and board of trustees have to comply with the decisions made by the men. It is in this light that despite the men leaving the farm, the previous foreman who became a manager and the irrigation manager still stay given the advantage they enjoy within the farm.

At the end of the research the MFTF has 29 active beneficiaries and out of these 26 are females and 3 are male. This indicates that the majority of the workforce is made up of women and they are employed as general workers.

The working hours at the MFTF farm are defined as follows: they report to work at 7.30 take a break at 12.30 for lunch and leave the farm at 5.30 p.m. they do not have overtime and they do not work on weekends and public holidays. In the past seasonal workers were employed from the location which is 2km away from the farm

during seasons where picking of fruit required more labour. This practice has stopped as there is no capital to pay for additional labour.

The working hours on the farm are fixed which means both men and women work throughout the day however, the work is organised in such a way that men and women have specific tasks based on the traditional gender roles. When one considers how men work in comparison to the women, it gives the impression that the men do not work as much. For example the women pack the fruit they stand all the time in comparison to the men that transport fruit who are likely to have a break while the fruit is being packed. This does not mean that the amount of loading and deliveries they undertake makes it a lesser task.

At the MFTF women mainly work in the pack houses and orchards while the men work in the garage, drive, fix pipes and are responsible for the irrigation. This division of labour follows the pattern that has existed within the deciduous farms over decades. Women are seen to be better, when packing fruit compared to the men who are deemed to struggle if assigned similar work (Kritzinger & Vorster 1996). In the case of MFTF there is an indication that this is changing as the women argue that they are able to fix the pipes and work on the irrigation in the absence of the men. The rest of the positions for the beneficiaries remain unchanged except for those that took on administrative roles as indicated in the excerpt below:

“Our positions remained the same the changes were only in the office, Finance section” (Bapela, focus group participant)

By acquiring the land, the women at the MFTF have secured a potential asset that is expected to contribute to enhancing their livelihood through opportunities for work and source of livelihood. Their ability to own land and make decisions is expected to be enhanced and in turn contribute to their well-being. They may end up taking up roles that were previously viewed as those of males. The actual distribution of roles

is discussed in the section that addresses gender roles within the context of this study.

5.6. Twenty four hour schedules

The activities of eighteen beneficiaries (thirteen female five male) that were present at the MFTF when the researcher visited the farm in March 2013 were recorded using the 24 hour schedules. The schedules were administered with a view to finding out the activities the beneficiaries engaged in during the week as well as weekends. This was done with a view to establishing how they spend their time and what activities they engage in when they are not at work and the results were compiled and analyzed using the first and second components of the Moser Gender Analysis framework (appendix V) which addresses the reproductive, productive and triple role of women and was relevant for this research. It is worth noting that there are livelihood activities such as selling eggs and atchaar that beneficiaries indicate in this study that were not included in the schedules as they engaged in them after this exercise had been completed but are relevant for this discussion.

The reproductive role address issues related to childbearing and upbringing and domestic chores such as cooking, cleaning, fetching firewood. In the case of MFTF the reproductive roles identified include those related to childcare where only two beneficiaries are active in this role. This is attributed to the large number of elderly beneficiaries who are not involved in childcare responsibilities. Fetching water was indicated by two beneficiaries out of the eighteen (one male and one female). The location has piped water and fetching water is not a major activity as such. Cleaning the yard is done by eleven (nine females and two males) the two men are single hence their engagement in the cleaning role. None of the men cook nor wash which is evident that this activity remains a female role. Thus the reproductive role remains within the female sphere and a few men begin to take on the roles relating to cleaning and fetching water.

Under the productive role issues related to paid work whether in cash or kind are examined. All the eighteen participants are engaged in paid work. This is attributed to their being beneficiaries of the farm and their provision of their time and labour as input to the running of the farm. There are two beneficiaries attending to livestock and later on two other beneficiaries indicated their involvement in the selling eggs and atchaar. The beneficiaries spend most of their time at the farm which may explain the absence of other forms of paid work.

The third role is described as the triple role of women which includes work that women engage in at community level that is in addition to their reproductive role with a view to ensuring scarce resources such as water, healthcare and education are provided and maintained and does not attract payment. In the case of MFTF such roles were not identified as most of the beneficiaries spent their time around activities relating to family, friends, entertainment and religion

The second component addresses gender needs. Based on the information collected, the gender needs were identified and assessed in order to differentiate practical gender needs versus strategic gender needs. The practical gender needs were identified as cooking, cleaning and child care while the strategic needs were identified as employment on the farm and attending to livestock, and later productive activities of selling eggs and atchaar. The gender needs in this context do not affect the farm activities at the MFTF as they take place after working hours. The results from the 24 hour schedule exercise revealed that the women spend most of their time at work. While at home they are involved in reproductive roles which include domestic chores such as cleaning the yard cooking and childcare.

In concluding this chapter the results indicate that the land redistribution programme and the gender policy were designed to provide women an opportunity to better their chances in property ownership and access to business with a view to improving their livelihoods. In this case not much has changed as patriarchy still plays a role and the situation of the women on the farm is still very much dependent on the guidance by the men who hold power and give direction to the activities on the farm. The

influential positions are held by men and gender equity has not been realized. Women have maintained their traditional position and have not been active on the decision making front given their levels of literacy.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

Institutionalizing gender with a view to achieving equity is an issue that is under debate. It is an approach that researchers advocate for when drafting policies and planning programmes that include a gender component. This case study examined some of the challenges and considerations that institutionalization has created within the context of a redistributed farm and the lived reality as experienced by the beneficiaries.

The Department of Land Affairs has a specific gender policy that indicates how women should access and benefit from the land redistribution programme (DLA, 1997). Through the gender policy aspects relating to legal prescriptions on participation by women, mechanisms of project planning and beneficiary selection, and specific provision for women to enable women access financial and support services are outlined. Based on this the beneficiaries of Mokopane Farmers Trust Farm (MFTF) were examined and the findings indicated the extent to which the department took into account the considerations when the farm was transferred to the beneficiaries. The findings indicated that the MFTF met the two thirds requirement for women to participate as beneficiaries in the land redistribution programme. Out of the 55 beneficiaries at the time of registration of the farm, 36 were women.

6.2 Key arguments

The research examined how provisions laid down under the land redistribution programme with regard to gender were considered in the process of redistributing land in the case of MFTF.

The case study of MFTF is viewed in light of the WID, WAD GAD theories and the concept of gender mainstreaming. The aim of the land redistribution is to empower women by encouraging them to come together and buy land collectively as part of the government's legislation that governs the land reform programme. Through this programme the MFTF was set up and it resulted in women owning property- land under a trust. This provided an opportunity for them to participate in the farms activities and its management, with the result of ensuring their livelihoods and improving their quality of life. This situation has changed with the shareholding being diluted as the partners are in possession of the 45 per cent stake that belonged to the farmers.

In relation to land redistribution and gender from a WID perspective, development efforts were considered to be gender blind and male oriented (Parpart et al., 2002). Under this approach individuals were targeted as the medium for social change and women were selected as the primary beneficiaries of the land reform programme. However, an attempt to change the situation of women without looking at how the men may be affected could be an ineffective strategy. Therefore interpretation and implementation of land redistribution gender policies under WID closes the gap that has been created by programmes that were previously viewed as male oriented. The LRAD policy document sets out specific provisions for women to enable them access financial and support services in agricultural production. Under WID gender equality and economic efficiency play a role planning for a project.

In the case of MFTF the WID perspective played a role in targeting women who formed the majority of beneficiaries at the time of acquiring the land. The willing seller/willing buyer approach was employed as set out in the land redistribution policy. The farm was transferred in March 2010 to 55 beneficiaries of the MFTF. Out of these 38 were women who comprised three quarters and this satisfied the provision of at least two thirds of beneficiaries being women under the land redistribution policy.

The acquisition and transfer process was headed by two males- the previous farm owner and the foreman. The women were included in the transaction at a later stage when the trust and management committee of the farm were formed. This implies identification of the opportunity to own the farm was championed by a man and it was not an idea from the women. Even though the women form majority of the beneficiary list, it was on the basis of their engagement on the farm.

During the transfer process the beneficiaries own contribution was not realized and the government paid up the amount. Based on the research findings, the inability of the beneficiaries to make their own contribution played a part in the subsequent challenges encountered on the farm relating to reduced capital for operating expenses. This situation resulted in the nonpayment of salaries, disconnection of water and electricity on the farm and a number of beneficiaries leaving the farm to look for employment on other farms or staying at home.

The situation above links to findings from other research that confirms that the land redistribution has had challenges. After land is acquired, the high prices of farmland leaves limited funds from the grant for development. In the case of MFTF there were no funds left from the grant as all funds were channeled in the acquisition of the farm. There are challenges that the new farm owners have to face which relate to management of the new ventures, skills shortage, mentoring, capacity building, ownership rights and decision making (Meer, 1997; Walker, 2003). MFTF has had challenges especially in the area of skills shortage where the majority of the women working on the farm are in general service positions and their skills level is very low. They are not able to participate in formal training that requires higher level of education and engagement. In the case of land redistribution, the beneficiaries have land as a resource which they have to cultivate and sell produce with a view to securing their income while maintaining their jobs.

The effect of government policies plays an important role on the concept of rural livelihoods. The policies have an impact on people's choices related to livelihood strategies. In the context of land redistribution, the agricultural land use policy does

not restrict the beneficiaries in any way in engaging in activities that they are able to carry out on the farm. The holding of the farm under a trust is to ensure that the beneficiaries do not subdivide the farm but own it collectively as was provided for under the legislation that guided the acquisition process of the farm. If the government policies do not provide clear guidelines the results as experience from other studies has shown may include reduced incomes, deteriorating infrastructure, and economic conditions among others (Hajdu, 2006; Nelson et al., 2006). Through the land redistribution programme opportunities for other forms of livelihood strategies are expected to emerge with a view to complementing employment of the beneficiaries on the farm.

Decision-making in the context of land redistribution is key to the management and success of the farm. The success of the farm depends on the choices they make as they engage in their day to day activities on the farm. Through agriculture the beneficiaries may realize the benefits associated with rural livelihoods which Adams et al. (1999) identify as increased income, reduced vulnerability, improved food security, health and wellbeing and sustainable use of natural resources. Some of the decisions the beneficiaries make in relation to the management of the farm include what to plant, where to sell the products, wages to be paid and future investments among other decisions.

In the determination and production of quality of life reports the land redistribution programme takes into consideration people's income, their wellbeing, reduced vulnerability, improved food security and sustainable use of natural resources (Walker, 2003). The beneficiaries of MFTF were optimistic at the beginning that their lives will improve after acquiring the farm but this situation quickly changed when they did not realize any profits from the first year they took over the farm. Most of the beneficiaries are optimistic that their livelihood will improve as soon as the farm recovers from the losses registered to date. At present some of the beneficiaries have diversified their sources of livelihood by engaging in small businesses while others depend on their spouses to meet their day to day needs.

Institutional structures are not easily established especially in cases where farm workers find themselves becoming owners and have to manage this structural change. The MFTF beneficiaries continued to work on the farm and the only change experienced was in the administration where the foreman became a manager and the administrator became a trustee. From a gender perspective the change presented an opportunity for the beneficiaries to engage with one another on the farm in aspects relating to division of labour, where work had to be shared/distributed amongst men and women and women had an opportunity to take on roles that were previously dominated by males.

Decision-making in the management of the farm which requires both men and women to agree on what needs to be done. Gender and power relations between the men and women as they engage in activities on the farm. Anfred et al (2004), indicate that power relations play an important role as both men and women are actors in such process. The aspect of livelihoods where the farm remains the main source of their income and the question of what happens when this fails. The attitudes and perceptions of the beneficiaries as part of their resilience strategies to ensure the farm remains a viable venture especially when faced with financial difficulties.

The farm management structures consist of a board of trustees, a management committee and as of July 2013 they two male partners that have joined the farm as shareholders. The composition of the management structure at the MFTF has more males in comparison to the women in the decision making and leadership positions. This implies the women at the farm have not yet ascended into decision making positions and still perform the general duties. The men still dominate administratively. This implies the gender policy within the land redistribution process does not provide for further guidelines on how to empower women and ensure they have an opportunity to participate equally with the men where men are likely to dominate.

The WAD perspective focuses on the relationship between women and development processes. It has the assumption that women have always been part of the

development process. In the case of MFTF, majority of the beneficiaries were women who already worked on the farm as general workers and acquiring the farm was a step in providing them an opportunity to own property. They already worked on the farm and the acquisition provided them an asset base to secure their livelihood strategy through paid work food and other benefits accrued from the farm. Thus facilitating of ownership albeit collectively reflects the spirit of a WAD approach.

The GAD perspective looks at all aspects of women's lives through its holistic approach. The contribution made by women within the household is considered. It does take into account the differences that exist in society and the need for varied solutions (Rathgeber, 1990). Based on this approach the MFTF serves as a source of livelihood strategies for the beneficiaries and from their participation on the farm, both men and women have an opportunity to address their needs. They have an opportunity to plan and make decisions on the management and future of the farm collectively. This approach promotes the ability of the beneficiaries to work together as members of the trust and make collective decisions that are binding to the group. The outcome of decisions is shared by all the members of the trust.

Through gender mainstreaming inequalities that exist between men and women are addressed. This is done through the assessment of planned programmes and policies. It is through gender mainstreaming that programmes are designed to ensure that men and women benefit equally with a view to achieving equality. The land redistribution policy requires the department of land affairs to develop policies and mechanisms that facilitate women's access to opportunities in the agricultural sector. The MFTF is one project that was conceptualized and implemented with the assistance of government. The gender policy was applied as stipulated however implementing certain aspects of the policy was not possible due to lack of capital and the skills level of the beneficiaries.

Within the context of land redistribution the beneficiaries have to make decisions related to the management of the farm in terms of what to plant where to sell the

products, wages and future investments among other decisions. It is a key aspect that the beneficiaries have to engage in as the management and success of the farm will depend on the choices they make as they practice agriculture.

According to Walker (2003), through the land redistribution programme opportunities for other forms of livelihood strategies are expected to emerge with a view to complementing employment of the beneficiaries on the farm. It takes into consideration considered people's income, their wellbeing, reduced vulnerability, improved food security and sustainable use of natural resources when producing the quality of life reports. The beneficiaries of the MFTF have the farm as an asset from which their livelihoods are dependent. They depend on salaries earned through the sale of farm produce and benefit from the vegetables they plant on the farm. In this case their livelihood strategy is entirely dependent on the profitability of the farm.

The effect of government policies plays an important role on the concept of rural livelihoods. The policies have an impact on people's choices related to livelihood strategies. In the context of land redistribution, the agricultural land use policy does not restrict the beneficiaries in any way in engaging in activities that they are able to carry out on the farm. The holding of the farm under a trust is to ensure that the beneficiaries do not subdivide the farm but own it collectively as was provided for under the legislation that guided the acquisition process. If the government policies do not provide clear guidelines the results as experience from other studies has shown may include reduced incomes, deteriorating infrastructure, and economic conditions among others (Hajdu, 2006; Nelson et al., 2006).

In the case of MFTF, the beneficiaries lost forty five percent of their shareholding through a partnership agreement entered into with two male partners that came in to provide the much needed capital to ensure the farm remained operational. This situation was perpetrated partly by the Department of Agriculture during the process of acquiring the farm where the requirement of the beneficiaries own contribution

was flaunted and all the available capital was spent in paying for the farm. Having lack of capital set up the farm for failure from the beginning and the consequence of the partnership arrangement has diluted the shareholding of the remaining beneficiaries in the farm.

Division of labour and gender relations within the context of a farm remains a subject of further study. The research has indicated that men still occupy positions of authority and are still better paid than their female counterparts. Women have taken on roles that were viewed to be dominated by males thus challenging the institution of patriarchy. Both men and women are participating in paid work, a situation which has improved from the traditional form where the men were bread winners and the reproductive work done by women was not taken into consideration. Roles have been changing and with the special provisions in the legislation that allow women to have a stake in property is part of the process that works towards achieving ideal gender mainstreaming

Thus in the context of changing institutional structures with a view to achieving gender equity, the following may be concluded: through the DLA the women of MFTF were able to own land alongside the men. Structures of patriarchy have been challenged where previously women could not own land and this has been realized through the DLA. Gender Equity has been partly achieved as women on the farm participate in decision-making regarding the management of the farm and participating in the farm operations alongside the men as well as negotiating with the men in regard to distribution of duties on the farm.

6.3 Recommendations

The results from this research suggest that even though the Government has put in place legislation to improve the position of women in relation to access and ownership of land under the land redistribution programme, the situation of women has not greatly improved through this initiative. The implementation of the gender policy under the land redistribution policy has not adequately ensured that women form two thirds of the ownership structure. To ensure this it is recommended that the composition of the board of trustees and the management committees should have women as the chairpersons. In this way they will be mandated to take on the leadership role which they silently relinquish once there is a male on the board.

The farm acquisition process needs to be reviewed to ensure that a faster and comprehensive process be put in place which reduces the time taken between the first time application to the actual hand over. In the case of MFTF it took approximately five years to complete the process. There was no interest from the outgoing owner as he had already relocated and the incoming beneficiaries could not invest much as the land did not belong to them. A recommended ideal timeline should be up to two years within which either party has a stake in the farm. The willing seller looks forward to receiving compensation while the willing buyer enters into a viable venture.

At the time of handing over the farm, mentorship should not be carried out by the previous farm owner as they do not have an interest in the farm by the time they decide to sell it. The indication is good will from their end but practically there is no interest to be attached to the farm. a programme to train mentors for such ventures should be introduced within the Government structures to ensure the mentorship programme does not suffer under an individual that is exiting the farm.

Capital plays a major role in the success of a redistributed farm where lack of it sets up the farm for failure upfront. The requirement that beneficiaries should have their own contribution has to be enforced by Government and in the event they cannot raise their share, it is at this point that the Government should consider a partner that can be identified that will officially be part of the ownership structure from the onset.

The literacy levels of the beneficiaries should be taken into consideration to ensure that they are able to participate in capacity building programmes as these are offered but if the beneficiaries do not have the qualifications required it does not assist the extension workers in delivering on their mandate.

Given the potential the farm has in providing livelihood strategies for beneficiaries, business plans that are presented should be evaluated in terms of viability and sustainability especially when challenges relating to reduced harvest occasioned by poor or bad weather set in. how do beneficiaries receive compensation for such unforeseen circumstances? A fund can be set up to cater for such eventualities and ensure the farms continue to operate as opposed to closing down.

Involvement of the Government in reviewing the administrative structures of such ventures in ensuring qualified personnel and beneficiaries run the farms. This will assist in the area of decision-making on what investments the farm can get into and how to best manage the farms. In the case of MFTF the beneficiaries continue to manage the farm as they best understand and this had provided challenges given the majority do not have formal education and function as general workers.

The traditional gender norm that governs division of labour is still practiced on the farm despite an attempt by the women to take on roles that were previously

considered to be for males. Structures should be put in place to ensure that such gendered labour divisions are addressed by ensuring that equal chances are given to both men and women when it comes to work on the farm. It will be ideal to see women working as drivers and being in charge of the irrigation while men should take on roles such as packing and sorting.

Further research is required to determine why policy does not translate into action and how patriarchy as an institution can be challenged to ensure equity in practice when dealing with men and women.

In conclusion the gender policy that was set up to ensure women benefit from the land redistribution exercise has not resulted in gender equity but has provided avenues for women to collectively participate in the land redistribution programme. The women have been able to benefit from the legislation that initially prohibited them from owning land from a customary perspective. This to an extent has provided avenues through which they can enhance their livelihood strategies however patriarchy still plays a role in the way they respond to and make decisions.

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Appendix I. Codes: face to face interviews

CODES-PRIMARY-DOCUMENTS-TABLE (CELL=Q-FREQ)

Report created by Super - 14/02/17 11:34:52 PM

"HU: [C:\Documents and Settings\User\Desktop\Data Analysis Gender\MFTF Data Analysis.hpr6]"

Code-Filter: All [17]

PD-Filter: All [9]

Quotation-Filter: All [98]

CODES	PRIMARY DOCS								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Totals									
Administration 19	0	0	2	3	3	2	4	5	0
Decision making 7	0	0	1	2	2	1	1	0	0
Demographic 1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
DLA 11	0	0	1	3	3	0	3	1	0
Empowerment 16	0	0	3	7	4	1	1	0	0
Equity 1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gender balance 9	0	0	2	1	2	3	0	1	0
Governance 16	0	0	4	2	2	1	4	3	0
Household Size 3	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
Livelihood 10	0	0	4	3	2	1	0	0	0
Roles 18	0	0	3	6	3	4	2	0	0
Succession 10	0	0	4	3	2	1	0	0	0
Totals 122	0	0	28	31	24	14	15	10	0

Appendix II. Codes: focus group discussions

CODES-PRIMARY-DOCUMENTS-TABLE

Report created by Super - 14/02/28 12:27:47 AM

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Code-Filter: PD [8]

PD-Filter: All [2]

Quotation-Filter: All [26]

	Administrati on	Decision Making	DLA	Empow- erment	Govern- ance	Liveliho od	Roles	Succe ssion	TOTALS:
P 1: Focus Group Discussion with Farm Trustees.rtf	6	2	5	3	2	0	1	0	19
P 2: Focus Group Farmers interview II.rtf	6	5	2	4	4	2	2	2	27
TOTALS:	12	7	7	7	6	2	3	2	46

Appendix III. Code families –face to face interviews

HU: MFTF Data Analysis
File: [C:\Documents and Settings\User\Desktop\Data Analysis Gender\MFTF Data Analysis.hpr6]
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Date/Time: 14/02/27 11:41:17 PM

Code Family: Access to resources & Decision Making
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Codes (6): [Administration] [Decision making] [Empowerment] [Gender balance] [Livelihood] [Roles]
Quotation(s): 72

Code Family: DLA Gender Policy farm acquisition & Women Empowerment
Created: 14/02/17 10:27:57 PM (Super)
Codes (5): [Administration] [Decision making] [DLA] [Governance] [Succession]
Quotation(s): 50

Code Family: Gender Roles
Created: 14/02/17 10:29:26 PM (Super)
Codes (3): [Empowerment] [Gender balance] [Roles]
Quotation(s): 42

Code Family: Governance, Administration & Succession
Created: 14/02/17 10:29:53 PM (Super)
Codes (5): [Administration] [Decision making] [DLA] [Governance] [Succession]
Quotation(s): 50

Code Family: Women & Livelihoods
Created: 14/02/17 10:28:28 PM (Super)
Codes (5): [Decision making] [Empowerment] [Gender balance] [Livelihood] [Roles]
Quotation(s): 53

Appendix IV. Code families- focus group discussions

HU: Focus Group Discussions
File: [C:\Documents and Settings\User\Desktop\Data Analysis Gender\Focus Group Discussions.hpr6]
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Code Family: Access to Resources & Decision Making
Created: 14/02/27 11:16:04 PM (Super)
Codes (4): [Decision Making] [Empowerment] [Livelihood] [Roles]
Quotation(s): 13

Code Family: DLA Gender Policy Farm Acquisition & Women Empowerment
Created: 14/02/27 11:16:27 PM (Super)
Codes (5): [Administration] [Decision Making] [DLA] [Governance] [Succession]
Quotation(s): 23

Code Family: Gender Roles
Created: 14/02/27 11:16:45 PM (Super)
Codes (3): [Decision Making] [Empowerment] [Roles]
Quotation(s): 13

Code Family: Governance & Administration and Succession
Created: 14/02/27 11:17:02 PM (Super)
Codes (5): [Administration] [Decision Making] [DLA] [Governance] [Succession]
Quotation(s): 23

Code Family: Women & Livelihoods
Created: 14/02/27 11:17:14 PM (Super)
Codes (5): [Administration] [Decision Making] [Empowerment] [Livelihood] [Roles]
Quotation(s): 21

Appendix V. Moser gender analysis

Participants/Gender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
	F	F	F	M	F	F	M	F	F	F	M	M	F	F	M	F	F	M

Reproductive roles

	sleep	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Bathing	X		x		x	x	x	x				x			x	x	x	
	Cooking	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x		x	x		x	x		
	Eating	X	x	x	X	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	
	Cleaning yard/house	X	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x		x					x	
	Relaxing/Watching TV	X	X	X	X	x			x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Washing clothing	X	x	x					x										
	Childcare		x						x										
	Walking			x			x		x						x	x			x
	Fetching water			x						x									

Productive roles

	Work	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Attending to livestock		x		x														
	Meeting at work				x														

Community Management

	Prayer	x		X											x				
	Attending Church	x	X							x									
	Visiting/family/friends				x														
	Entertainment -Soccer /Tavern				X			x											

Male	6
Female	12
Total	18 Participants

Appendix VI. Focus group discussion songs – Pedi/English

The group sang the following songs at the end of the discussion:

1. Messiah re ya goboka, Messiah wa halalela

Modimo re ya goboka rentse re thabela wena

Messiah wa halalela,

Wa galalela, Wa galalela,

Wa galalela rentse re thabela wena

Messiah we praise, We glorify you God, We thank you, We will always Cherish you

2. Jesu Konyana, Ntate, Modimo,

re gaugele Morena,

O re gaugele morena,

o regaugele Morena

Jesus the son, Father, be graceful to us

Appendix VII. Focus group consent form

Consent form for to carry out research on Land Redistribution and Gender at the Mokopane Farmers Trust farm⁷.

My name is Susan Dada from the University of Pretoria. I am doing research as part of the fulfillment of a Masters degree in Gender Studies at the department of Sociology. The title of my research paper is *Land Redistribution and Gender*.

I would like to ask your formal permission to participate in the focus group discussion to be conducted around this topic. Your participation in the focus group discussion is entirely voluntary. You can choose not to be take part or drop out at any time. Your anonymity is assured. By this I mean your real name an identity will not be revealed in the research paper and your transcribed responses where recordings will take place will be stored at the Department of Sociology's archive at the University of Pretoria for 15 years after completion of my studies.

In the course of the research your consent form will be kept separately from your transcribed answers. The information that you contribute during the focus group discussion will be integrated with the comments of others and analyzed to offer a general understanding of issues related to Land redistribution and gender. At the end of the research there will be no way of identifying who said what.

If you agree to participate in the focus group discussion, I would like to request that you please sign the formal acknowledgment of consent form in the space below indicating that you are a willing informant in this study. If you have any questions about any aspect of this research (now and in the course of the research or even later) please do not hesitate to contact me at the following number: 0790718133. I will be glad to answer all questions.

Thank you
Susan Dada

⁷ Original on letterhead

Appendix VIII. Face to face interview consent form

Consent form for to carry out research on Land Redistribution and Gender at the Mokopane Farmers Trust Farm⁸.

My name is Susan Dada from the University of Pretoria. I am doing research as part of the fulfillment of a Masters degree in Gender Studies at the department of Sociology. The title of my research paper is *Land Redistribution and Gender*.

I would like to ask your formal permission to participate in an interview session to be conducted around this topic. Your participation in the interview is entirely voluntary. You can choose not to be take part or drop out at any time. Your anonymity is assured. By this I mean your real name an identity will not be revealed in the research paper and your transcribed responses where recordings will take place will be stored at the Department of Sociology's archive at the University of Pretoria for 15 years after completion of my studies.

In the course of the research your consent form will be kept separately from your transcribed answers. The information that you contribute during the interview will be integrated with the comments of others and analyzed to offer a general understanding of issues related to Land redistribution and gender. At the end of the research there will be no way of identifying who said what.

If you agree to participate in the interview I would like to request that you please sign the formal acknowledgment of consent form in the space below indicating that you are a willing informant in this study. If you have any questions about any aspect of this research (now and in the course of the research or even later) please do not hesitate to contact me at the following number: 0790718133. I will be glad to answer all questions.

Thank you
Susan Dada

⁸ Original on letterhead

Appendix IX. Formal acknowledgement of consent⁹

I,.....on this day of20....., agree to participate in interviews related to the Masters research in Gender Studies that seeks to explore issues related to land redistribution and gender. I understand that I will be asked questions regarding my experiences and what I think are important factors related to land redistribution and gender related to the Mokopane Farmers Trust farm.

Signed:

Date:

⁹ Original on letterhead

