

**Spatial and social exclusion:
Travel and transport needs of rural women in
Limpopo, South Africa**

by

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

SANRAL	South African National Roads Agency Limited
NDOT	National Department of Transport
PWCB	Public Works Community Base Organisation
IDP	Integrated Development Plans
CSIR	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
NGO	Non-government Organization
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
RSA	Republic of South Africa
TOR	Terms of Reference
CBO	Community Based Organisation
ILO	International Labour Organization
IFRTD	International Forum for Rural Transport and Development
IMTs	Intermediate Means of Transport
WB	World Bank
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SRLA	Sustainable Rural Livelihood Approach
SLA	Sustainable Livelihood Approach
NMTs	Non-motorized Transport
IRTT	International Rural Travel and Transport
ANC	African National Congress
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
NTPF	National Transport Policy Forum
SANCO	South African National Civic Organization
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
PAC	Pan-Africanist Congress
SABTA	South African Black Taxi Association
MSA	Moving South Africa
DOT	Department of Transport
CEDPA	Centre for Development and Population Activities
NRTS	National Rural Transport Strategy
NGPF	National Gender Policy Framework
IILS	International Institute of Labour Studies
SSATP	Sub-Saharan Africa Transport Policy Programme
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
AU	African Union
DBSA	Development Bank Southern Africa
DFID	Department for International Development
IT	Intermediate Technology
ISRDS	Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
RTTP	Rural Travel and Transport Programme
ITDG	International Technology Development Group
GMS	Gender Management System
GRTT	Gender and Rural Transport Initiative
SADC	Southern African Development Community

SUMMARY

Title of Thesis: **Spatial and Social Exclusion:
Travel and Transport Needs of Rural Women
in Limpopo, South Africa**

by

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There is a considerable body of literature on the transportation activities of rural households. Still, efforts to address rural women's specific travel and transport needs have met with limited or no success. Because rural women are vulnerable members of society, their productive roles are sometimes not fully reflected in sector strategies. Considering how transport policies and projects address rural women's needs is important for socially and economically sustainable rural transport policy.

The main argument presented in this research is based on the expectations raised by the democratic elections of 1994 in South Africa. After the elections many people, particularly those in the rural areas, were expecting improvement in service delivery. However, ten years later, rural African women still face daunting challenges in terms of access to basic services. The main argument in this thesis is therefore that rural transport policy and plans in South Africa, as elsewhere, have failed to adequately address specific gender issues.

Since studies of this nature are complex, and the issues involved cannot be clearly understood from the outside, it is essential to have an inside perspective. The research, therefore, was not viewed simply as an abstract process of knowledge-seeking but as a means through which to acquire a more complete understanding of rural women's transport needs. Hence, a qualitative feminist approach was adopted, and a gendered perspective was followed in addressing the transport needs of rural women. Using a non-gendered perspective for studying patterns and processes of rural conditions would not only have provided an incomplete understanding of

rural transport, but also would have constituted a disservice to efforts to generate an informed basis for rural women's emancipation.

Just as feminist research often draws on multiple disciplines, this study too draws on several: human geography, sociology and feminist methodology, in particular. Moreover, the use of multiple methods in this project, rather than a single method, was chosen not only because of its feminist concerns but also because of a commitment to thoroughness and the need to be responsive to the rural women studied. To this end, multiple research methods, such as participant observation, focus group discussions, document and photograph analysis, and photographs were used.

These methods made it possible to provide some insights into the roles of rural women and to their related travel and transport needs in the three villages studied in Limpopo: Mamoleka, Tshitwi and Babanana. The question of whether transport empowers or is disempowering rural women was addressed.

Three main themes emerged in this study. These themes suggest that rural women use the transport system in order to satisfy their multiple roles. Transport practitioners, however, provide transport facilities and services that are often characterised by constraints that create problems for these women and hence impact on their opportunities. Consequently, unresolved problems lead to opportunities denied. Therefore, policy makers should generate new strategies to address African rural women's transport needs.

One thing immediately apparent in reviewing the findings of this research is that gender biases in rural transport stem from the multiple roles that rural women perform in society and at home. Because the total workload of a rural household is rarely shared equally among its members, the burden of transport falls on women. Inadequate and inappropriate transport increases the amount of time necessary to perform their multiple roles, leaving rural women perform with little or no spare time to develop themselves by participating in socio-economic and political activities.

The burden of transport not only deprives rural women of participation in development activities, it also makes them lose out on opportunities to earn higher incomes and to improve their financial resources. Finally, because they already have limited financial resources and opportunities, they are unable to invest in personal means of transport, through which they might reduce their transport burden and improve their incomes.

A close linking of gender perspective and rural transport policy is proposed in order to improve rural transport systems and initiatives and to make them more gender-responsive and sustainable. Making rural transport policy more responsive to the needs of rural women requires developing a structural approach to understand their needs, identifying instruments to address those needs, and establishing an appropriate policy framework. To this end, this thesis identifies some approaches that would help in developing a gender-responsive rural transport policy through paying attention to rural women's travel and transport needs. These approaches include recognition of the need for an integrated rural transport policy, in which both transport and non-transport interventions applicable to addressing rural transport problems for self-employed and unemployed rural women, as found in Limpopo, are promoted. Furthermore, the need for awareness of rural women's multiple roles is outlined. What remains is the need for development of a comprehensive, gender-sensitive strategy in all fields of rural transport research, policy and projects to help explore ways of correcting existing biases in rural travel and transport for rural women.

Key Terms: *rural transport, practical needs, strategic needs, reproductive role, productive role, social role, social exclusion, spatial exclusion, patriarchy, gender mainstreaming.*

OPSOMMING

Titel van Tesis: Ruimtelike en sosiale uitsluiting: Reis en vervoerbehoefte van plattelandse vroue in Limpopo, Suid-Afrika.

deur

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Vele navorsingsbydraes is reeds gelewer rakende die vervoeraktiwiteite van plattelandse huishoudings. Pogings om die reis en vervoerbehoefte van plattelandse vroue aan te spreek, was egter minder suksesvol. Die persepsie dat plattelandse vroue die mindere sosio-ekonomiese lede van die gemeenskap verteenwoordig, impliseer dat hulle rol as produktiewe bydraers nie noodwendig gereflekteer word in sektorale strategieë nie. Indien in aanmerking geneem word hoe vervoerbehoefte tans die behoeftes van plattelandse vroue aanspreek, is dit 'n belangrike faktor in die beplanning van 'n sosiale en ekonomiese vatbare plattelandse vervoerbehoefte.

Die hoofrede vooropgestel deur hierdie navorsing, is die verwagtinge wat geskep is deur die demokratiese verkiesing wat gedurende 1994 in Suid-Afrika plaasgevind het. Na die verkiesing het vele persone, spesifiek inwoners in plattelandse gebiede, hoër verwagtinge in dienslewering gekoester. Desnieteenstaande, tien jaar later, het plattelandse Swart vroue nog steeds te kampe met onoorkomlike uitdagings ten opsigte van toeganklikheid tot basiese dienste. Die hoof argument vooropgestel deur hierdie navorsing, is dat plattelandse vervoerbehoefte en beplanning in Suid Afrika, soos ook elders, gefaal het om spesifieke geslagsverwante uitdagings aan te spreek.

Aangesien studies van hierdie aard kompleks is en onderliggende probleme nie noodwendig vanuit 'n eksterne hoek geïnterpreteer kan word nie, is dit belangrik dat die studie vanuit 'n interne gesigspunt benader word. Die navorsing opsigself is dus nie benader as 'n blote abstrakte kennis-soekende proses nie, maar daarop gerig om 'n omvattende begrip van die

vervoerprobleme van plattelandse vroue te verkry. Voortspruitend hieruit, is 'n kwalitatiewe vroulik-gebaseerde benadering aanvaar, onderlê deur 'n geslagsgerigte perspektief ten opsigte van vervoerprobleme van plattelandse vroue. Deur 'n nie-geslags perspektief van patrone en prosesse gerig op plattelandse toestande na te volg, sal nie alleenlik 'n onvolledige begrip van plattelandse vervoer daarstel nie, maar ook 'n ondiens impliseer in 'n poging om 'n ingeligte basis ten opsigte van die emansipasie van plattelandse vroue te genereer.

Net soos vroulik-gebaseerde navorsing dikwels berus op 'n veelheid van dissiplines, word hierdie studie ook multi-dissiplinêr onderlê: spesifiek menslike geografie, sosiologie en vroulik-gebaseerde metodologieë. Inteendeel, deur gebruik te maak van 'n gekose multi-dissiplinêre navorsingsbenadering, as eerder 'n enkelvoudige fokusgerigte benadering, rig die studie spesifiek op vroulik-gebaseerde belange, 'n verbintenis tot deurdagtheid en 'n ontvanklikheid ten opsigte van die studie van plattelandse vroue. Vir sodanige doelbereiking, is van 'n veelheid van navorsingstegnieke gebruik gemaak, onder andere: deelnemende waarnemingstegnieke, fokusgroep besprekings, dokumentontleding en fotografiese analiese.

Genoemde navorsingstegnieke het dit moontlik gemaak om 'n studie-insig te verkry in die rol van plattelandse vroue en hul verbandhoudende reis en vervoerbehoefte binne drie plattelandse gemeenskappe in Limpopo, naamlik Mamoleka, Tshitwi and Babanana. Die vraag of vervoer plattelandse vroue bemagtig of nie, is dienoreenkomstig aangespreek.

Voortspruitend uit die studie, is drie hoof temas geïdentifiseer. Die temas suggereer dat plattelandse vroue gebruik maak van 'n vervoerstelsel om sodoende hulle multi-dimensionele sosiale rolle te volvoer. Vervoerorganisasies daarteen, voorsien vervoerfasiliteite en dienste wat gekenmerk word deur beperkinge wat dikwels aktiwiteits- en geslagsgevoelig is en noodwendig impak op geleenthede wat plattelandse vroue gebied word. Gevolglik lei onoorkomlike vervoerprobleme tot geleenthede ontnem. Derhalwe, beleidsmakers moet nuwe strategieë daarstel om soedoende voorsiening te maak vir die vervoerprobleme van Swart plattelandse vroue.

'n Aspek wat onmiddellik na vore tree in 'n oorsig van die navorsingsbevinding, is dat geslags-onewewigtigheid in plattelandse vervoer voortspruit uit die veelvuldige rolle wat vroue volvoer binne die gemeenskap en tuis. Aangesien die totale werkslading binne plattelandse huishoudings oneweredig verdeel is tussen gesinslede, val die las van vervoer op vroue. Onvoldoende en onvanpaste vervoer verhoog ook tydsbesteding nodig om veeldoelige take af te handel. Derhalwe, word plattelandse vroue feitlik geen tyd gelaat vir self-ontwikkeling en deelneming aan sosio-ekonomiese en politieke aktiwiteite.

Die vervoerlas wat op plattelandse vroue geplaas word, ontnem hulle nie alleenlik van deelneming aan ontwikkelingsaktiwiteite nie, maar hulle word ook die geleentheid ontnem om 'n hoër inkomste te verdien en sodoende hulle finansiële omstandighede te verbeter. Aangesien plattelandse vroue reeds beperkte finansiële bronne en geleenthede tot hulle beskikking het, is dit ook nie moontlik om in 'n eie wyse van vervoer te investeer deur middle waarvan hulle moontlik die vervoerlas kan verlig en 'n hoër inkomste kan genereer.

'n Nouer verband tussen geslagsgerigte perspektiewe en plattelandse vervoerbeleid word voorgestel om plattelandse inisiatiewe rakende vervoerstelsels te verbeter en dit sodoende meer geslagsgevoelig end onderhoudbaar te maak. Om plattelandse vervoerbeleid meer toeganklik vir plattelandse vroue te maak, impliseer 'n veranderde struktuur benadering vir beter begrip van hulle behoeftes, die identifisering van instrumente om dit aan te spreek en die daarstelling van 'n toepaslike beleidsraamwerk. Vir bereiking van sodanige doel, word enkele moontlikhede deur die tesis geïdentifiseer wat moontlik as basis kan dien in die ontwikkeling van 'n geslagsgevoelige benadering tot 'n plattelandse vervoerbeleid, wat spesifiek fokus op plattelandse vroue se reis en vervoerbehoefte. Genoemde benaderings bevestig die noodsaaklikheid van 'n geïntegreerde plattelandse vervoerbeleid, waar beide vervoer en nie-vervoer verwante aspekte, gerig op eie-indiensnemende en werklose plattelandse vroue soos bevind in Limpopo, bevorder word. Derhalwe, moet spesifiek kennis geneem word van die meerdoelige gemeenskapsrol van plattelandse vroue soos omskryf. Ten slotte word voorgestel dat 'n omvattende geslag-sensitiewe strategie, wat die volle spektrum van plattelandse vervoernavorsing insluit, beleid en projekte daargestel word om sodoende die bestaande wanbalans ten opsigte van plattelandse reis en vervoerbehoefte van plattelandse vroue, reg te stel.

Sleuteltermes: *plattelandse vervoer, praktiese behoeftes, strategiese behoeftes, reprodktiewe rol, produktiewe rol, sosiale rol, sosiale uitsluiting, ruimtelike uitsluiting, patriargale, geslagshoofstroming.*

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Chapter 1

BACKGROUND

1.1. Introduction

Transport is a topic of universal interest and importance. Production, trade and daily life require the movement of people and goods. Above all, most people wish to travel from one place to another, regularly or occasionally. Goods are collected and distributed from place to place. Thus, the transport industry exists to provide for the movement of people and goods as well as for the provision and distribution of services. Transport fulfils one of the most important functions in development and is one of the most pervasive activities in any society or economy (Hoyle & Knowles, 1992:1). Transport is also generally regarded as one of the most important factors in the process of development, both in advanced and in less advanced countries (Edmonds & Relf, 1987:3; Hoyle, 1988:71). The general importance of transport cannot be overemphasised, even though it is really only noticed when things go wrong (Hoyle & Knowles, 1992:1). Transport becomes a focus of media attention when disasters occur, when struggles paralyse services, or when exciting innovations capture public interest or become the subject of controversy. This view indicates that the study of transport cannot be left in the hands of the media. Geographers have much to contribute to the study of transport and transport geography, which, in recent years, is increasingly recognised as a useful and important component in the broad field of general transport analysis (Hoyle & Knowles, 1992; Pirie & Khosa, 1992; Tolley & Turton, 1995; Law, 1999).

Although in recent years there has been a large body of literature focusing on transport in developing countries, there is still a huge gap in understanding the impact of transport on the living conditions of rural African women. Evidence, mostly from Sub-Saharan Africa, indicates that women and men in rural households have responsibility for different transport tasks, that women often carry a heavier burden in terms of time and effort spent on transport, and that, with less access and control over resources, they have fewer opportunities than men to use transport technologies that could alleviate their transport burden (Fernando & Porter, 2002). Gender issues, however, have not been considered in policy and practice, particularly in the rural transport systems of many developing countries — a situation that entrenches social and spatial exclusion in rural transport. By focusing on social and spatial exclusion and transport needs of rural women in Limpopo, as an important component of transport geography, this

study hopes to engender transport geography and the rural transport system.

Hoyle and Knowles (1992:2) indicate that Transport Geography is concerned with the explanation, from a spatial perspective, of the socioeconomic, industrial and settlement frameworks within which transport networks develop and transport systems operate. They further indicate that a substantial and growing literature and an increasingly interdisciplinary involvement on the part of transport geographers have led to an enhanced awareness of the importance of the spatial dimension in transport studies, and of the contributions transport geographers are making, individually and severally, to the further understanding and eventual solutions of transport problems. Since the concept of transport will be used throughout this thesis, cognizance must be taken of the real meaning of 'transport and mobility' – terms that are usually used interchangeably.

The classical definition of transport refers to mobility or the transfer of people and goods from one place to another in order to allow for the creation of time and place utility (Leung, 1980). Place utility simply means, for example, that people use transport to travel from home to work so that they can be productive using their labour skills at a specific place. The same applies to goods that are moved from one point to another to allow them to be sold or consumed where they are required in the market place or at home. Time utility means that a person or goods should be transferred at the right time. It is within this context that transport needs of African rural women occur. African rural women need to travel from one place to another, and goods, also, need to be transported from homes to markets in time. If they are not transported in time, the community stands to lose.

The other component of transport is seen in relation to rural development. Hoyle and Knowles (1992) state that transport is a measure of interactions between areas; it also enables division of labour to occur. In simple terms it means there is a relationship between transport and spatial interaction. Spatial interaction is important for rural development to occur. For example, if goods cannot be transported from one place to another, and people are unable to move, they will be isolated and become stagnant. Isolation from the outside world inhibits social and economic interaction and it intensifies poverty by adding to the time and effort required for gaining access to facilities (IFRTD, 1993:1). A situation of isolation entrenches social and spatial exclusion of rural communities, especially among women because a majority of women live in rural areas with limited access and opportunities.

Lack of access to economic and social services, to information, to social and political discourse, and to employment opportunities ensures that communities remain in poverty

(Edmonds & De Veen, 1992). At the elementary level, the difficulty of obtaining access to such basic needs as water, fuel and food means it is correspondingly more difficult to take advantage of any economic opportunities that may arise to improve the standard of living. If there is poor access to basic information, the households will be unaware of ideas and technologies that might help them to raise their level of living (Edmonds, 1997).

1.2. Statement of the problem

The dawn of democracy in South Africa has ushered in a new era of improved service delivery by the state. However, many African women, especially in rural areas, still face daunting challenges in terms of access to basic services. It is argued in this thesis that rural transport plans and development in South Africa, as elsewhere, have failed to adequately address specific gender issues, especially the specific transport needs of rural women, which suggests gaps between planning and implementation.

The theme explored in this study is to unpack the relationship between transport and empowerment or disempowerment, especially as it relates to rural black African women within the context of South Africa, which is undergoing major social, economic and political transformation.¹

1.3. The rationale

Uppermost in the mind of the new democratic government was to improve the quality of life for all, and, in particular, for rural African women, as guided by continental policies of the NEPAD, the Constitutive Act of the African Union, and the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development. Thus the rationale for engendering rural transport is based on complementary objectives. These objectives are outlined under the macro policy environment, including gender equality and equity, economic development, and social efficiency and social sustainability.

1.3.1. Macro policy environment

Some literature suggests that analysis of programme and project interventions should be set out firmly within the context of macro economic policy and transport sector policy. Work

¹ While the shorter phrases “rural African women” and “rural women” will be used more often for convenience, this study specifically involved rural black African women in three villages in Limpopo, and “rural black South African women” should be assumed throughout as the focus of this research and its findings unless otherwise specified.

by Elson, Evers and Turner (1998) argues that for donor agencies to adequately integrate gender analysis into any sector programme, they must consider the implications of sector policies for men and women and also the implications of gender relations for whole sector analysis and policy options. These authors further indicate that it is important to examine the ways in which gender relations, gendered norms, and gender imbalances affect performance, priorities and impacts throughout the transport sector. This involves recognising that (i) the transport needs of men and women can be different; (ii) men and women have different capabilities to participate in the design and delivery of services; and (iii) institutions which design, deliver and evaluate sector programmes operate according to rules and norms which are gendered. This means that programmes normally function in ways which prioritise men's needs and viewpoints over those of women. Elson *et al.* (1998) make an argument for looking at the whole transport sector as a gendered structure and find that seemingly 'gender neutral' institutions may, in fact, be gender biased and may unwittingly overburden the economy of social reproduction, particularly within households. Therefore, gender balance in decision-making is important, particularly at macro policy level, which sets out the path for the country sector policies.

Work by Kabeer (1992) indicates the significance of following the gender redistributive approach in order to balance the relationship between men and women. This approach touches on strategic gender interests and also works on women's practical gender needs in a transformational manner. The issue of transformation involves not only men altering their behaviour and attitudes but also involves women transforming themselves so that they can empower themselves. Therefore both macro and sector policies should provide the enabling supportive environments that will create opportunities for both men and women to change.

A good case is the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development which articulated its commitment to gender equality. In Article 6(2) of the SADC Treaty, member states undertook, among other issues, not to discriminate against any person on the basis of gender. The members states are also convinced that gender equality is a fundamental human right and that the integration and mainstreaming of gender issues into the SADC Programme of Action and Community Building Initiative are key to the sustainable development of the SADC region. But the member states are deeply concerned about disparities between women and men in the areas of legal rights, power sharing and decision-making, as well as disparities in access to and control over productive resources, education and health, among others. They have also acknowledged that women constitute the majority of the poor. Above all, efforts to integrate gender considerations into SADC

sectoral programmes and projects have not sufficiently mainstreamed gender in a coordinated and comprehensive manner.

There are also some examples of enabling macro policy environment in the commitments made by the African Union. Article 3(h & j) of the objectives of the AU states that the Union's objective is to promote and protect human and peoples' rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and other relevant human rights instruments. Article 4(l) pledges commitment to gender equality.

Although the main NEPAD document has a very weak and unsatisfactory policy statement concerned with promoting the role of women in development, this has now been bolstered with the supplementary NEPAD Declaration on Democracy, Politics, Economic and Corporate Governance. This is more in line with the similar text of the Constitutive Act of the African Union. This Declaration includes the principle *that its is a binding obligation to ensure that women have every opportunity to contribute in terms of full equality to political and socio-economic development in all our countries* (Article 1).

This same Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic and Corporate Governance also reaffirms (articles 3 and 4) its allegiance to the UN Convention on the elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women, to the Beijing Declaration, and to the OAU African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights. This latter document includes the following principles: The state shall ensure the elimination of discrimination against women and ensure the protection of the rights of the women and the child as stipulated in the international declarations and conventions.

Analysis of the NEPAD document, the Constitutive Act of the African Union, as well as the SADC Declaration on Gender and Development, provide a broader continental framework for the South African policies. Above all they provide a mandate to focus on gender, rural women, development and transport.

1.3.2. *Gender equality*

Gender equality has to do with the fact that women should have equal rights and entitlements to human, social, economic and cultural development, and should have an equal voice in civic and political life, just like men. Gender equity means that the exercise of these rights and entitlements leads to outcomes which are fair and just (Derbyshire, 2002).

It therefore follows that gender equality in this thesis has to deal with highlighting special needs in rural travel and transport. Transport policies and development programmes favour men more than women and this further perpetuates inequality. Such policies do not adequately reflect concern about gender differences in travel patterns and needs. Development planning also has mostly focused on households or communities. The assumption has been that women and men perform the same tasks and that their labour inputs are the same (Mascarenhas, 1995). The analysis of rural travel and transport has clearly shown that the labour burden in travel and transport is excessive and that most of it falls on women (Ali-Nejadfard, 1997; World Bank, 1999).

This focus on highlighting special needs implies that there are major gender inequalities in the transport burden in Africa. Most transport programmes and intermediate means of transport (IMTs) initiatives are determined by men and designed for men, and men are the major beneficiaries (World Bank, 1999:5). IMTs refer to a range of low-cost transport technologies, particularly the more affordable ones. Almost always this range includes animals and animal-drawn means of transport. Donkeys in particular are owned and used by poor households. Other low-cost means of transport include different kinds of pack animals, sledges, animal carts, bicycles and other cycle-based transport modes (Fernando, 1999). These modes are still considered male domains, while women have less access to profitable transport activities. As a result women's viewpoints are less heard and few transport projects have incorporated gender analysis in designing IMT components.

Transport studies have shown that there is not only gender inequality in the transport burden but also in the interventions designed to alleviate that burden. IMT promotion programmes must ensure there is gender-disaggregated data relating to rural transport problems, needs, priorities and programme impact. Integrating gender into rural transport planning strategies requires ways of identifying gender differences in transport needs and priorities as well as ways in which gender inequalities in rural transport interventions can be addressed.

If the goal of transport planning is to improve the quality of rural women's lives then the reduction of the transport burden must be one of the yardsticks to measure the improvement. It warrants effective steps to reduce the transport burden for the benefit not only of women but also of all those who depend on them. To achieve the goal, we need to understand how the burden is distributed between men and women, who have the greater burden, and to understand, as well, how this creates special gender needs.

1.3.3. *Economic need and social efficiency*

The issue of special needs is directly linked to the economic reason for collecting gender-disaggregated data. Economic and social efficiency have to do with the distribution of transport resources that are economically and socially inefficient and which, therefore, underestimate the productive and social roles of rural women in society. The assumption here is that time saved in transport can be better used for productive activities. Studies investigating this theory are few because labour saving devices for women are comparatively new. However, there are a few examples. In Kenya, for example, time saved in water collection through the introduction of rain harvesting was allocated to craftwork. Savings from craftwork were used to buy a maize mill (Mascarenhas, 1995). In another case, savings in time and effort through hand-operated maize mills in Cameroon were used to improve roads, make soap and spend more time on domestic activities (Carr & Sandhu, 1987).

1.3.4. *Welfare need*

Savings in travel and transport can also be utilised for the improving the health of both the women and men and also of especially vulnerable members of the family such as the elderly and the children. In Tanzania, for example, it has been argued that one of the contributory causes of malnutrition among the under-fives, is the small number of times that they are fed due to the women's heavy burden (UNICEF, 1990). The major contributory cause of malnutrition among the under-fives is that they are breast-fed only once or twice a day instead of three or more times (Mascarenhas, 1995). It seems, therefore, that women's gender-determined activities leave them very little time for cooking many meals a day, especially during peak periods of labour demand.

Concern is also raised about the effect of head loading on women. Some sources claim that it has negative effects, such as high incidences of backache (Bryceson and Howe, 1993). There is not enough information on this subject, but the heavy transport load of women has led one study in Makete District to conclude that the heavy burden that women have to bear both in time and physical effort is probably one of the contributory causes for the fact that women in Makete District have a shorter life expectancy than men in the study area (Barwell & Malmberg-Calvo, 1989).

1.3.5. *Demographic need*

In relation to demographic needs, the prevalence of women-headed households seems to be increasing not only as a result of more frequent divorces but also as a result of HIV/AIDS. As men migrate to urban areas, women-headed households increase. For practical purposes, women have to take on all the responsibilities of the household, including those of the male head of household who is absent for long periods in the year.

1.3.6. *Efficiency and sustainability need*

On the question of both efficiency and sustainability, a great number of studies have documented the fact that failure to consider women's issues can lead to failure of projects and programmes. In Tanzania, for example, a resettlement programme failed because the land rights of the matrilineal women were not recognised by the settlement scheme (Mascarenhas, 1995). Land was only allocated to the male heads of household and then only for cultivating cash crops. The women therefore have no land to cultivate their own food and other crops for sale. Therefore they left the settlement scheme, and this affected labour inputs on which both the men and the managers of the scheme depended (Brain, 1976).

1.3.7. *Leisure need*

Women need leisure time to rest as well as to participate in social and political activities that address their practical needs. The assumption that is made is that any savings in travel and transport can offer rural women opportunity to attend meetings and participate in social, political and cultural activities.

For all these reasons, there is a need to consider gender issues in rural transport planning; this can only happen if consideration is given to gender-desegregated data on travel and the transport needs of rural women. Therefore, any analysis of social organisation and social process has to take into account the structure and dynamic of gender relations. From this perspective, the basic problem is not rural women's lack of education, their invisibility, or their lack of credit. The problem is the structures and processes that give rise to rural women's disadvantage, in this case poor or even lack of access to services and facilities. Coming up with structures that support rural women's advantage is the primary focus of this

study. But giving rural women training is not a solution; it only serves as a useful step in rural women's empowerment.

These objectives show a relationship which exists between the social and spatial exclusion and the travel and transport needs of rural women. This relationship locates the proposed study firmly within the realm of interdisciplinary fields: a spatial discipline — Geography, and a social discipline — Sociology.

1.4. The research questions

The research questions are based on the understanding that rural black African women have roles and responsibilities that involve travel and transporting of goods. Hence they have to use some form of transport for their different activities. In the process there are constraints that create problems for them. Problems that are not resolved lead to denied opportunities. Therefore, the need for policy to accommodate rural African women's travel and transport needs comes into the picture. The research questions are as follows:

- What roles are played by rural African women that involve transport?
- How do rural women make use of the existing transport system?
- What are the constraints and related problems experienced by rural African women in travel and transport?
- What is the impact of travel and transport on African rural women's lives and livelihood?
- What opportunities are denied if the system does not meet rural women's needs?
- What are rural women's travel and transport needs?
- Why must the issues be addressed?

1.5. Aim of the study

The overall aim of the study is to unpack the travel and transport needs of rural women so that future transport policy will be implemented in a gender-sensitive manner.

Consequently, the following specific objectives are pursued:

- To establish the roles and responsibilities of the African rural women that involve travel and transport;
- To establish how rural women make use of transport;

- To identify the constraints and problems related to travel and transport;
- To identify the impact of travel and transport on African rural women's lives and livelihood and the opportunities denied if the system does not meet their needs;
- To determine the extent to which existing transport facilities meet African rural women's needs for travel and transport; and
- To examine the extent to which current rural transport policies address their identified needs.

1.6. Overview of methodology

A study of this nature can be done appropriately by using qualitative feminism. Feminism is an approach which emphasises gender relations and it has begun to influence how geographers conceptualise their subject matter. Such feminist research is raising questions about

women's position in the labour market, their experience of wage and unwaged work, about the patriarchal basis of land use and planning policies, about women's access to education, health and other social services, about their involvement in community politics and other areas that conventionally have been identified as part of the subject matter of our discipline (McDowell, 1988:157).

The questions under investigation in this study relate to the above statement, especially looking at what McDowell (1988) is emphasising: the role that should be played by women geographers as organising for change within and outside conventional academic boundaries. McDowell, (1988:155) argues that women are beginning to have an impact and to become visible in ways that have not been there in the past. I am a female and geographer; the use of qualitative feminism is appropriate in this case, guided by the research questions, in order to achieve the objectives of this study.

To achieve the objectives of this study, qualitative methods such as focus group interviews, participant observation, and documents and photographs were used to collect data. This choice is in accord with Robinson's (1998:460) view that the use of such research methods can transcend the limitations imposed by alternative methods in which a one-way process dominates. Qualitative analysis followed. Tapes were transcribed, data segmented to create individual documents, categories and sub-categories identified to finally develop themes and to present account for links and patterns.

1.7. The study area

The study area consist of three villages in Limpopo, namely, Tshitwi, Babanana and Mamoleka in the former Venda, Gazankulu and Lebowa respectively (Figure 1.1). These villages were chosen because they are located in disadvantaged areas in Limpopo. They are characterised by an underdeveloped agricultural basis, low productivity levels, a strong tendency towards out-migration, chronic unemployment (irrespective of age), poverty, and a preponderance of female-headed households and youths. The inhabitants of these villages have difficulty in accessing social, economic and transport facilities and services. Commercial services are even more out of reach. These features make the province particularly vulnerable to poverty. The other feature is that ninety per cent of Limpopo households live in rural areas and that women constitute fifty-four per cent of these households (Development Bank of Southern Africa, DBSA, 1998). The implication is that it is mainly rural women who experience problems of inaccessibility to facilities and services in rural areas in Limpopo and hence live in poverty.

1.8. Transport needs

Rural women in poverty have vast needs arising from three different roles and responsibilities, namely, production, reproduction and community roles. These needs have sometimes been categorised as practical needs and strategic needs, the former being those of an immediate and short-term nature, and the latter concerning the need for change at a more fundamental level. Moser (1989) uses these categories to analyse the needs around which women organise into practical and strategic gender needs. Practical gender needs might include sanitation, children's nurseries, higher wages, and health care services for women. Strategic gender needs might include changes in divorce laws to give women equality with men, or affirmative action to give women more political representation (Molyneux, 1985:233). Travel and transport needs of rural women may arise from their practical everyday needs and from strategic needs in society. Practical everyday needs include:

- Productive – ways in which rural women produce subsistence, income and capital;
- Reproductive – activities carried out to maintain the household, e.g., fetching water and fuel-wood, cooking, child care, care of the sick, and child bearing;
- Social – activities that are carried out as members of a social grouping, house-building, visiting relatives etc.

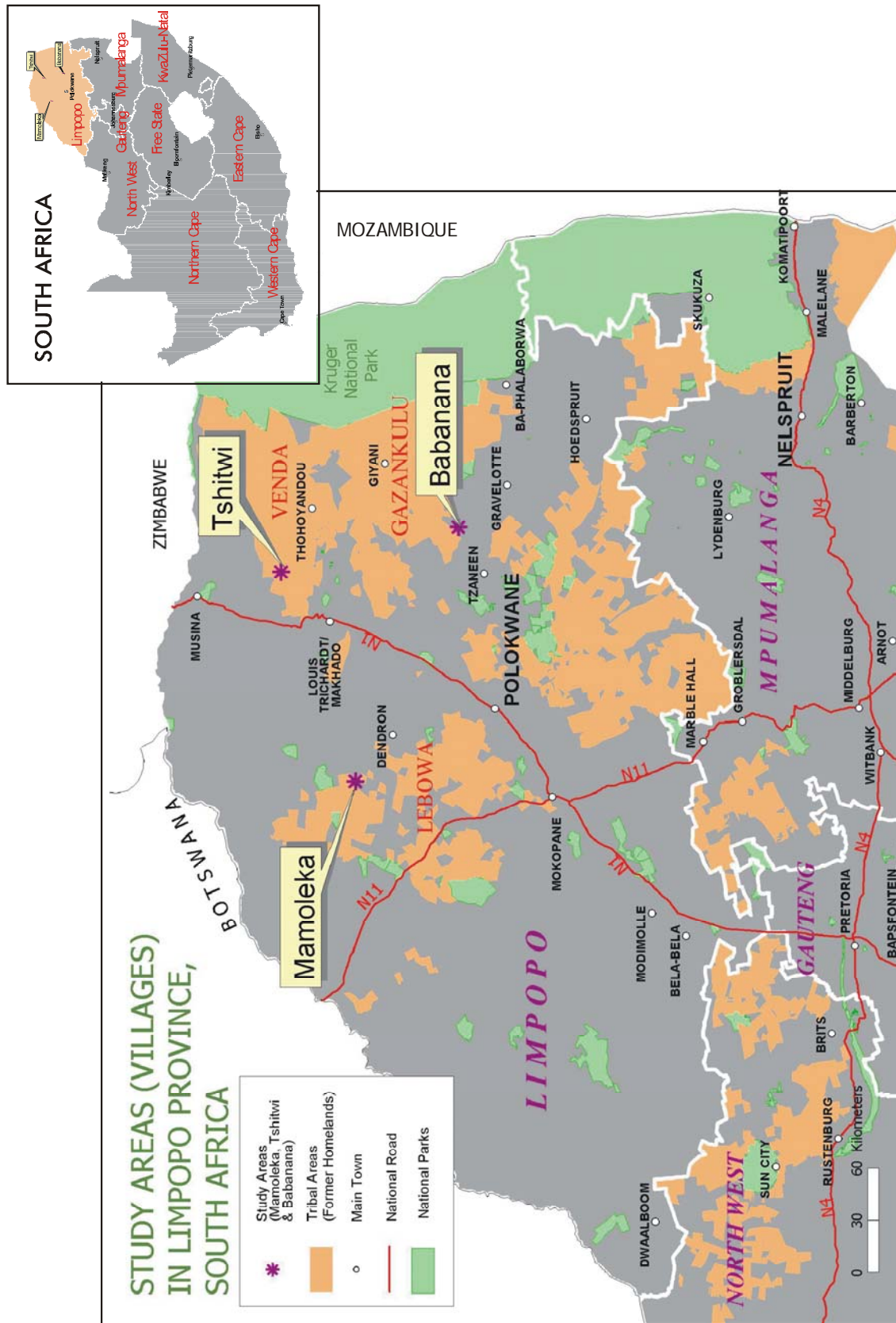


Figure 1.1: Orientation of Tshitwi, Bananana and Mamoleka in Limpopo, South Africa

Rural women's strategic needs involve the creation of a more equitable organisation of society in which they have the same rights as men to own and control resources and to participate fully in policy and decision-making processes at all levels. Strategic needs in rural travel and transport are long-term but have to be considered in transport planning if the development goals of such planning are to be sustained. They include:

- Alleviation of the burden of domestic labour and childcare by provision of better facilities;
- The removal of all institutionalised forms of legal or cultural discrimination against ownership of land, property and the means of transport; and
- Access to credit to improve income and afford better means of transport; and
- The right to participate in all decisions regarding improvement of transport facilities.

What one gathers is that the roles that rural women have as homemakers and society managers must inevitably have a powerful influence on their travel patterns, although there is little documented evidence that clearly demonstrates this. One can speculate that their roles as biological and social reproducers are likely to be closely constrained to the household, with travel being governed largely by the need to have access to health care, shopping facilities or even government offices in urban areas. In rural areas, access to water and fuel supplies will also be important in determining travel patterns associated with the role of household management. Furthermore, the fact that rural women often have to combine their reproductive role with some form of employment must affect their potential range of travel to work. Thus, the importance that transport planners place on productive roles leads to their ignoring the transport associated with reproductive and community roles.

The implication is that transport services and infrastructure are rarely planned with rural women's travel and transport needs in mind. That lack of gender-sensitivity in transport planning entrenches social and economic exclusion is obvious. So, in order to respond to rural women's travel and transport needs, it is important to understand what their actual needs are in relation to travel and transport. The focus of this research is to identify travel and transport needs of rural women so that future planning can respond to these needs.

1.9. Structure of the thesis

Chapter one provides the background and introduction. Chapter two presents a literature review on gender and transport. Chapter three addresses two main issues: what is known

about transport geography in South Africa and the rural transport situation in South Africa post 1994. The latter focuses on what is known in terms of rural transport policy in this country. Chapter four presents the methodology. Chapter five focuses on the findings. Chapter six presents the interpretation and discussion of the findings. Chapter seven is the conclusion and recommendations.

1.10. Conclusion

The theme emerging in this chapter is that there is a huge gap in understanding the impact of transport on the living conditions of African rural women, which also suggests a gap between planning and implementation. This theme is derived from the fact that current knowledge does not make it easy to understand rural women's travel and transport needs because their activities have been regarded as of secondary importance. The lack of concern with detailed examination of the travel implications of rural women's gender role arises from generalisations that their roles are normal and natural. There is, therefore, a need for in-depth information on the roles, the uses, the constraints and related problems, the impact and opportunities deprived, and the need for policy to accommodate African rural women's travel and transport needs. It is also important to provide a more detailed and current assessment of the problems of rural women's accessibility to socio-economic services, such as transport and facilities and even employment. If this does not happen, then it will be difficult to tackle social and spatial exclusion as related to African rural women and their travel and transport needs.

Geographers, especially in the transport discipline, have also ignored rural women's changing experience in society as a valid area for research. This also suggests the need to address transport needs of rural women as one of the vulnerable groups in society who require specific improvements to the transport systems they use. The next chapter will focus on the literature review related to gender and transport.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW: GENDER AND TRANSPORT

2.1. Introduction

The review presented here details a discussion of studies on rural transport, focusing specifically on the debates that have developed over time in relation to rural development. These include the debates on rural infrastructure, rural development through transport, and transport for the low-income group. Many of these debates were conducted by development agencies, such as the World Bank and the International Labour Organisation (ILO). The focus will also move towards the gender and transport debate which, however, has not been fully integrated into either the infrastructure or rural development debates, nor into the debate on transport for the low-income group. The chapter will end by reviewing the gendered dimensions of social and spatial exclusion in rural transport systems in the world, as well as these exclusions within the context of feminism.

2.2. The rural infrastructure debate

The importance of rural transport in rural development has been receiving increasing recognition recently (ILO, 1993; World Bank, 1995; Simon, 1996). These development agencies were amongst the first to realise the need for improved rural transport endeavours in rural development. Historically, rural transport was related to agricultural production. This was because of the need to facilitate and speed the journey of primary products to markets in Europe and North America (Dawson & Barwell, 1993). To this effect, major efforts have been made to improve rural transport of Third World countries through infrastructure investments in the 1960s. The emphasis was on highway improvements. Spending money on the improvement of a main highway with a high level of traffic can always be justified in terms of vehicle operating cost savings, constituting some form of benefits as soon as work has been completed. Highways could not solve mobility problems in the rural areas because traffic levels are usually quite low. Hence, hard economic benefits may take some time to appear, depending on factors other than the provision of a road itself. The result was a shift from highways to rural roads.

2.3. Rural development

The focus of development financing moved away from primary infrastructure towards rural development more generally, including rural transport. The latter was seen as synonymous to rural roads (Edmonds, 1998:27). Transport professionals of this era were mainly concerned with how transport infrastructure, mainly road networks and feeder roads, could be efficiently and cost-effectively constructed and maintained (Fernando & Porter, 2002). This was because of the realisation that most people in developing nations live in rural areas and because of a belief that they represented potential for generating agricultural surplus and foreign exchange. Thus, rural development came to be seen as the key to tackling poverty, and the international development assistance agencies adapted their policies accordingly. The World Bank's lending for transport doubled between 1977 and 1984. Lending from the Asian Development Bank showed a similar trend.

In the 1970s, the continued dependence on the export of primary goods necessitated heavy investment in transport facilities servicing the transport sector. This was also in line with research of the period. Transport geographers of that era concentrated on doing research on road networks. This strategy received strong support from international development agencies, as evidenced by their lending priorities. By the late 1970s, transport investments accounted for almost a quarter of the World Bank loans to Third World countries and one fifth of the International Development Agency (IDA) credits (Dawson & Barwell, 1993). Around half of the loans of both agencies in this sector went to main roads and a third to railways (ILO, 1979). Transport research was more heavily weighted towards roads because of the importance attached to agricultural production and rural development.

A number of studies showed that a significant proportion of the rural population lacked access to the road networks (Airey, 1985a; Barwell, *et al.* 1985; Addus, 1989; Airey, 1991). It was assumed that roads could provide a catalyst for rural development in that enough good roads would ensure access to inputs and evacuation of agricultural surpluses to markets (Ali -Nejadfard, 1997).

The provision of roads for addressing rural transport problems dominated up until the 1980s. The model was based on two assumptions, which were generally proved to be unfounded. First, it was assumed that if the state limited itself to the provision of infrastructure, the private sector would be willing and able to supply enough road-based vehicles to satisfy transport needs and demands (Carapetis *et al.*, 1984:1; Appropriate

Technology, 1993:2). The second misconception was that, as a result of the improved access to facilities in the rural areas, the rural economy would respond and thrive and that the motor vehicles could satisfy all people's needs (Ahmed, 1995:22; Appropriate Technology, 1993:2). The role of the motor vehicle in meeting the resulting increased transport demand was taken for granted. This was because people's needs were equated with roads (Leinbach, 2000).

2.4. The need to grasp local realities

Since the 1980s, the need to grasp local realities started to appear in research funded, in many cases, by development assistance agencies. This research provided evidence to suggest that the major investment programmes in rural roads had not achieved the desired increase in either agricultural production or, more generally, in the living standards of the rural population (Edmonds, 1998:28). Studies indicating the failure of the rural road investments were conducted by, for example, Kaira (1983), Carapetis *et al.* (1984), and Lele and Christiansen (1989). These studies pointed out that the majority of inhabitants in rural areas made their living through subsistence agriculture, which rarely warrants the use of motor vehicle. Obviously the conventional model in this regard shows a limitation.

By the mid-1980s, investment in feeder roads and secondary roads, with an emphasis on stimulating agricultural production and rural development, was being questioned on a number of grounds. It was becoming apparent that maintenance costs and foreign exchange requirements for vehicle fleets and road infrastructure were too high for governments of many developing countries. It was also unclear whether the road infrastructure was having a significant impact on local communities. Where there were benefits, they were tending to apply to favoured segments of the community rather than the broader poor population (Leyland, 1996:343). Because of the situation of the poor, funders of research from the mid-1980s focused on research on household transport needs rather than on modes of transport. This was evidenced by studies conducted by Banister and Hall (1981), Barwell *et al.* (1985), and Howe (1997).

The need to understand what was taking place in rural areas of Third World countries led to several studies of household transport patterns related to the day-to-day lives of rural people. The Intermediate Technology Transport Forum and the International Labour Organisation, on short consultancy basis, undertook studies in early 1986 in Tanga Region of Tanzania; in 1986 and 1987 in Makete District of Tanzania; in late 1986 in Ghana; and in

1988 in Aurora Province of the Phillipines (Dawson & Barwell, 1993). These studies adopted a methodological approach different from that previously used for rural transport analysis. For the first time in transport analysis, the household was used as the unit of analysis. Data collection for the purpose of rural transport analysis had conventionally consisted principally of roadside surveys, involving interviews with vehicle owners and other road users. This method had several serious drawbacks. First, by restricting its scope to road users, most rural dwellers, which make little or no use of motorized transport, were to a large extent excluded from the transport planning process (Kaira, 1983). Second, this method tended to over-value the importance of transport related to the production and marketing of cash crops at the expense of transport related to small-scale crop marketing and subsistence tasks, such as the collection of wood and water (Dawson & Barwell, 1993). Dawson further indicated that the result of this has been that much conventional transport research has provided a built-in rationale for the producer-surplus approach to transport planning. For the first time, the family was given attention in transport and development issue.

The findings of the studies of the Intermediate Technology Transport Forum and the International Labour Organisation showed that people were moving around in rural areas for a variety of reasons which ranged from subsistence production to more economic production. The largest transport burden on households often took place within the village and was required for the transport of water and firewood (Ali-Nejadfard, 1997:2). The alleviation of these economic constraints, and the equally important easing of the barriers to social development, would require improvement in access between villages and socio-economic services which affect them.

2.5. Transport for the low-income group (IMTs)

The debate has since moved on. It is now recognised that transport is crucial for accessing goods and services and that roads are simply not enough (Dawson & Barwell, 1993). Many governments and development agencies have realised the need to pay attention to stimulating transport services, particularly in areas of the lower-income countries. The use of the more affordable transport technologies, such as intermediate means of transport, is encouraged to meet the desire for increased personal mobility and accessibility for the low-income group. Such studies include works by Malmberg-Calvo (1994), Barwell (1996), and Starkey (2002).

2.6. Emerging issues from the debates

The limitations of rural transport models, which have focused more on roads and motor vehicles, have increasingly been recognised. This was for a variety of reasons. In the first place, most of the Third World countries were unable to maintain the existing roads (Owen, 1987). In some cases, such as Malawi, the construction of an extensive road network had facilitated travel but failed to induce greater mobility (Relf & Dixon-Fyle, 1985).

Other studies have shown that the construction of roads has actually displaced operators of non-motorized transport, encouraging the exodus of labour from the countryside into city, or facilitated the flow of factory-produced goods into the rural areas, thus damaging local artisans' enterprises (Blaikie, *et al.*, 1977). Researchers in a range of different disciplines found that, despite the increase in rural road networks, the great majority of rural dwellers continued to make little or no use of motor vehicles (Dawson and Barwell, 1993).

These studies hinted at the existence of a significant transport burden in rural areas, which had hitherto been unrecognised by policy makers. The ILO studies conducted in Nigeria, India, Malaysia and Kenya in 1981 were among the first to explore the scale of the time and load carrying effort required for agricultural transport at the local level, away from the road network (Howe & De Veen, 1985; Barwell, 1985). Kaira (1983), Carr (1983), and Curtis (1986) identified the existence of a significant transport burden for non-agricultural domestic purposes such as the collection of water and firewood. In practical terms, it was recognised that conventional transport modes would be inappropriate for such tasks. It was then realised that the roads and motor transport approach is not suitable for rural areas.

The shift from highways to rural roads was not, however, accompanied by an equal shift in emphasis on the role of roads in economic and social development. According to Edmonds (1998), the ignorance regarding the non-catalytic role of transport was surprising given the more complex framework in which rural roads were operating. Generally this shows a poor understanding of rural areas and, more specifically, of rural poverty. Emphasis on improving rural roads, with the hope of providing a catalyst for social and economic development, proved to be ineffective. The failure of this strategy to make a felt impact on rural development, in spite of massive investment, leads to research efforts to understand what was actually taking place in the rural areas. The realisation that investing in roads was not working came from international development agencies such as the World Bank and the

International Labour Organisation. This was because they were spending big sums of money on projects that were not benefiting the intended people.

These studies however were not conducted by geographers but by development agencies, such as the World Bank, the International Labour organisation (ILO), and Intermediate Rural Transport Technology in collaboration with other development agencies in Sub-Saharan Africa and in Asia. These studies sought to contribute to a better understanding of the real nature of rural transport needs and to improve the effectiveness of rural transport policy making and planning. What the agencies managed to do was to create an awareness of, and to disseminate information on, crucial rural transport issues through community-level studies.

The study in this thesis moves beyond raising awareness by establishing an appropriate policy framework, which responds to the needs of rural women – an aspect missing in these earlier studies. To even go further, the need to understand transport needs of individuals, rural women in particular, might bring benefits in attempting to improve livelihood in the rural areas. It could also lead to the adoption of policy that would result in changes to the conventional emphasis on roads, encouraging instead provision of access to socio-economic services and transport.

2.7. Gender and transport

Gender has not been recognised in the rural infrastructure debate, in the rural development through transport debate, nor in the transport for the low-income group debate. Hence data available about gender and transport in geography is very fragmented. Nevertheless, the scanty evidence available suggests the existence of gender inequalities only in a descriptive manner and showing geographical variations across the African continent. These aggregate data do not reveal the varied responses of African women and their strategies for challenging inequalities. Instead, African women's initiatives are captured in case studies that emphasise local contexts and responses (Johnston-Anumonwa, 1997). Edited volumes by Momsen and Townsen (1987), Brydon and Chant (1993), and Momsen and Kinnaird (1993) offer case studies on gender issues in Africa. Much of the published research on gender consists of localised case studies that describe changes in the social and economic conditions and the burdens that women face in their daily lives (Trenchard, 1987; Williamson, 1986; Brydon & Chant, 1993).

Other studies focused increasingly upon the situation of women in developing countries and upon women's participation in the development process. This growing interest, stimulated in part by the United Nations International Decade for Women (UNIDW), has produced a wealth of studies. These studies bear witness to the key role that women play in social and economic development through their productive activities, their domestic labour, and their capacity as bearers, carer-givers and socialisers of the next generation (Ashby, 1981; Dixon, 1982; Jiggins, 1986; Weidmann, 1987). These same studies have also revealed the relative powerlessness of women in decision-making (Palmer, 1977; Ahmed, 1980; Charlton, 1984). Ashby (1981) confirmed that women's central contribution to their communities are overlooked by the designers of economic and social development efforts, with the result that women have only limited access to the innovations, training and other basic resources that could facilitate their tasks and increase their productivity. Attention has also been given to assessing and analysing the roles of women within their households, their communities, and at the national and international level (Gabriel, 1991; Young, 1993; Turner & Fouracre, 1995; Chant, 1996).

Studies of gender and transport in geography grew out of urban transport planning processes in the 1960s and 70s when some urban transportation planners were beginning to recognise the mobility needs of population sub-groups such as older people (Law, 1999:569). Some researchers collected data for a number of developed countries on travel behaviour and differing degrees of mobility of male and female groups within communities (Hanson & Hanson, 1981; Howe & O'Conner, 1982; Pickup, 1984; Fox, 1983; Pas, 1984). The question of why such differences exist has, however, received less attention. The work by geographers on gender and transport remains confined to a limited number of research topics and theoretical approaches (Law, 1999:568). According to Law, the gender and transport literature has had relatively little to say about rural areas and about Third-World countries, and the published research on the First World neglects some such places (ibid.).

Several studies were stimulated by the fact that women feared sexual harassment by men when they travelled to and from employment. These studies looked at social relations in the household and workplace as central mechanisms of oppression, and the researchers used quantitative methodology in their analysis (Law, 1999). Such research into the geography of women's fears revealed a pervasive awareness of vulnerability to sexual assault as well as an array of self-protection strategies and behavioural constraints, such as needing to travel with escorts and avoiding certain places at certain times (Valentine, 1989; Pain, 1991).

A survey of the general literature reveals apparently only one book specifically devoted to gender and transport (Grieco *et al.*, 1989), and this, too, has a focus on employment. The readings collected in the literature on gender, transport and employment represent the beginning of an analysis of gender inequalities in transportation even though the methodology used is still quantitative.

A number of studies commissioned by the International Labour Organisation had already thrown some light on the scale of the off-road transport burden and transport activities of rural women in Africa and Asia (Malmberg-Calvo, 1994; Curtis, 1994; Bradshaw, 1995; Opiyo, 1995; Barwell, 1996). These studies indicated that the greater share of rural transport activities is carried out off roads (on paths and tracks, within and around villages on foot) and that the majority of the transport burden is related to domestic activities carried out by women.

Consequently, more attention has been given to gender differences in transport and travel patterns as important social and economic features of the developing world. These differences in transport and travel patterns are generated out of the differential access, according to gender status, to economic resources, social resources and time resources (Turner & Fouracre, 1995; Turner & Kwakye, 1996; Sasakawa, 1997). From sociological studies, the evidence is clear that in most cultures, within present social structures, women are 'time poor' as a consequence of the disproportionately higher levels of household tasks they are required to perform compared to men (Jones *et al.* 1983; Grieco *et al.* 1989).

Some research has identified gender as an important predictor of travel patterns. For example, the general belief is that rural women have lower travel mobility compared to men (Pickup, 1989; Tolley & Turton, 1995:315). Pickup argues that rural women's low mobility is a product of their gender roles, roles that affect all areas of their life style and not merely their travel circumstances.

Other studies suggest that employed women, when compared to their male counterparts, tend to commute short distances to work (Madden, 1981; Hanson & Johnston, 1985; Hanson & Pratt, 1995; McLafferty & Preston, 1991; Blumen, 1994). Women also tend to spend more time in household and family support activities (Hanson & Hanson, 1981; Niemeier & Moria, 1996), to make more household and family support trips (Hanson & Hanson, 1981; Hanson Johnston, 1985; Rosenbloom, 1978), and to make fewer recreational trips (Hanson & Johnston, 1985). Among these findings, gender differences in journey to work trips are the most studied and are the subject of ongoing debate (Turner & Niemeier, 1997).

Other studies analysed the space-time constraints faced by the increasing number of women in poorly paid jobs (Rutherford & Wekerle, 1988; Bluman & Kellerman, 1990; Mensah, 1994). Research done in other countries, such as in the United Kingdom, into the transport and travel difficulties of low income women so as to inform social policy has produced an abundance of evidence of the real constraints which these women face in the context of their low wages (Turner et al, 1998).

There is a wealth of information produced by the World Bank, Canadian and Swedish International Development agencies, and the International Labour Organisation which identifies important gender concerns in the transport sector and which makes recommendations for addressing these gender concerns in donor-funded operations (Elson *et al.*, 1999). The World Bank's Transport Sector guidelines included a discussion of the existence of gender bias in transport, which, it is argued, stems from the different roles that men and women play in the economy (*ibid.*). The report takes into account evidence of gender and transport specifics and draws attention to the fact that different demands on men's and women's time generate different patterns of transport needs. The report is critical of the fact that transport services are designed to meet the needs of male income-earners, for whom the trip to work is the major transport activity (*ibid.*). Although the existence of gender bias is identified, no guidelines are provided as to how to correct them.

While many researchers have documented gender differences in commuting patterns (Rutherford & Wekerle, 1988; Bluman & Kellerman, 1990), and others have pointed out the heavy burden of transport that falls on rural women (Bryceson & Howe, 1993; Barwell, 1996a; Ali-Nejadfard, 1997; World Bank, 1999), few have probed the actual transport needs of rural women. This is an important question, to which transport geographers have made an inadequate response so far. The question of the opportunities denied to women when the system does not meet their needs still has to be answered.

The World Bank (1999) pointed out that the productive roles of women account for about 70 per cent of agricultural production in Africa. Women are also exclusively responsible for household and child-rearing tasks, so they have numerous and diverse transport needs. For example, in rural Africa women transport goods more than three times as much as men. Women also suffer the physical and health burdens of head-loading a large portion of fuel, water, and produce for the households. Yet women have less access than men to private and public transport (World Bank, 1999).

While these patterns are known to prevail and are disturbing, they do not provide adequate evidence for a sufficient basis for policy. More knowledge is needed about the consequences of the transport burden in terms of rural women's availability for employment and access to markets and social services – and about the economic losses that result from lack of adequate transport. Little work has been done in rural contexts on the most cost effective interventions for gender related transport problems. Making transport policy sustainable and more responsive to the needs of rural women requires developing a structured approach to understanding their needs, identifying instruments to address those needs, analysing the costs and benefits of those instruments, and establishing an appropriate transport policy framework. All these point out the missing element: the mainstreaming of gender issues into transport research and projects. Gender mainstreaming is a strategy for governments and development organisations to promote gender equality (Derbyshire, 2002:7). The promotion of equality must not be confused with the simple objective of balancing the statistics:

It is a question of promoting long-lasting changes in parental roles, family structures, institutional practices, the organisations of work and time, their personal development and independence, but also concerns men and the whole of society, in which it can encourage progress and a token of democracy and pluralism. It entails the systematic consideration of the differences between the conditions, situations and needs of women and men in all community policies and actions

(<http://europa.eu.int/comm/employment/social/equopp/gms/en.html>).

The strategy involves incorporating equal opportunities for women and men into all community policies and activities. Therefore, mainstreaming gender issues into transport requires knowledge of both the transport needs of rural women and the instruments by which these needs can be effectively met.

2.8. The gender dimensions of social and spatial exclusion

Analysis of social and spatial exclusion within the confines of feminism will increase understanding of the gender-based division of labour, further leading to a better understanding of the transport needs of African rural women. This section will attempt to link feminism and social exclusion in rural transport context.

The concept of social exclusion has been widely adopted by development agencies and in development studies as another way of understanding and reducing poverty in the south (Jackson, 1999:125). The ILO completed an extensive period of research into the contribution of the concept of social exclusion to current understanding of poverty and argued that poverty and social exclusion were indistinguishable (ILO, 1995). Thus, social exclusion paradigms identify poverty as one element of the marginalisation process producing vulnerable groups which experience disadvantage in complex material, cultural and socio-political ways (Jackson, 1999). The above notion is also shared by feminists, who contend that men have rights that are unjustly denied to women, thereby putting women at a disadvantage and excluding them from the public realm (Robinson, 1998).

A number of ideas have been developed to analyse the connection between social exclusion and feminist thought. For example, Jackson (1999:125) enquired into the gender implications of some of the core elements of social exclusion paradigms, questioned whether an integrated approach works for gender, and argued that feminist research and gender analysis offer both better situated understandings of the character and experience of marginality and more useful insights for the emerging applications of a social exclusion framework to developing countries than do non-feminist approaches.

Three paradigms may be identified in order to understand social exclusion and gender analysis. The first is the idea of marginality as negative (and integration as positive) in relation to feminist thought on marginality and development. The second is the dualistic conceptualisation, and social relations, of inclusion/exclusion. The third is the claim of consideration of agency and action (Gore, 1995; Silver, 1995; Bhala & Lapeyre, 1999; Jackson, 1999).

2.8.1. Marginality and integration

The concept of marginality can be understood better when placed within the early literature in the Women in Development field and the Gender And Development School. Women In Development (WID) aimed for efficient, effective development through incorporating women-specific projects into existing development process. The strategies that were developed included adding women's projects, increasing women's income and productivity and improving women's ability to look after the household (CEDPA, 1995). However, the WID approach did not address gender discrimination, which is the root cause preventing women's full participation in their societies.

In the late 1970s, the Women And Development (WAD) perspective developed in reaction to omissions in WID. WAD proponents argued that women were already integrated into development process but on unequal terms. They pointed out that development projects increased the demands on women without increasing access to resources or decision-making power and, in effect, worked against women's interests. WAD argued that class structures were more oppressive than gender and that poor, marginalised women had more in common with men of their class than with women of another class.

In the 1980s the GAD developed, which argued that the problems of women were perceived in terms of sex, rather than in terms of gender. They pointed out that women have been systematically subordinated and assigned secondary or inferior roles to men and their needs have been considered in isolation from the larger context (CEDPA, 1995). They sought to make women an integral part of every development strategy. GAD stresses that both men and women create and maintain society and shape the division of labour. However, they benefit and suffer unequally. Therefore, greater focus must be placed on women because they have been more disadvantaged. Hence this research is focussing more on women's travel and transport needs by way of giving them a voice.

Furthermore, GAD argues that development affects men and women differently and women and men will have different impacts on projects. In addition GAD argues that understanding men's and women's roles and responsibilities as part of the planning of all development interventions helps targeting, improves project effectiveness and ensures that women, as well as men, can play their part in national development (Derbyshire, 2002). Both must be involved in identifying problems and solutions if the interests and wellbeing of the community as a whole are to be furthered.

Both the WID and GAD approaches can contribute to women's advancement and increase gender equity. Women's specific projects enable women to address their practical needs and gain experience for further projects in which they will be mainstreamed. Integrating gender into programmes, the GAD approach, enables women to address their strategic interests and allows women and men to work together towards mutual goals and greater equality.

These two major schools of thought in women's development – Women In Development (WID) and Gender And Development (GAD) – were attempts to include women in the economy and to ensure that women participate effectively in the economy. The relevance of

these approaches in this research is that they represent the growing recognition that women are an integral part of their societies and that sustainable development must include the full participation of both women and men. They also offer useful insights into the application of a spatial and social exclusion framework. To further understand a social and spatial exclusion framework the issue of dualism and social relations were taken into consideration.

2.8.2. Dualism and social relations

Jackson (1999) holds that the terminology of exclusion and inclusion has a problematic dualism at the heart, and although Charles Gore (1995:8) sees instead a complex hierarchy of interrelated inclusions and exclusions, each turns upon an insider/outsider distinction. Gore further argues that social exclusion is not based on such a dualism, but it is important to explore its implications from a gender perspective.

This dualism is problematic in that it says that those who are included are powerful and those who are excluded are powerless. Jackson (1999) indicates that the politics of a dualistic inclusion/exclusion deserve questioning in other ways. One of these is to consider in what sense there is a single centre of social integration, who is excluded from what, and whose representation of the centre is privileged? Gendered processes, such as the definition of wage work as work and the neglect of domestic work, are central to the idea that women are socially excluded (Jackson, 1999). The inclusion agenda then suggests that women need to be included (i.e., they need to become wage workers like men) rather than considering the need to revise the ways in which inclusion is formed, such as suggesting instead, for example, the importance of including men in more reproductive responsibilities (Ibid). Gender analysts, on the other hand, continue to argue for a new economics which recognises the value of unpaid household work and for satellite accounting to reveal the value of the domestic labour undertaken predominantly by women (Murgatroyd & Neuburger, 1997:69).

2.8.3. Actors, agency and subjectivity

Social exclusion is multi-dimensional, and different dimensions of exclusion interact but are not necessarily congruent (Rodgers, 1995:50). The essence of the matter is that individuals and groups may be excluded in some ways and in some senses, but not in others, distinguishing between economic and political exclusions. Social exclusions also, however, and more usually, emphasise the overlap between forms of exclusion whereby the poor are

likely to be excluded in multiple ways simultaneously, for example, on the basis of gender, ethnicity, and age (Jackson, 1999). Thus it becomes possible to speak of the excluded.

An increasing number of writers see an advantage of the social exclusion paradigm as useful in their emphasis on agency (De Haan, 1998). The concept of agency is attributed to groups that closely guard their domains of privilege and profit from exclusion (Jackson, 1999). In other social exclusion literature, where the agency of the excluded is mentioned, it tends to be limited to the possibilities of the excluded organising for inclusion (Rodgers, 1995:51-2); thus social exclusion is taken to be an involuntary condition.

Taking agency seriously is just what gender analysis of development has been grappling with in recent years, attempting to understand social change in terms of women's trajectories and choices as much as in terms of bounded patterns of closure (Abu Lughod, 1990). The exercise of agency by gendered subjects is not easily reduced to a struggle for inclusion. Marginality may be culturally and politically constructed by dominant groups, but people also engage their marginality by protesting, reinterpreting and embellishing their exclusion (Tsing, 1993:5).

An area of feminist thought that should be attended to in social exclusion approaches is that which deals with subjectivity. Jackson (1999) indicates that a rather vague notion of agency is waved around in some social exclusion writing, but there is very little treatment of subjectivity. If agency is about how subjects can act outside of, and sometimes against structures, then the question of their subjectivity — of how, as persons, they perceive their situation — is rather critical to understanding the basis for agency.

Hilary Silver (1995:70) points out that all three major paradigms of social exclusion conceive of it as a social relationship between the excluded and included, and Charles Gore (1995:9) sees merit in the relational focus of social exclusion. Gender analysis also focuses on the social relations of gender (McDowell, 1988; Harding, 1992; Mackenzie, 1995; Parpart, 1989). Such feminists recognise and take into account the social construction of gender, and they are centrally concerned with gender relations, with the inequalities in the structure of social relations between women and men, and with the nature of male powers (McDowell, 1988). McDowell further argues that feminist research is raising questions about women's position in the labour market (both their experience of wage and un-waged work), about the patriarchal basis of land use and planning policies, about women's access to education, health and other social services, and about their involvement in community

politics.

Bhala and Lapeyre (1999) elaborate the relational as a focus on relations between individuals within families, between community members, and between citizens and structures. There would seem, therefore, to be important common ground between gender analysis and social exclusion paradigms.

Where social exclusion paradigms are applied to developing countries, they sometimes offer very little space to the voices of the excluded, and where they are referred to, they may be glossed over as feelings of worthlessness and uselessness (Jackson, 1999). Gore (1995:27-8) observed that in some countries, particularly the least developed, poor people did not necessarily view themselves as excluded or marginalised; nevertheless, what prevails is shame, hopelessness, despair, and passivity. In general, social exclusion seems to be more often associated with resignation and a sense of worthlessness, paralysing action rather than resistance.

The notion of exclusion links together both social rights and material deprivations (Rodgers, 1995:50). So it encompasses not only the lack of access to goods and services which underlie poverty and basic needs satisfaction but also exclusion from security, justice, representation and citizenship (Rodgers, 1995). A central idea is that exclusion has much to do with inequality in many dimensions — economic, political, social and cultural. This broad framework not only helps to identify the most important mechanisms and dimensions of exclusion, which vary from one situation to another, but it also provides the basis for an effective interdisciplinary approach which is followed in this research.

2.9. Gender-based exclusions

These exclusions involve those cases when men and women are exposed to experiencing social and spatial exclusion because of their gender. Through cultural norms, women are usually excluded from public life, i.e., they cannot go into the public sphere to work, to do shopping, to study, or even to go to places to socialise (Fenster, 2001). This is usually because of their roles and their power relations, which are neither natural nor normal but which are instead socially created. This brings us to the question of how gender is constructed.

Gender is constructed socially and identifies the relationship between men and women in the

context of power relations. Society creates gender through continued socialisation, using institutions such as the family, church and religion, schools and education, and the state and laws (Young, 1993:138). Thus, aspects of gender as a social construct include division of labour; power relations; access, control and allocation of resources; and patriarchy.

2.9.1. Division of labour

Gender roles exist in all spheres of society, starting with division of labour in the family. For example, in the family women are allocated the role of being child rearers and are given the duties of cleaning and cooking. These duties have a multiplier effect: before cooking and cleaning, women must fetch water and wood and even go to shops to buy groceries and cleaning agents. In fact, women are allocated the tasks of domestic chores as if it were natural for them to have to do these. This work is hidden and unpaid. It is not registered as work within the tools, such as in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) figures, we use to analyse the working of the economy. What this hidden, unpaid labour serves to do is to prop up the capital economy (ANC, 1994). For most women in rural areas, domestic chores are additional to work they do outside the house. This means that women have very little spare time for self-development and many other activities. As a result it is difficult for them to participate in social and political institutions.

These roles of men and women are culturally or socially created and determined and are given the status of being natural and normal, as if they have always been and will always be. From these gender roles, certain characteristics are expected of men that are a reflection of what it means to be a male or to be masculine while other characteristics are attributed to women as a reflection of femininity. Such notions of masculinity and femininity define how men and women must behave and how they must look. These notions refer to physical appearance, psychological states, sexual orientations, intellectual capability and emotional states (ANC, 1994). For example, men are supposed to be natural leaders, decision-makers and providers in society, beginning within the family; women are supposed to be caregivers, supporters and followers of men. Gender division of labour and other activities is important in this study because it helps us to understand travel demand, habits and expectations of the socially and spatially excluded.

2.9.2. Power relations

Power relations start in the domestic arena, where the relations are largely established on the

basis both of kinship and marriage (Young, 1993:138). Examples of ascribed relations are those such as father, daughter, husband and wife. For these relations there are socially sanctioned patterns of appropriate behaviour. Gender relations also manifest in the roles that have to be performed by men or women. These roles define the way women and men behave in society and in relation to each other, the ways in which they perceive themselves, and their attitudes. Outside the domestic arena lie the unequal power relations of work and of the community. In work situations, women are given responsibilities of making tea and cleaning, while men do office work. In the community, also, women are usually involved in preparing food during feasts and many such occasions, while men make serious decisions on their behalf. A characteristic of many of these relations is that when they involve male and female, they tend to replicate the order of dominance found in the domestic arena. In other words, the essence of unequal power relations is the domination of men and the subordination of women. These gender relations shape the ideas, knowledge, values, culture, attitudes, and the structure of society and, in essence, social life itself as well as political and economic life.

2.9.3. Patriarchy

Patriarchy is the system of male domination and control at all levels of society based on these socially constructed notions of gender roles and gender relations (Robinson, 1998). Patriarchy is also important for geographers, particularly in its role with respect to the nature of places. It is actually regarded as a creator of ground rules for the behaviour of men and women (ibid). In other words, men's control over the levers of power in society has produced a set of norms within society that conditions the differentiated roles of the sexes. (Foord & Gregson, 1986). Patriarchy has also constructed some spaces as feminine (for example, the domestic kitchen) and some spaces as masculine (for example, the boardroom). Therefore, spatial differences can often be equated with gender differences. The theme of gendered space means that women are restricted to a narrow spatial territory while men dominate public spaces. If the question of gendered space can be interpreted within the context of transport for both sexes, then it would mean women do not need transport facilities because their space is localised, while men need transport to travel through public spaces. Relegating women to domestic space entrenches spatial exclusion.

Patriarchy is reproduced through a web of laws and private and public institutions, such as the family, religious and traditional beliefs, practices and norms (Young, 1993). It is also reproduced through ideological apparatuses, such as the school and education in general. Violence against women is an expression of an extreme form of patriarchal control of women.

In South Africa, while there is the overarching system of patriarchy, different women experience different forms of male domination and oppression according to their class, status, religion, race, and even ethnic and cultural backgrounds (ANC, 1994). For example, white middle class urban women will experience patriarchy differently than rural black African women. Even among rural African women there will be differences because of race, class, and status. Patriarchy, gender roles and power relations are thus linked directly to social and spatial exclusion, which is the point of departure in this study.

Another important expression of gendered exclusion is the exclusion from knowledge. Fenster (2001) argues that gendered exclusion from knowledge is usually spatial. This is true on many occasions, especially in many black African traditions where girl children were not allowed to go to school simply because they would get married. When she married, the family would lose its investment in their daughter's education in the process, while another family would benefit. What it all means is that being excluded from education means exclusion from knowledge and from power. This entails exclusion from power to organise and participate in all aspects of political, economic and social life, and, in particular, from the planning and implementation of policies that affect them. People need such power in order to effect the changes necessary to create a structural environment more conducive to meaningful poverty alleviation (UNDP, 1995).

2.10. Gendered access to resources

Issues of gender exclusions are related to gendered access to resources in that they concern the distinction between men and women according to the ways they make their living, particularly in terms of those who have access to resources and services and those who do not. Gender shapes access to resources, notably time, money, skills and technology (Law, 1999:578). Access to each of these resources will influence travel behaviour—how often trips are made, where and when they are made, and the mode of transport used as well as the experience and geographic meaning of transport. In other words, access to transport is another component of social and spatial exclusion.

Although transport, in one form or another, is part of the daily rhythm of human life in all societies and economies, most places and people suffer from restrictions on mobility (Hoyle and Knowles, 1992). Such restrictions may be temporary or long lasting or even disruptive or marginally inconvenient. Most of these restrictions arise from economic factors (Hoyle and

Knowles, 1992:3), such as poor access to funds. Though poor access to funds can affect both men and women alike, women are the most affected. This is because women are normally the most excluded in a patriarchal society, and they are also restricted the most. Many rural women cannot afford transport costs. This is because gendered norms of domestic responsibilities, overlaid on temporal rhythms of childcare and segregated land-use, combined with inflexible service hours and minimal public transport, generate time-space constraints that restrict the mobility of rural women who are usually responsible for such work.

Gender division of labour and access to resources, power relations and patriarchy shape the transport needs of African rural women in that they produce gender variations in travel demand and in transport choice, purpose, timing, distance, direction and even route (Law, 1999:557). In addition, the perceptions of transport and experiences will also vary. In other words, some aspects of gender will have a direct link with the transport needs of rural women. What is of significance in this study is how rural women travel and transport their goods as well as appropriate interventions for fighting social and spatial exclusion.

Though transport does not often appear to be one of the primary preoccupations of socially excluded people in urban areas, it is a significant preoccupation for some older people, people with disabilities, for women at night, and for younger people with no vehicles (South Africa, 2000). The Department of Transport indicates that even though it is not a primary preoccupation for some groups, this does not necessarily mean that it is not part of the problem of their exclusion. On the other hand, in rural areas transport problems are a primary preoccupation for a much wider group of people because access to most facilities is almost impossible in some areas without a means of transport. This perspective signals the use of the social and spatial exclusion framework to analyse international processes and institutional relationships associated with rapid social change, economic change, and local responses.

2.11. Conclusion

The main theme emerging from the literature review is that gender issues are still peripheral in much of rural transport planning and implementation. Studies have indicated that women and men in rural households have different transport tasks, that women often carry a heavier burden in terms of time and effort spent on transport, and that with less access and control over resources, women have fewer opportunities than men to use transport technologies that could alleviate their burden. These studies were conducted mostly in Sub-Saharan Africa. Despite all this evidence, rural transport planning and rural development

fails to recognise the importance of transport in rural areas because the people's needs are equated with roads.

In relation to rural development there has been concern and debate about the conventional approach to the research and planning of rural transport in developing countries. Studies have indicated that roads and motor vehicles, which hitherto have been the central focus of transport modes, have only a limited impact on many people living in rural areas. Despite the depth and richness of the debates, both institutions and research in the transport and rural development courses of universities and other educational establishments remain strongly biased towards the provision of motorised road transport as the means of meeting most movements and needs. The implication is that the transport needs of the rural communities are still obscured. Rural life does not solely depend on roads to access facilities and services. There are a whole range of issues that govern accessibility.

Furthermore, development planning has mostly focused on households or communities. The assumption has been that women and men perform the same tasks and that their labour inputs are the same. The analysis of rural travel and transport has clearly shown that the labour burden in travel and transport is excessive and that most of it falls on women. If the aim of transport planning is to improve the quality of rural life, then the reduction of transport problems must be one of the yardsticks to measure improvement.

Effective steps to reduce access problems for the benefit of the entire society presumably can be achieved only if there is a determined effort to understand transport needs and the problems experienced by rural women. This involves mainstreaming gender issues into transport project work, which requires knowledge both of the transport needs of rural women and of the instruments by which the needs can be effectively met. However, the current state of knowledge on rural women's transport needs is insufficient, as are the instruments for addressing inequality. While observed inequalities are compelling, they do not serve as sufficient basis for determining cost-effective policies and appropriate interventions. While the burden of transport on rural women is well known, less well documented are the consequences of this burden, for instance, on rural women's availability for employment, on access to markets and social services, on the women's self-development, and even on their ability to participate in decision-making discussions.

Gender analysts, within the confines of social exclusion and spatial exclusion implied in transport, have focused on gender roles, resources and relations, but they have rarely

considered in detail the role that improved transport plays in providing women with the resources to meet their practical needs. Few have looked at how improving access and increasing mobility can address more strategic gender needs.

Much needs to be done in the way of incorporating gender issues into the transportation planning process. One of the major roles of planning is to ensure a fair distribution of resources according to clearly established political priorities and to guarantee that this distribution allows all people to gain access to the facilities they need. There is thus a need to understand the nature of transport of women with a view to evaluating affordable alternative means of transport, highlighting the role that low-cost IMTs could play in enhancing access and personal mobility.

Rural women's transport needs must be considered in transport planning, but this can be done only if planning is conscious of gender differences in transport needs. Making transport policy more responsive to the needs of rural women requires developing a structured approach to understanding their needs, identifying instruments to address those needs, analysing the costs and benefits of those instruments, and establishing an appropriate policy framework.

This research on gender and transport hopes to make a valuable contribution to the geography of gender and to the geography of transport. It will demonstrate the need for a qualitative, gender-sensitive geography, which could improve and expand our understanding of human geography in time and space. The next chapter will focus on the situation of rural transport in South Africa both historically and socio-politically.

Chapter 3

GENDER AND RURAL TRANSPORT SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA POST 1994

3.1. Introduction

This chapter explores the literature available on transport and gender in South Africa, and identifies gaps in the existing literature. The review also draws from rural transport policy commitments within the context of South Africa, which is undergoing major social, political and economic transformations. It is important in this chapter, also, to unpack the relationship between transport policy and empowerment (or disempowerment as the case may be), especially as it relates to rural women in developing communities. The chapter will also highlight areas of gender commitments within policy.

3.2. Gender and transport

The question of gender and transport in South Africa has drawn attention only recently (Chapman, 1987; Marais, 1987; Khosa, 1990; Fairhurst, 1990; Pirie & Khosa, 1992, 1994 & 1997; Thema, 1994; CARNs, 1996; Mashiri, 1996; Bosman, 1997; Jordaan, 1997; Phalatse, 1998; Mahapa, 2000; Mahapa & Mashiri, 2001). This is evidenced by the few studies that were available for review. Some of the studies deal with *rural transport* and cover issues of rural accessibility, referring to roads, and include intermediate means of transport (IMTs) and non-motorised transport (NMTs). Such studies have implications for gender research even though they do not specifically address gender issues in rural transport.

Transport studies are receiving a substantial and growing literature as well as increasing interdisciplinary involvement on the part of geographers and transport planners. This has led to an enhanced awareness of the importance of the spatial dimensions in transport studies and of the contributions transport geographers are making, individually and collectively, to the further understanding and eventual solution of transport problems.

Some of the issues have been highlighted at a series of conferences organised by the South African National Department of Transport. For example, in the 1990s, transport

planners and geographers examined a wide range of rural transport issues. The South African Transport Conference is strongly supported by NDOT, but it is organised by a different organisation. Some of the rural transport themes covered by the South African Transport Conferences include such areas as Intermediate Means of Transport (IMTs) in general and non-motorized transport (NMTs) in particular. It was clear from these conferences that transport policy goals and planning principles had tended to focus on the higher-cost motorized modes, while either assuming NMT modes do not exist or dismissing them as backward and inefficient or, at best, relegating them to the realms of recreation and historical curiosity (Replogle, 1990; Mashiri, 1996; Mahapa, 2000). It is thus not surprising that, with the exception of walking, the use of NMTs in South Africa is largely negligible, mainly because of poverty, lack of facilities, unsympathetic land use policies, attitudes towards NMTs, and the dearth of coherent and sustainable transport policies to foster NMT development (Mashiri, 1996).

Mashiri (1996) studied non-motorized transport in urban South Africa, whilst Mahapa (2000) looked at one aspects of non-motorized transport in the rural areas of one of South Africa's nine provinces – Limpopo. A review of NMT by Mahapa (2000) concluded that many such modes of transport, for example animal-driven carts, are well suited to the transport requirements of rural women from developing communities for their productive work in the domestic space. However, the study and anecdotal evidence have shown that animal carts are mostly used and owned by men. Fewer women than men use animal carts, let alone own them. There is therefore a need to assess the existing situation with regard to the prevalence and use of all methods of NMT modes, particularly in terms of highlighting the need and exposing the latent demand for such modes.

Focusing on women and urban transport, Chapman (1987) provides information on gender, space and mobility. Work by Khosa (1990; 1994) highlights the fact that the literature on the history of the minibus taxi industry has failed to examine gender relations in the taxi service. In his work in Durban, Khosa (1997) addresses gender relations in the taxi industry. The issues focused on include the unequal power relations between women and men in the taxi industry as well as how these relations are being contested and challenged (Khosa, 1997). African women and men have been involved in the taxi industry at three levels: as taxi owners, as commuters, and as employed drivers.

There are a few works that have identified specifically rural black African women's transport needs in South Africa. A study on the needs of the working mother in an urban setting in

Pretoria showed that there is a need for day mother child-care facilities, catering for under children three years of age (Fairhurst, 1990). These facilities and services are needed by all parents, irrespective of occupation category, but the need is predominant in the lower income group. The study also highlights the importance attached to the quality of the service and the location of the day mother. In addition, it was noted that there is a definite shortage of day mother services to accommodate the needs of all working mothers. It was thus suggested that policy should recognise the day mother care service. While the study did not specifically deal with transport issues, the implication of services required by day mothers suggests transport services.

Fairhurst and Moate (1992), showed how women with limited physical and economic resources cope with the routine of daily life. They also indicated that women are restricted to their home environments because of their husbands as well as because of the expense and inconveniences caused by the high costs of public transport. Therefore, recommendation is made for the improvement of services that affect women in developing rural communities.

Work by Phalatse (1995) in Ga-Rankuwa, a mainly residential area in Pretoria, highlights a lack of appreciation by policy makers for women's multiple roles, roles which constitute a constraint to their involvement in formal sector employment. According to the study, women have started to move away from gender stereotypes of associating factory work as a source of income for men only by joining the employ of the Ga-Rankuwa industries. However, the policy of decentralisation has failed to address gender inequalities in the Ga-Rankuwa industrial environment. Phalatse further indicated that women experience more mobility problems compared to their male counter parts due in part to a low rate of car ownership. Women rely heavily on public transport.

A recent study on gender aspects of a road improvement project in Tshitwe, Limpopo, by Mahapa and Mashiri (2001) found noticeable differences in the gendered system of involving both women and men in labour-based road construction. Their work presents a case for the reorientation of the way in which rural transport needs are perceived, planned and provided for, with a view to improving the targeting of interventions, particularly with regard to addressing the mobility and accessibility needs of rural women. The study also explores the role that non-motorised modes of transport could play in reducing the transport burden of the Tshitwe community. This study, as with others in South Africa, does not address the impact of gender on social and economic roles or political and cultural roles. These roles do, however, lead to gender variations in transport patterns. These variations may be attributed to:

- the sexual division of labour, which results in gender variations in daily activities;
- the spatial organisation of villages; and
- allocation of transport resources, .

The issue of gender and transport has remained peripheral to the central concerns of transport geography in South Africa, as is the case elsewhere. This is revealed, for example, in a series of progress reviews of transport geography in the mid-1980s that failed to mention the topic (Rimmer, 1985; 1986; 1988).

Law (1999) argues that the study of gender and transport has also been affected by the shifting winds of fashion in feminist theory in the last decade as the increasing prominence of poststructuralist perspective has directed attention from structural constraints to discursive constraints. McDowell (1988) has characterised the process as a shift from a rationalist feminist empiricism (concerned primarily with social relations), to an anti-rationalist standpoint (concerned primarily with gender symbolism), to a post rational or postmodernism feminism (concerned primarily with the construct of gender identities). While some aspects of her characterisation may be challenged, it does seem clear that the description and measurement of structural constraints imposed by patriarchal social relations have been overshadowed in recent years by other theoretical concerns, such as the construction of gender identities (Law, 1999:573). Thus, the established body of research on gender and transport, which addresses structural constraints on women's daily mobility, is not being enlivened by association with new developments in feminist theory.

Law (1999) further justifies the intellectual stagnation of the geography of gender and transport, claiming that it lies on the margins of two relevant sub disciplines. From the central terrain of transport geography, the topic appears to be an insignificant site cultivated by politically driven beings on the outer fringes of human geography. Yet from the central terrain of feminist geography in the 1990s, gender and transport appears to be a field of declining fertility, cultivated by sternly empirical folk absorbed in banal details of daily life (Law, 1999:573). The result is that work on gender and transport has been increasingly isolated from developments in both transport geography and feminist geography, and now risks intellectual stagnation.

There are two main issues that one gathers from these arguments. One is that the South African status of gender and transport literature, as elsewhere, might have been affected by

intellectual stagnation, as argued by Robin Law. The second issue is that there is a noticeable gap that needs to be filled by this research.

The next section is a review of policy commitments in relation to gender and transport.

3.3. Rural transport policy review

The purpose of this section is to review policy commitments in relation to gender and transport in rural areas, with the intention of later assessing whether it is empowering or disempowering rural women in developing communities. The review explores the commitments by the National Transport Policy Forum (NTPF), the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR), Rural Development Strategy (RDS), White Papers on transport policy (both national and provincial), the Moving South Africa strategy (MSA), planning guidelines in the implementation of land transport, and the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development (ISRDS) and the National Rural Transport Strategy for South Africa (RTS).

3.3.1. The National Transport Policy Forum (NTPF)

The 1994 elections marked South Africa's political, social and economic change. This change also influenced government's action in relation to transport policy. For example, the National Transport Policy Forum (NTPF) was published in September 1994 (NTPF, 1994). The NTPF document outlined strategies to deal with the fragmentation within the transport sector (NTPF, 1994:13-14) and was referred to as 'a people centred' transport policy, presumably because, in its establishment, a majority of the people were consulted.

Through the NTPF, transport was recognised as an instrument of social transformation. This document indicates that:

The transport industry should be used as an instrument of transformation. Emphasis should therefore be placed on the creation of new business and empowerment as a tool in the economic process (NTPF, 1994:2).

The process through which the NTPF's co-ordinated transport policy was developed departs radically from previous transport policy formulation as it was a result of debates, consultations and consensus among various stakeholders (Khosa, 2001). Such stakeholders included the African National Congress (ANC), the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the

Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa, the National African Federated Transport Organisation (representing 50 000 transport operators), the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), the Southern African Black Taxi Association (SABTA), Transnet, and several organisations representing the private sector. Through the NTPF, the formulation of transport policy was publicly discussed and debated by a vast majority of the organisations. In fact, the NTPF described access to transport as a basic right (NTPF, 1994).

The NTPF, in short, is committed to social transformation, economic empowerment and greater participation by stakeholders, as evidenced by the number of organisations that took part in the process of policy formulation. But women's organisations are missing.

This raises two questions. First, if empowerment includes African rural women in developing communities, then why are they not represented in such forums? Second, how do you begin to empower women if they do not know what is going on? Another issue, one that will be addressed later in this thesis, is whether the commitment to empower people is practised: talking of social transformation and economic empowerment is one thing, implementation is quite another.

3.3.2. Rural transport and the Reconstruction and Development Programme

In the RDP document the ANC noted that:

not only did the apartheid policy move the poor away from job opportunities and access to amenities, but also deprived the majority of people of a say in transport matters, and has led to the payment of huge travel subsidies, exposed commuters to vast walking distances (ANC, 1994:36).

The new government of South Africa therefore committed itself to the strategy of developing an effective, publicly owned, passenger transport system integrating road and rail and air transportation. In addition, the ANC argued that rural areas require more frequent public transport and improved facilities, at an affordable cost. The Government also declared that access to transport and emergency services such as health and education are basic human rights, largely to be met by the new government. Future transport policy must, therefore,

Be flexible enough to take cognizance of the local conditions in order to make best use of the available transport infrastructure; take into account the transport needs of disabled people; ensure accountability so that the people have control over what is provided (ANC, 1994:35).

The government also emphasised that the needs of women, children and disabled people for affordable and safe transport are important. However, evidence suggests that much of

the transport section in the Reconstruction and Development Programme was largely based on rhetoric rather than on rigorous analysis of the transport sector in South Africa (Khosa, 2001). Transport was only given scant attention, occupying only three-and-a-half pages of the 147-page document. That creates a suspicion that transport is not regarded as one of the most important elements in rural development (Khosa, 2001).

In its programmes and targets relating to transport, government has planned for the provision of national roads. As stated in the White Paper on RDP (South Africa, 1994:78), this includes:

- Execution of national roads projects with enhanced labour components;
- Provision of roads on the basis of a multi-criteria approach which takes into account basic needs, e.g., accessibility, in addition to purely financial considerations.

And the targets in this case are:

- Disadvantaged sectors of urban and rural communities requiring accessible transport services supported by adequate infrastructure provision; and
- Disadvantaged members of urban and rural communities who can be economically empowered or employed through projects funded from public sector sources and in the road transport industry.

The question of roads in addressing transport problems, particularly in rural areas, has been given first priority and greater attention. This is evidenced by many projects commissioned by the National Department of Transport and other agencies in South Africa that have had a distinct slant towards the provision and maintenance of the rural road infrastructure and, in some cases, public transport. For example, the 1996 Community Access Roads Need (CARNS) project in KwaZulu Natal (KZN) conducted a detailed study to estimate the size and cost of the roads infrastructure gap. The V3 study in Limpopo looked at rural communities' access to public transport (Bosman, *et al.*, 1997), and Gibb Africa's study (also in Limpopo) looked at distance contours of rural locations in relation to Potgietersrus (Jordaan, 1997). And yet, rural households travel and transport largely entails movement of small goods over short distances and travel within and between villages, local markets and surrounding areas, largely on foot (Mashiri, 1996). Marais (1987), for instance, studied eighteen villages in the Eastern Cape and came to the conclusion that most rural transport and travel for the villagers consisted of on-farm movements, especially for the transport of water, firewood, agricultural inputs and outputs, and for trips to and from school. The argument in this thesis is that, until recently, the emphasis has been on the provision of

roads rather than on a transport service provision, which has significant influence on how women access socio-economic opportunities.

The targets have also been generalised as 'urban and rural communities'. There is a noticeable avoidance of gender throughout the White Paper on Reconstruction and Development.

3.3.3. Rural Development Strategy (RDS)

In the Rural Development Strategy document, the government suggested that in order to deal with rural poverty they should

put rural people in charge. In addition, the rural development strategy must be informed by *the collective wisdom of our people and unite their efforts for development* (South Africa, 1996a:3).

The vision and strategic goals of government, as well as how it hopes to achieve these, are set very clearly. The document has also attempted to show a fair understanding of the rural context. The present democratic government has also declared that gender issues are crucial in dealing with rural poverty, for women are particularly at risk of being poor.

The document seems to take cognizance of women's issues, such as participation, control of and access to resources. However, it is not yet clear what delivery mechanisms will be used and how. The document indicates that the concerns of rural women were for land rights; access to water, electricity and telephones; access to grazing land; and the abolition of polygamy. Transport is not listed. To these could be added many other issues of access emanating from customary law and the lack of understanding of bureaucratic systems. They include financial issues, information, education and training, and capacity building. What seems to be clear is that transport is only listed as rural access roads, as if roads were enough for rural development.

3.3.4. Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR)

In 1996 the South African government introduced GEAR, which was viewed as a strategy for rebuilding and reconstructing the economy. GEAR replaced the RDP and it was intended to implement the RDP in all its facets. The commitments made in GEAR include the following:

- The promotion of small, medium and, micro enterprises (SMMEs) as a strategy for employment creation and income generation.
- The systematic restructuring of health services, with a strong emphasis on universal and free access to comprehensive primary care, and this representing a clear commitment to improving the health conditions of the poor.
- Improvements in education, particularly sustained improvements in the quality of public schooling available to the poor and greater equity in the flow of students through secondary and tertiary education.
- Improvement of water and sanitation, and also given first priority of rural communities. Some 500 projects costing R1.5billions have been committed. Rapid progress with the supply of portable water to the 12million people without access will be a major contribution to poverty relief.
- The land reform programme, combining asset redistribution with enhancement of tenure has an important role in improving the long term prospect for employment and income generation in the rural economy.
- The provision of public infrastructure, water supplies, sanitary, waste-water and storm-water, roads, railways, airports, clinics, educational facilities and so on (South Africa, 1996).

GEAR, like many other government strategies in South Africa and elsewhere, has a tendency of playing lip service to rural transport and women in particular. Most common in many of the commitments made in GEAR is poverty reduction. What is constantly forgotten is a clear indication to the provision of low cost infrastructure and transport services, which can play a direct role in poor people's lives and livelihood, enabling affordable access to markets, jobs and essential goods and services. Infrastructure and transport services facilitate the flow of information and credit. In fact, transport is an integral part of most of public interventions targeted at meeting the basic needs of poor people, such as food, education and health care (Gannon *et al.*, 2001). Without adequate access roads, poor people in rural areas will remain in physical isolation and trapped in poverty. Roads are not enough for rural development.

If GEAR's commitment is to alleviate poverty, especially in rural areas, then the transport sector should be seen as an instrument to achieve this goal. Above all there should be clear commitments to gender, particularly because the majority of rural women in South Africa live in poverty. Most of the commitments made towards rural development in GEAR do not have a gender focus. If they are to achieve the intended goals, GEAR should include

gender so that the provision of all infrastructure and services addresses the specific needs of all the people. In this regard, the inclusion of a gender focus in rural development requires a rigorous analysis of the poverty reduction and employment creation strategies.

It is also important to keep in mind that transport is an intermediate service. Demand for transport is derived from the activities of other sectors, such as health, education, manufacturing and so on. Given that these activities are earmarked for improvement, GEAR objectives makes it even more important to give special attention to transport provision a gender focus. It is equally important to note that transport interventions have greatest impact on poor people when the other sectoral interventions are also in place. Conversely, the effectiveness of interventions in health, education, and agricultural sectors depends on the adequacy of transport infrastructure and services.

3.3.5. Transport policy review

After the 1994 election, the South African National Department of Transport embarked on a project to revisit and review transport policies and to formulate new ones to adjust to a changed environment. In formulating new policy, the Department of Transport was guided by the RDP national objectives:

transparency, consultation and accountability. Important in this regard are the objectives of socio-economic development, which includes aspects such as solving imbalances in the distribution of services among communities, meeting basic needs, and improving social conditions and physical health of the whole community; the objective of improved safety, and the objective of increased efficiency and effectiveness (South Africa, 1995:8).

The policy making process involved different role players from all key sectors of transport and, as far as possible, was constituted to involve all interested groups involved in the process (South Africa, 1996b:1). Comments were received from interested parties across the entire transport sector, and the draft paper was circulated to key stakeholders in July 1996 to allow for final comments. The policies expressed in the White Paper are thus the result of a broad public policy-making process. However, having noted the varied and often conflicting views, government had to take its own decisions, bearing in mind what serves the national interest.

The question of gender in the objectives of NDOT seems to be far removed. There is also much generalisation and avoidance of specific application plans. Whether the objectives are practised as indicated remains to be seen.

- *The White Paper on Transport Policy*

After extensive consultation with stakeholders in groups and plenary sessions over a period of eighteen months, the White Paper on National Transport Policy was submitted and accepted by Cabinet in September 1996. In the White Paper, the ANC government acknowledges the significant role transport plays in the social and economic development of any country and accepts that it should be given priority. Hence the National Transport Policy document promises to:

provide safe, reliable, effective, efficient, and fully integrated Transport operations and infrastructure, which will best meet the needs of freight and passenger customers at improving levels of services and cost in a fashion, which support government strategies for economic and social development, whilst being environmentally and economically sustainable (South Africa, 1996:3).

The new democratic government intends to revise the legacy of the previous government, where government's dominant role had been as *a regulator of bureaucratic detail, a provider of infrastructure and a transport operator* (South Africa, 1996b:7). In order to achieve its vision, the present government promises to support the goals of the RDP for meeting basic needs, growing the economy, developing human resources, and democratising decision-making (South Africa, 1996a:3). A key focus of the policy, as indicated in the National Transport Policy, will be on meeting customer needs. This will involve a process of identifying key customer groups, assessing their needs and determining how these can best be met.

These will include the users of passenger transport services for commuting, educational, business, tourism and private purpose, in the urban and rural, regional and international environments. Those special customer groups include the poor, the disabled and those who send goods by any mode (South Africa, 1996:4).

The White Paper on National Transport Policy also promises to invest in infrastructure or transport systems in ways which satisfy social, economic, or strategic investment criteria (South Africa, 1996b:5), but it did not make any commitments to gender. However, the document recognises the difficulty in satisfying all customer demands in terms of the high-level infrastructure needed and high costs.

What is interesting about South Africa is that the country has a gender-sensitive constitution and has also been at the forefront of work on gender budgets, but the government has been completely unable to translate macro-policy support into a gender-sensitive national transport policy. The only way that this national gender-sensitive rhetoric has been

accommodated is in the inclusion of some women termed 'special categories' or 'vulnerable and disadvantaged' within the principles of the National Land Transport Policy set out in the recent National Land Transport Transition Act 2000.

- *The White Paper on Provincial Transport Policy for Limpopo*

After the publication of the White Paper on a national transport policy, the next step was the drafting of a White Paper on a provincial transport policy. The process of policy formulation was done in four phases. The first phase consisted of preliminary research and consultation. The second phase involved consultation, during which a discussion paper was produced as a reference document that was used to deliberate all policy issues with all relevant stakeholders and to give the community an opportunity to provide input. The third phase comprised the processing of all input for incorporation into the Green Paper. The last step entailed the submission of the White Paper to the Provincial Legislature in 1997. This process was conducted through series of workshops in Limpopo.

The Provincial White Paper on Transport Policy for Limpopo provides for flexibility to allow room for movement when different circumstances require different approaches to be followed. However, the document also noted that flexibility should not mean that the policy framework should be made to degenerate into a haphazard system. The document also commits itself to:

- support the process of democratisation and the RDP of Limpopo;
- act as a catalyst for social upliftment and economic growth;
- ensure that the system is balanced, equitable and non-discriminatory; and
- ensure that the system is also reliable, effective, efficient, safe, accessible, and affordable (Northern Province, 1997:8).

These objectives show that the policy document emphasises social and economic development through transport. Although the White Paper on Transport Policy for Limpopo suggests that more attention should be directed to transport in rural areas, which constitute 89% of the total population, there were no commitments made in relation to gender except on one occasion where there is mention of an '*equitable and non-discriminatory*' system. The central tenet of the Provincial White Paper on transport is the provision of passenger transport and infrastructure. These are the areas said to need government intervention in re-establishing proper control and to review priorities within the new South Africa reconstruction objectives.

3.3.6. 'Moving South Africa' (MSA) and gender

'Moving South Africa' was a high profile, data-driven project of the National Department of Transport (NDOT) which looks at appropriate transport strategies for the next twenty years from 1999. This project was developed in order to realise the vision in the White Paper on National Transport Policy. Besides providing safe, reliable, effective, efficient and fully integrated transport, the White Paper also suggests two thrust areas: (i) those that are means to achieve the goals, and (ii) and those that are goals themselves:

Means:

Skills and technology building broaden participation in the economy, ensure competition.

Goals:

Customer needs: the transport strategy must be based on a data-driven understanding of the needs of different customer segments, their service levels and cost requirements.

Investment objectives: national investments in infrastructure and operations should provide the required returns, be they economic returns to the country, financial returns to the investors or social returns to the people of South Africa.

Policy requirements: the transport strategy should enable the achievement of national and regional policy objectives as well as the achievement of objectives of other arms of government.

Integration: the strategy should identify where regional, modal and institutional integration can be enhanced and facilitated.

Environmental sustainability: the impacts of various modes and transport alternatives should be measured for their environmental impacts.

Low cost for designated level of service: The transport strategy must recognise that various customers have different needs and strive to meet those needs at the lowest possible cost.

Meet basic needs: transport has an impact on the key goals of the Reconstruction and Development Programme of meeting basic needs of the people of South Africa (South Africa, 1998:3-6).

The vision and goals of the White Paper are set out clearly; what is also clear is that the Moving South Africa strategy is mandated to determine how to implement the vision in an environment of limited resources, capacity and time. The project presented strategic options for consideration based on rigorous analysis of data to ensure that government, together with stakeholders in the industry, make decisions based on facts and not on opinions. The project is also mandated to adopt a primarily customer-driven view of the transport industry. This is to ensure that the strategy ultimately delivers on the vision for transport as set out in the White Paper, and that the meeting of the needs of the end users of transport services is maintained as the primary objective of the strategy (South Africa, 1998:83). Perhaps most importantly, the

strategy was also required to create a context for action within which to achieve the White Paper objectives as already outlined.

Through its Rural Transport module, MSA came to the conclusion that close to 80 per cent of the rural transport problems could be resolved by studying and providing solutions for three of the nine provinces, namely, KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo and Eastern Cape, where 69 per cent of the rural population resides. It must be mentioned here that South Africa has a dual economy characterized by first and developing world elements. The rural areas, which are largely poor, fall into the developing world category. Of the three, the Limpopo has been chosen for this study because it had the highest poverty levels (Lipton, *et al.*, 1996), and because it is the home of a number of previously disadvantaged communities in the former homelands. [Today, the Eastern Cape is the poorest; Limpopo is the second poorest (Statistics SA).]

What also came out consistently from MSA was the paucity of data to adequately describe the rural transport sector and its problems. It was concluded that there was a need, *inter alia*, to do an infrastructure audit and to determine the actual needs of rural communities with a view to developing a robust rural transport investment framework. The Rural Transport Module also emphasised that NDOT must broaden the current approach to road building and upgrading in rural areas and incorporate its programmes with other government departments involved in rural development within a consistent rural development paradigm. This research will thus make a contribution to the relevant modules of MSA strategy. More importantly, it will provide a basis for the provincial rural transport database.

Moving South Africa has also avoided the concept of gender. MSA strategy is committed to meet the requirements of special categories of passengers, focusing on learners and those with special needs, particularly those with disabilities (South Africa, 2001). However, because gender needs are not mentioned, it cannot be assumed that their needs will be catered for.

Moving South Africa acknowledged that the majority of South Africans had been marginalised in the development of transport systems throughout this country's history. In addition, the needs of those customers who did not fit definitions of average need were largely ignored. This latter category of passengers has included children, the aged and persons with disabilities. Moving South Africa research found, however, that the transport

system today places a number of obstacles to access and mobility for categories of persons beyond the three mentioned above. What has developed is a picture of a much larger set of needs, which the available data was not able to provide to enable the development of a detailed strategy (South Africa, 1998). The intention of this thesis is to fill this identified gap.

Moving South Africa was not able to develop a detailed strategy for special needs customers due to the lack of data on the estimated 2.1 million passengers with some form of impairment. The data was inadequate in terms of providing a breakdown of these passengers by degree of impairment and the consequent degree of modification of transport assets and services that would be required (South Africa, 1998:45).

3.3.7. National Rural Transport Strategy

The Minister of Transport's 2002 budget speech acknowledged that mobility and access were important to achieving a sustainable transport system. He further confirmed that rural transport has been neglected because of lack of strategic guidance in rural transport. Although there was no mention of gender, the speech gave some indirect references to it. He mentioned that government is engaged in initiatives incorporating promotion of ownership and usage of a variety of rural transport operations, such as animal drawn carts and bicycles.

Following the minister's speech, the National Rural Transport Strategy was introduced in 2003. The context of the Rural Transport Strategy was based on the fact that the majority of South Africans reside in rural areas and that seventy two per cent are poor. Compared to their urban counterparts, rural people have vastly inferior accesses to basic social services and the economic mainstream. Given this context, the delivery of rural transport infrastructure and services can be a significant catalyst for sustainable economic development, improved social access and poverty alleviation in South Africa's rural areas (South Africa, 2003:v).

The Rural Transport Strategy committed itself to the following:

- Provision of rural transport infrastructure which does not only include access roads, but also district roads
- Village level transportation – where communities, particularly women provide transport
- Rural passenger and small volume transport services
- Passenger transport services along the main connector routes to town, clinics and other facilities

- Special needs transportation services to address the needs of persons with disabilities, the elderly, trauma and non-emergency patients, learners and tourists
- Bulk freight transportation to and from processing plants (South Africa, 2003).

Compared to other strategies, the Rural Transport strategy has thrown some light on women's issues. The focus seems to be promising in that it commits to the development of a balanced rural transport system. It also accommodates the interventions that are mostly required and used in the rural areas to reduce the burden of transport. More importantly, the strategy acknowledges the strategic challenges relating to addressing rural transport problems of access to facilities and services. These challenges include institutional arrangements that deal with the complex arrangement and un-coordinated planning of rural roads; spatial co-ordination in nodal infrastructure, and so on. The Rural Transport Strategy appears to be a good starting point to begin to address gender needs in rural travel and transport. What remains would be effective implementation of the strategy with the focus on gender needs, emphasising the needs of rural women in particular whose voices still need to be heard.

3.4. Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (ISRDS)

Rural transport has drawn much attention from policy makers only recently. This is evidenced by a number of policy studies and the considerable public awareness that has been created in the Minister of Transport's budget speech of 2002. Recognition is made towards the fact that rural people have vastly inferior access to basic services and the economic mainstream. Given this context, the delivery of rural transport infrastructure and services is seen as a catalyst for sustainable economic development, improved social access, and poverty alleviation in South Africa's rural areas (South Africa, 2001).

Some of the relevant strategies to addressing the rural infrastructure include the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (ISRDS). ISRDS is committed to co-ordinating delivery of integrated bundles of services and anchor development projects in terms of prioritised sets of rural development nodes (South Africa, 2001). There are a number of examples of areas of ISRDS focus where gender is mentioned.

The marginalisation of agriculture, particularly in the former homelands, needs to be addressed with central acknowledgements of the role of women and gender issues. The neglect or inadequate performance of gender specific tasks such as land clearing, ploughing and the dipping of livestock on the one hand and planting, weeding and harvesting on the other, can have a major impact on agricultural production as a whole (South Africa, 2000:12).

The implication of this statement suggests that the issue of gender needs is central to ISRDS as it relates to agriculture – thus advocating for high involvement of women in this sector. The issue of integrating gender into transport projects, however, is not entertained in ISRDS. The only time when transport is mentioned is when acknowledging that:

The cost of living for poor rural people is generally higher than it need be because of their lack of access to transport and communications infrastructure, basic amenities such as water and electricity, and social services such as health and education. Furthermore, because of their poverty and vulnerability, rural households commonly resort to a variety of different strategies to ensure their survival so that it has become more appropriate to describe their economic activities as livelihood strategies rather than jobs or employment South Africa 2000:9).

ISRDS' generalisations about gender issues are symptomatic of the need for a more gender-specific rural integrated approach in order to achieve sustainable results. But as long as commitment is made simply to rural households, instead of looking at the situation from a gendered perspective, transportation and other basic needs projects are not going to be integrated or sustainable.

3.5. The Gender Policy Framework

The Gender Policy Framework is another government document that focuses on gender; however, it is largely concerned with women and their empowerment. This research on transport needs of rural women adopts the same line of action because of the impact of past policies and laws which deliberately favoured men (South Africa, 1999). The difference between the focus of the Gender Policy and this research is that the former is committed to addressing equality of opportunity with respect to access to control and decision-making in the economy, the provision of services, sharing of resources, employment and the fair treatment of women. The latter goes further and includes access to transport services and facilities, suggesting the need to incorporate transport in the gender policy. So, policy and decision makers will need to draw distinctions between gender issues and women's issues holistically so that resources can be set aside to meet the specific needs of women.

3.6. Evaluation of the new rural transport environment

Since 1994, the overall transport policies of the new government have been characterized by consultations with the stakeholders. However, an important weakness in the recent

transport policy formulation process is that it does not have a strong representation from rural areas. This is not surprising because many rural people have long been the most poorly educated, least organised, and, therefore, least able to demand assistance through formal and informal structures (South Africa, 1995). Yet their ability to take charge of local government and to contribute to decision-making will be critical to the effectiveness of rural local government.

What came out clearly from rural transport policy is that rural roads are only one piece of a larger infrastructure package that rural areas require. Without roads, travel times increase, making it more difficult for rural communities to integrate with the larger society. In reality, however, the issue is not about roads but about the extent to which government should invest in them. Answering this question will provide the vision to guide the rural road portion of the strategies followed by government. However, answering the question is difficult in the absence of clear data regarding need and development levels of rural communities. The issue of absence of data has been clearly identified in the MSA strategy of the Department of National Transport.

What is also missing in the new transport policies and strategies is mainstreaming of gender issues in transport-related projects. Although the Rural Transport Strategy has some recommendations on gender, rural women's travel and transport requirements need to be fully reflected in sector strategies because considering how transport policies and projects address women's needs is important for a socially and economically sustainable transport policy. Yet little attention appears to have been paid to women's needs in transport projects. Making transport policy more responsive to the needs of women requires developing a structured approach to understanding their needs, identifying instruments to address those needs, analysing the costs and benefits of those instruments, and establishing an appropriate policy framework. To that end, this thesis attempts to develop a framework that will help in designing a gender-responsive rural transport policy.

3.7. Concluding remarks

There are very few studies that have identified specific transport needs of rural women in South Africa, yet these women constitute a greater percentage of the population of communities in such areas where inaccessibility to services and resources predominate. Relatively little has been done to investigate the impact of gendered social, economic and political roles on rural women. These roles, do, however, lead to gender variations in

transport patterns. These variations may be attributed to the sexual division of labour, the spatial organisation of villages, and the allocation of transport resources. This last aspect paves the way for reviewing transport policy commitments to gender and transport.

What has emerged from the transport policy review is that South Africa has a good gender-sensitive constitution, but its government has been unable to translate macro-policy support into a gender-sensitive national transport policy. The only way that this national gender-sensitive rhetoric has been accommodated is in the inclusion of some women termed 'special categories' or 'vulnerable and disadvantaged'. It is only in the National Rural Transport Strategy where gender has been clearly spelt out.

Transport policy in rural South Africa, as elsewhere, has tended to emphasise transport models focused on the conventional road building policies, which can be attributed to a poor understanding of women's travel and transport needs. However, in terms of good practices, the Department of Public Works proved to have a good policy on gender compared to many, transport included. Many projects around public works have begun to accommodate women in big numbers in construction. For example, the Emerging Female Contractors identifies women with potential to establish businesses within the construction industry, and women are also encouraged to attend workshops in order to build their capacity as contractors. Today we see quite a number of women emerging in road construction. They also need to be encouraged to be transport providers and not only users.

Relatively little has been done to investigate the impact of roads on gendered multiple roles in rural areas. These roles do, however, lead to gender variations in transport patterns. Thus, the motivation for addressing gender differences in transport in this thesis is based on the understanding that the current rural transport policies do not adequately reflect gender differences in travel patterns and needs. In addition, mainstreaming gender issues into rural transport policies should be a priority. This, however, requires knowledge of both the transport needs of women and the instruments by which the needs can be effectively met. At the moment, both the current state of knowledge on African rural women's transport needs and the instruments for addressing inequality are inadequate. At the same time, while observed inequalities are compelling, they do not serve as sufficient basis for determining cost-effective policies and appropriate interventions. This research is an attempt to highlight transport needs of African rural women so that future policy can avoid assumptions about this special category's transport needs.

Chapter 4

METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of methodology used to study the transport needs of rural women in Limpopo. It begins by highlighting the distinction between a quantitative study and a qualitative one, proceeds with a discussion of feminist methodology, research methods and data analysis procedures, and, finally, presents summaries of the data collected.

4.2. Quantitative and qualitative methodologies

The quantitative and qualitative paradigms have their roots in 20th century philosophical thinking. The quantitative approach is termed the traditional, the positivist, and the experimental or empiricist paradigm. The qualitative paradigm is termed the constructivist or the naturalistic approach (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), and it is interpretive. To understand these two paradigms authors have contrasted them on several assumptions. These assumptions are based on ontological, epistemological and methodical approaches.

In terms of the ontological issue of what is real, the quantitative researcher views reality as objective. Researchers are independent and can use instruments and questionnaires to measure objectively. Variables can be identified and relationships measured. For the qualitative researcher, on the other hand, reality is socially constructed. Variables are complex, interwoven and difficult to measure. Hence, the qualitative researcher needs to report faithfully the realities in any given situation and to rely on the voices and interpretations of informants (Creswell, 1994).

On the epistemological question, that is, on the relationship of the researcher to that which is being researched, the two paradigms also differ. The quantitative approach holds that the researcher should remain distant and independent of that which is being researched. Thus in surveys and experiments, researchers attempt to control for bias, select a systematic sample, and remain objective in assessing a situation. The qualitative stance is different. Researchers interact with those they study, whether this interaction assumes the form of

living with or of observing informants over a prolonged period of time, or through actual collaboration (Creswell, 1994).

The other distinction is in the area of methodology. One approaches a quantitative methodology by using a deductive form of logic, wherein theories and hypotheses are tested in a cause-and-effect order. Concepts, variables, and hypotheses are chosen before the study begins and remain fixed throughout the study. The objective is to develop generalisations that contribute to the theory and that enable one to better predict, explain and understand some phenomenon. In a qualitative methodology, on the other hand, inductive logic prevails. Categories emerge from informants rather than from having been identified prior to the research. This emergence provides rich context-bound information, leading to patterns or theories that help explain a phenomenon (Silverman, 2000).

Arguments supporting qualitative inquiry indicate that human behaviour is significantly influenced by the setting in which it occurs; thus one must study that behaviour in situations. The physical setting contains crucial contextual variables, for example, schedules, space, pay, and rewards as well as internalised notions of norms, tradition, roles and values (Marshal & Rossman, 1980). This study was conducted in a setting where all these contextual variables were operating. According to Marshal & Rossman (1980), past research has not been able to derive meaning from experimental research. The research techniques themselves affect the findings in experimental research. Additionally subjects sometimes do not know their feelings, interactions and behaviours, so they cannot articulate them in order to respond to a questionnaire. Taking note of this limitation in quantitative research, this study accepts the realisation that one cannot understand human behaviour without understanding the framework within which subjects interpret their thoughts, feelings and actions. Field study research helped to explore the processes and meanings of events. The quantitative approach is also limited in that it is not flexible enough to accommodate events that may emerge during fieldwork.

The study in this thesis revolves around the following issues: the roles of rural women involving the use of transport, the constraints and problems encountered, the impacts of transport, and the opportunities denied to these women when the system does not meet their needs. Since studies of this nature are complex, and cannot be clearly understood from outside, there was a need to have an inside perspective on the issues related to transportation of rural women. Therefore, a qualitative feminist approach was adopted. This approach allowed me to study rural women's travelling patterns and their access to basic services in their natural settings in

order to make sense of phenomena in terms of the meanings rural women bring to them (Marshall & Rossman, 1989; Silverman, 1993; Creswell, 1998; Robinson, 1998; Rossman & Rallis, 1998).

There were several advantages to using this approach. It helped in closely studying social practices in order to develop an understanding of rural women's transport needs. It also gave a holistic picture on the needs of rural women and their interpretations of the situation in context. According to Roe (2000), this can be appropriately done using ethnographic or qualitative methods. Hanson and Schwab (1995) also give advice when they indicate that important questions about travel constraints that limit the everyday activities of specific groups of people cannot be answered through aggregate studies. The alternative to aggregate quantitative approaches is to use individuals or households as units rather than zones. A disaggregate approach allowed me to study the spatial movements of individuals over an extended period of time, thereby obtaining valuable insight into their daily lives.

In order to get at the experiences, motives, meanings and perceptions of those being studied, the qualitative approach was adopted. This helped me to interact with the participants. In studying rural women's travel and transport needs, focus group interviews, documents, and participant observations seemed to be the best choices, but they will not be discussed immediately. This approach provided rare insight and rich details which surveys often ignore and overlook. These methods are less formal but more intensive, less standardized but more interactive. These research methods are largely used by feminist researchers, though they vary with the aims and location of the project, and differ according to the intended audience or recipient of the finished research project. Thus, feminist geographical research practice is both multi-stranded and complex (Robinson, 1998:459).

4.3. Feminist methodology

This study is qualitative feminist research. Some authors, such as Olesen (1998), indicate there are many feminisms, hence many views and some conflicting. But whatever the qualitative research style, and whether or not self-consciously defined as feminism, these many voices share the outlook that it is important to center and make problematic women's diverse situations as well as the institutions and frames that influence those situations, and then to refer the examination of that problematic to theoretical policy, or action frameworks in the interest of realising social justice for women (Eichler, 1986:68). Olesen (1998) further indicates that feminists use a variety of qualitative styles, but share the assumptions held

generally by qualitative or interpretive researchers that interpretive human actions, whether found in women's reports of experience or in the cultural products of reports of experience, can be a focus of research.

Feminism tries to explain the limitations placed on the role of women and the ways in which women are often presented as deviations from male norms (Mies, 1991; Olesen, 1998; Robinson, 1998). According to Robinson (1998), in this kind of study emphasis is placed upon the importance of interacting with the people being studied and of sharing information with them rather than treating people merely as subordinate purveyors of data. Hence in this study, I interacted with rural women, made records of my observations, and shared information with them. The use of a feminist approach helped me contribute to the promotion of social change within an emancipation-oriented research process.

Central to feminists is the replacement of the objectivist assumption, that knowledge is timeless, eternal, and detachable from the standpoint of the knowledge gatherer, with the notion that knowledge bears the marks of its producer (Lenon and Whitford, 1994:2). Hence this study is a reflection of what I observed about rural women's transport needs. The qualitative feminist approach was adopted because the methodology encouraged dialogue and interaction between the rural women studied and myself. Indeed there is a need for gendered-disaggregated data on transport needs of rural women, who have been treated as occupying a pivotal role. In this way, feminist research was not viewed simply as an abstract process of knowledge-seeking but as a process which provides a complete understanding of rural women's transport needs.

The gender approach was also used as a guide in this study because of the need to recognise the significant role that women play in subsistence and economic spheres. By concentrating on women's issues, the impression is given that their issues are not integrated into the development of the economy. Women thus become even more marginalized. In simple terms, the gender approach is concerned with those issues that concern the extent and impact of the relationships between men and women as sanctioned by cultural, legal, religious and political systems in which women hold a subordinate position vis-à-vis men (Mascarenhas, 1995:12).

The gender approach does not treat women as a homogenous group but acknowledges, instead, that women are divided by class, colour, creed, etc. (Young, 1993:134; Visvanathan, 1997:19). It recognises that women's needs and roles are better understood

when viewed in relation to men's needs and roles and in relation to women's social, cultural, political and economic contexts. Gender analysis, therefore, takes into account women's roles in production, reproduction, management of community affairs, and other activities. It involves the desegregation of quantitative data by gender. It highlights the different roles and learned behavior of men and women based on gender attributes. This varies across cultures, class, ethnicity, education, time, and even place (World Bank, 1998). There is thus a need for gender-disaggregated data on transport needs of rural women and endorsing the geographical time and space perspective. Hence a gendered perspective in addressing transport needs of rural women was followed. A non-gendered perspective for studying patterns and processes of rural conditions not only provides an incomplete understanding of rural transport; it also constitutes a disservice to efforts for generating an informed basis for rural women's emancipation.

4.4. Research methods

Just as feminist research often draws on multiple disciplines; this study too draws on multiple disciplines – human geography, sociology and feminist methodology. Therefore, the use of multiple methods in this project was chosen, rather than a single method, not only because of its feminist concerns but also because of commitment to thoroughness and the need to be responsive to the rural women studied. By combining methods, feminist researchers are particularly able to illuminate previously unexamined or misunderstood experiences. Multiple methods increase the likelihood of obtaining scientific credibility and research utility (Reinharz, 1992).

Feminist scholars' commitment to triangulation includes the use of visual techniques, the use of conversational analysis and the reading of social texts about women (Denzin, 1989:66). There are many definitions of triangulation, including, a combination of quantitative and qualitative methodology, data triangulation, investigator triangulation and methodological triangulation (De Vos, 2000:359). Triangulation in this thesis refers to the original meaning of the concept, which is the use of two or more methods of data collection procedures within a single study. Thus, triangulation of data collection methods in this study included the use of focus group interviews, participant observation, documents and photographs. These methods had an advantage in that they offered the opportunity to probe issues and to explore rural women's views and perspectives in their own terms and frameworks of understanding. Secondly, the use of a variety of methods reduced the risk of reflecting only the systematic biases or limitations of a specific method, and it allowed me to

gain a better assessment of the validity and the generality that one developed (Maxwell, 1996:76).

4.4.1. Focus group interviews

Focus group interviews are designed to elicit understanding of the interviewees' perspective. According to May (1996:70), focus group interviews can provide valuable insight both into social relations in general and into the examination of processes and social dynamics in particular. Furthermore, focus group interviews emphasise interaction with the group. In real life we spend most of our lives interacting with others, and it comes as no surprise that our actions and opinions are modified according to the social situations in which we find ourselves. Consequently, hearing the issue discussed in a group setting was a priority in this study. Beside all the advantages of focus group interviews, it was revealing to observe the group dynamics of how rural women develop their ideas while talking to one another about their transport needs, how they make use of transport, the impact of the present transport system on them, and the opportunities denied to them when the system cannot meet their needs. Group discussions were good ways of revealing how rural women think and how they interact with others.

The added advantage of using focus group interviews was that what emerges from a focus group session is a group-generated response – presumably something different than the sum of what the participants would have said if each had been interviewed separately (Berkowitz *et al.*, 1996:60). The behaviour of an individual in a group is likely to differ from the behaviour of that single individual when interviewed and it will reflect the size and composition of the group (Foster, 1989). Given the above perspective, holding focus group interviews was a valuable tool for gaining insights into the world of transport and how this world excludes or includes these women.

- *Conducting focus group interviews*

Focus group discussions took place between the months of January and June 2000. These months were preferred because they fell within the university recess period, which made it easy to do fieldwork. There were no particular selection criteria for selecting the participants; as long as women were rural, living in that particular village and were available at the time of the discussions, that was accepted. What I found in one village Mamoleka, in terms of participants' profile was that those women who participated were unmarried with

children under five years. This was so in order to allow for the children to attend a crèche when their mothers were at work. Most of them were aged between 25 and 40 on average.

In other villages, such as Babanana and Tshitwi, the participants were of different ages ranging from 25 to 65. The elderly women were those remaining at home taking care of the young children while their parents worked either in the big cities, or locally, selling fruit, vegetables and food beverages at schools. The young women were in most cases those who have a qualification, particularly teaching, but could not get employment. The middle aged women were those who were self-employed in the local markets as informal business women. In most cases the women were those heading households when their spouses have gone to work as migrant labourers in big cities and those who are heads of households because they have never married or their spouses have passed away.

Focus groups usually bring together 8-12 participants who have been chosen on the basis of certain characteristics that make them particularly suitable for discussing the subject at hand (Berkowitz *et al.*, 1996:600). Given the above scenario, focus groups of 10 rural women were brought together to discuss their transport needs. The first groups were heterogeneous, consisting of unemployed, self-employed and employed rural women. The issue of heterogeneity is suggested by Flick (1998:123), who advocates that the first focus group should be as heterogeneous as possible, followed by a second set of groups that are more homogeneous. The reason for the first focus group to be heterogeneous is to allow for contrasting opinions. The reason for the second focus groups to be homogenous is to allow for sharing within the group discussion (Krueger, 1994:77).

The second focus group consisted of self-employed and unemployed women in the same village, taking into account that their areas of operation usually overlap. It has been observed in this study that the women in both categories operate locally in the immediate rural environment. Those who are self-employed operate from their homes or in the local area, which in many instances overlaps with the sphere of operation of the unemployed. As a result, the two groups of women formed the second focus group. The third focus group consisted of employed women. Usually employed women operate outside the village, a bit far from their homes, where transport is necessary. They commute daily to their places of employment.

The main purpose of the second focus group was to check authenticity and credibility of issues that arose in the first focus group. The same principle applied when new issues were raised in the second focus group. This necessitated arranging a third focus group. Issues raised in the

third focus group were then raised in the first focus group of the second village. Issues raised in the first focus group of the second village were also raised in the first focus group of the third village. The main purpose for holding focus group interviews in the second and the third villages was to verify whether there were any similarities or differences in terms of issues raised. This enabled me to make a case for rural women, that is, to generalise. Lunt and Livingstone (1996:96) indicate the strength of focus group interviews is generating discussions and revealing the meanings that people read into them and in how they negotiate the meanings. They further argue that group discussions also generate diversity and difference within the groups, revealing the real nature of everyday arguments.

The first focus group interviews were held in Mamoleka, in the Bochum district in the former Lebowa. The reason for selecting those women was because they speak the language which I can understand. Therefore, no interpreter was needed. The other focus groups were held in Babanana village, in the former Gazankulu, and in Thsitwi, in the former Venda (Figure 1.1). In these two focus groups an interpreter was needed because rural women in the two villages speak Xitsonga and Tshivenda respectively.

- *Focus group protocol*

The focus group protocol was used to a guide the group discussions. Like the interview guide, the protocol was open-ended and unstructured. The difference between the focus group protocols and the intensive interview guides is that the former are meant to promote verbal exchange among participants rather than, as in the later, dialogue between the moderator and individual participants (Berkowitz *et al.*, 1996:63). The protocol covered topics in a logical, developmental order, building on one another, with a different protocol for each focus group session. The protocol outline for the two-hour session employed the following pattern:

- 1) Introduction: greetings: explanation of purpose of the session, filling out of names, introduction of observers, ground rules and how the focus group works. (20 minutes)
- 2) Participant's introduction: give first names only, where participants live, marital status, age of children or child, whether there were household-head and employment issues. (30 minutes)
- 3) Introduce idea of transport needs: ask participants for their views on transport needs and problems, establish the nature of movements, try to find out whether there is any stratification in the movements and whether their needs are the same or not, and establish their mobility needs. (30 minutes)

- 4) Once problems were identified: ask about strategies they adopt to cope with those problems, at the same time asking for their views on indigenous systems of transport, evaluating them against the modern modes. (30 minutes)
- 5) Find out the impact transport has on them and also the opportunities denied to them in this present system. (30 minutes)
- 6) Ask for ideas on what should be done to solve transport problems. (30 minutes)
- 7) Finally, debrief and wrap up: moderator summarised discussion, clarifications and additional comments or questions were raised. (30 minutes)

The discussion was planned to take two hours, but because of the reality on the ground, it took more than three hours to complete the discussions. For example, in Babanana, the discussions were attended by the members of the community including, men, women and the youth, and only later, after an hour, we met with the women folk only. During the discussions, one could see that men were actively participating. There were one or two women who were keen to participate, but from my observation they were not free to speak in the mist of men and some men were interjecting when women talked. After a lengthy discussion with the community, I requested to remain with women only. The request was accepted presumably because enough chance was given to the community to raise their complaints. In other villages, the discussions included issues beyond transport. Women discussed issues relating to their projects as well as to how they can be funded and empowered with skills in order to survive, even though the purpose of the discussions were clear. The issue of projects was accommodated as it gave meaning and light to what the real needs are in the rural areas. The outline of the protocol in Babanana and Tshitwi was based on the issues raised in the previous focus groups of Mamoleka.

A facilitator, who was not the researcher, directed the focus group interviews. The purpose of relieving me from facilitating was to have enough chance to observe the reactions of the participants and to make notes and also to avoid some biases. The advantage of using the facilitator was that he was not a stakeholder in this research, so he did not influence the data, avoiding the possibility of bias had I facilitated, which would have had an impact on the data. Although the facilitator guided the discussion to ensure focus remained on the topic of interest, those rural women were also given enough freedom to steer the conversation. Focus group discussions were recorded. Both tape recording and notepad methods of recording information were used in order to avoid losing any valuable information.

4.4.2. Observation methods

Focus group interviews were supplemented by observation methods. As noted by Rossman and Rallis (1998), observation is fundamental to all qualitative inquiry. Even in in-depth and focus group interviews, observation plays an important role as the researcher notes body language in addition to the participant's words. As Rossman and Rallis (1998:136) indicate, observation helped me discover the complexity of the social settings simply by being there. An example of an observation method used in this study was the participant observation.

- *Participant Observation*

Participant observation method involves researchers immersing themselves in the day-to-day activities of people they are attempting to understand (Eyles & Smith, 1988; Denzin, 1989; May, 1996; Cook & Cook, 1997). According to Denzin (1989:156), using this method is a commitment to adopting the perspective of those studied by sharing in their day-to-day experiences. Participation in the daily activities of rural women is not a simple task: it requires a woman having a rural background, understanding the spoken language and even sacrificing one's status for the time being.

My research was undertaken during the months from January to July 2000. Language was not a barrier as I also speak Sepedi. Even though I was not very familiar with the village, the question of access was not a problem because of my background in rural settings. I was raised in a rural environment, so most of the daily rural routines were not new to me.

The process of participating and observing was done for about two weeks, including weekends. My research focused on self-employed and unemployed African rural women, who I thought needed attention because of their roles and responsibilities, which are often ignored by the society and even the state. The value of the approach I chose is that it was possible to observe African rural women in their real environment and to observe how they attach meaning to their rural environment. That in itself helped to reveal their viewpoints and expressions concerning their environment. It is believed that the social construction of reality – the process through which people make sense out of their lives – can be understood best through an interpretative approach (De Vos, 2000:280).

Whenever possible I spent time with women as they went about their daily chores. We went to fetch water, collected wood, went shopping, and even had jolly walks around the village. I

integrated with families. In the morning I accompanied small children to the nursery and also visited markets where some women were selling their goods. I also visited the local women's project in the village. The Department of Health and Welfare funded the project for single rural women with children younger than five years. The aim of the project was to try to reduce food insecurity in the village. The project is called the *Babina-Chuene* Project in Limpopo, and it is regarded as a flagship project in government circles.

Personally, my being in a rural setting again caused me some discomfort, especially as I left the rural setting so long ago. But, I told myself that this is normal; I have to endure. One or two rural women, who were apparently surprised to see me as a visitor doing almost everything they did, asked me questions such as: *Do you collect wood where you come from?* *Do you fetch water from such a distant source?* *How do you cope with braids on your head?* I learnt that the questions were understandable due to the fact that they were observing me as I was observing them. The types of questions asked made me realise that they felt sorry for me, apparently because I looked fragile for the type of jobs they were doing. That in itself shows the difficulty of the chores that rural women have to endure throughout their lives. This is hard, especially because they do not have any choice.

I actually used participant observation only in one village – Mamoleka, in the Bochum district. In the other two villages, Babanana and Thsitwi, observations were done through walks around the villages and by taking photographs. The reason for not participating was that I could not speak Xitsonga or Thsivenda. As a result, interpreters, in the names of Olda Nkuna and Marubini Ramudzuli, were used at all times, even in the transcribing of the tapes. However, I managed to record, by writing, some of the observed reactions.

The major considerations behind what to record, how to record it, and when to record depend upon the problems being researched and on whether the research is carried out covertly or overtly (Eyles & Smith, 1988). This study was carried out covertly. Therefore, the nature of my participation was such that it was not done with a pencil and notebook; this would have been disruptive, to say the least. As a result, note taking was rendered impossible and most of the data was retrieved on reflection as soon as after the situation as possible, thus depending on my memory. However, an electronic pocket tape recorder was used to record what was said and to give an on-the-spot account of observations. The device was used covertly in order to avoid fraudulent actions and attitudes. The covert method was preferred because nothing was hidden or edited which probably would have happened if I had interviewed or questioned people. Therefore, the choice of not informing them that my involvement was for research

purposes avoided an artificial environment. What is actually the case with participant observation is that, if the researcher is completely honest with people about their activities, they will try to hide actions and attitudes they consider undesirable, and so will be dishonest (Gans, 1967:440).

I was really doing no more than I would normally do in the course of my everyday life, except that I was writing about the situation and the rural women I encountered. The nature of my research problem required that I act unobtrusively. Should the field relationship have been overt, the settings and the context would have been abstract, as the respondents would have adjusted their attitudes according to what they felt my role as a researcher was. Because of my apparently natural participation, respondents were free to discuss, as they thought I was visiting my relative in the village. What normally happens in the rural villages is that whenever people see a visitor, they become inquisitive and wish to associate with them. This cultural trait was an added advantage as I was able to see the real extent of poverty, which many of us unfamiliar with such a setting could only imagine.

4.4.3. Documentary data

Amongst other documents consulted were the Rural Development Programme (RDP), the Rural Development Strategy, White Papers on Public Works, National and Provincial Transport Policy, the Department of Transport Business Plan, and strategies such as 'Moving South Africa' and the budget speeches made by the Minister of Transport. Data collected from these documents constituted an examination of the rural development strategy in South Africa. Furthermore, these documents contain information and statistics which, for instance, revealed the socio-economic conditions existing in the rural areas of South Africa and the planning envisaged by government. In addition, data available in the districts was collected. Data related to the transport system and transport facilities, development activities, and economic activities and services provided in the districts and the population according to gender. Documents on household surveys and population census, which are kept by Statistics South Africa, were also used. These documents made available information on levels of employment, birthplaces, classification by gender, access to facilities and services, feelings of safety and security, and also health issues in Limpopo.

Some of the findings were not very relevant to gender and transport, but they have implications to it. For example, data obtained from the 1995 household survey, the Northern Province spatial rationale of 1998, and the census report of 1996 made reference to the

status of education and employment in Limpopo and to access to facilities and services such as electricity, wood for domestic purposes, water, and telephone and health-care facilities. In Limpopo, as in the rest of South Africa, access to educational opportunities, employment and type of work varies by race or locality, i.e., rural or urban; gender is rarely used.

Unemployment rates are higher in rural areas than in urban areas. This holds true for both males and females. In rural areas, over 55 per cent of economically active females are unemployed, compared to 34 per cent in urban areas. For males, the unemployment rates are 34 per cent and 17 per cent, respectively. These figures have an influence on transport needs because as long as rural women are unemployed they cannot afford better means of transport. Consequently, they will resort to what they can afford. The unemployment rate has an influence on the number of women employed in the informal sector.

Approximately fifteen per cent of the economically active population in Limpopo works in the informal sector. They constitute twenty six per cent of all workers. Self-employed workers in the informal sector constitute ten percent of the economically active population in Limpopo. African women predominate in this sector; they constitute approximately fifty six percent of self-employed workers in the informal sector. Domestic workers are included in the informal sector for self-employment. The data does not indicate the type of jobs they do, but it is clear from rural women's perspective that these activities require transport.

In terms of cooking fuel, relatively few African rural households in Limpopo use electricity for cooking. Almost three-quarters use wood or paraffin for cooking. Most of those households that use wood in Limpopo obtain it from the veld. Alternative sources of wood include merchants, woodlots, indigenous forests, and trees growing on the site of the dwellings and commercial plantations. Almost three-quarters of Africans in rural areas who obtain wood travel more than a kilometre to fetch it. Household members walking long distances to fetch wood and bring it home for cooking may thus spend large proportions of each day on this task.

In terms of water collection, only one in ten has a tap inside the dwelling in rural areas. Consequently, the majority still have to collect water from distant places. Eleven per cent obtains water from a river, stream, dam or well, whilst a fifth obtains water from a borehole. Among African households in Limpopo who have to fetch water from a source which is not on site, a greater percentage has to travel at least one kilometre to reach the source.

The public sector caters for the health requirements of most Limpopo households. The vast majority of African households make use of public health care facilities when they need them. Distance to health care is an important factor. Over half of the white households in the province are less than five kilometres from a health facility. A higher percentage of urban African households live within five kilometres of a health facility. Rural African households tend to have to travel further in order to reach a health facility; only forty percent of such households in the province are within five kilometres.

Closely related to distance, but dependent on type of transport, is time to reach a health facility. Rural African households have less access to health care facilities than urban African households who live within half an hour from a health facility.

4.4.4. Photographs

Photographs were taken showing activities and settings. As Flick (1998) indicates, photographs provide a record of who the participants are and how they look at the time of the research. Furthermore, photos helped in providing data, which formed part of a report of the study itself. Rural women in the three villages studied were photographed while they were engaged in different activities of their daily lives. These photographs are presented as part of the results of the fieldwork.

4.5. Data analysis

Tesch (1990) identifies three core steps common to qualitative data analysis methods: developing systems to organise data, segmenting the data, and making the necessary connections.

4.5.1. Developing a system to organise data

The method entails two avenues for developing an organising system: it can be created from prior material, such as the theoretical framework adopted and/or the research questions that guide the investigation or it can be constructed from the data themselves (Tesch, 1990:119). In this study both procedures were used because of the descriptive interpretative nature of this study and also because of the fact that qualitative analysis is a continuous process. Hence the process of analysing data started during the first focus group interview, when observations were made and notes compiled with remarks in the margin. Some of the categories were

identified before the actual analysis could commence. They include categories such as 'rural women's roles' and 'the system of transport', both of which were useful in the organising system. I also developed some categories by picking up one of the transcripts and reading through it to get a sense of the whole picture. Thereafter, I jotted down ideas as they came to mind, asking myself what the interviews were about while writing thoughts in the margin. Annexure 1 provides examples of the transcripts with ideas in the margin.

4.5.2. *Segmenting the data*

The next step involved reducing the voluminous amount of data. The process entailed grouping interviews with different people or notes into individual documents (Tesch, 1990), which I did. For example, the focus group interviews in this thesis were grouped according to village: Babanana village was separated from the one in Mamoleka, and from the Tshitwi interviews. Furthermore, each statement or sentence within a document was segmented according to the context of that document. In other words, smaller parts which have meaning were identified as categories. The process entailed identification of major categories, assigning codes, and generating themes and patterns (Marshall & Rossman, 1989). In this sense, preliminary identifications and definition of categories and sub-categories was developed. These categories appear on table 4.1.

4.5.3. *Making the necessary connections*

The third step involved identifying relationships between major categories and sub-categories and reflecting these as theories (Tesch; in Creswell, 1994:155). Based on these core steps, Ian Dey (1993:53) identified four idealistic analysis steps. They include describing the data, classifying the data, putting the pieces together, and finally explaining how the pieces interact to produce a building. What I did was to group all data collected, fusing the four methods (focus group interviews, participant observation, documents and photographs) according to their respective village. Categories and themes were identified in order to link recurring themes and establishing relationships. The next chapter presents the findings.

4.6. Verification

A number of ways were used to find convergence among sources of information and different methods of data collection, for example, counterchecking, translating tapes by independent translators, and coding by professional coders.

Later in the process, when data was collected, the raw data was given one of the Masters students in Geography (Hleki), at the University of the North, to translate the Babanana interviews from XiTsonga to English. The Tshitwi data were given to one of the lecturers in the department of Geography (Marubini Ramudzuli) to translate from TshiVhenda also to English. After translation, the data were sent to another independent coder for coding. The coders are advanced practitioners both in Education and Psychology who have experience in qualitative research, and they were asked to do open coding. The process is called open coding because the independent coder is not given any pre-arranged themes or categories to use. Only a protocol with guidelines for data analysis was provided. Thereafter, a meeting was held with both independent coders for consensus discussion on the themes and categories reached independently.

The data collected by means of tape recorders were translated and transcribed verbatim, and data recorded in the notebooks were organised into personal and analytical logs. A personal log includes a descriptive account of the respondents and their settings, reflecting notes on the fieldwork experience and methodological issues. An analytical log includes a detailed examination of the research question asked and ideas as the study progresses (Minichiello *et al.*, 1991:254). These formed the universum for analysis. Categories and sub-categories were then determined. These categories were then taken back to the informants to check whether the conclusions were correct. The process of counterchecking was not a difficult one because I had already taken a stance of interacting fully with the informants in terms of providing them with some skill so that they can help themselves. That in itself minimised the distance between the researcher and the informants.

Miller and Crabtree (1998) recommend the process of counterchecking, terming it the editing analysis style. According to this style, the researcher serves as the interpreter and organises the editing of data. The text is edited and meaningful units are identified. Data is considered to be a meaningful unit if the subjects ascribe meaning to it within the context of the interview. An external rater counterchecks the identified meaningful units.

The other method followed to verify convergence of methods of data collection was to go back to the main aim of unpacking the travel and transport needs of African rural women so that future rural transport policy will be implemented in a gender sensitive manner. Based on the aim, focus group interviews were held with rural women on all the issues relating to their roles, uses, constraints, problems and opportunities denied, and their needs in

Table 4.1: Preliminary definitions of categories

CATEGORY	DEFINITION OF CATEGORY	SUB-CATEGORY	RATING SCALES
Rural women's roles	This includes any activities that have influence on rural women's travel patterns	School meetings Household activities, community Spiritual political	many
Means of transport	The vehicles available to allow rural women to travel and transport their goods	Foot vs. vehicles Head-loading	Very few, not exciting, disturbing
Frequency of use	It has to do with how many times rural women use transport	Daily, throughout Twice, thrice	Not so much, less, too much
Quality of roads	It involves the standard of the roads	Difficult terrain flooding	Poor, horrible, no transport, unbearable, disgusting
Transport burden	It includes the inconveniences that rural women experience in terms of transport.	Transport of subsistence goods, social activities	Too much, unbearable, difficult to cope with, not happy
Transport costs	How much rural women pay in travel and transport	The question of affordability	Expensive, unreasonable, exorbitant, unfair
Travel distance	It has to do with how far rural women travel to reach the destinations	Internal, external	long
Travel destination	It has to do with where they travel to	Rural-urban, intra and inter	Intra, inter, far
Travel time	It has to do with how long they travel to the destinations	Sporadic transport, waiting time	2hours, 3hours, 3-4hours
Transport needs	These are the needs that relate to the roles that rural women perform on a daily basis	Practical, strategic needs	Difficult, impossible, unreasonable
Travel and transport constraints	It has to do with all the problems experienced by rural women in travel and transport	Time burdens, limited voice in planning, limited control over resources	Unbearable, unfair, difficult to deal with

continues ...

Table 4.1 (continued)

Opportunities deprived	This has to do with questions such as whether rural women are denied access to job opportunities in the transport sector or in many other sectors of the economy and social life	Opportunity to labour and earn a living, opportunity to improve, deprivation of self-development	Unfair, unreasonable
Transport impact	It has to do with the effects of transport on rural women	Unable to visit bank, household and community roles difficult or impossible, access to job opportunities denied	Negative, disgusting
Future transport requirements	It involves expectations as well as what rural women required to satisfy their current travel and transport needs	Increasing availability of transport, working with local organisations, community awareness raising, access to micro credit , access to public transport	Promising, hopeful
Access to facilities and services	This includes all aspects relating to rural women's ability to reach, visit or use services and facilities	Employment, land, technology, information, credit, health, water, energy, markets, transport, education	Poor, limited, not available, expensive, not know, not understand
Attitude towards low cost means of transport	This includes rural women's views on issues of non-motorised and intermediate means of transport in the villages	Improvement of low cost transport means, introduction of alternative means of transport	Promising, hopeful, positive, encouraging
Attitude towards current transport system	It has to do with rural women's views on how travel and transport needs are currently satisfied	Extending scope of public transport, accept basic means of transport, recognise demand for transport	Negative, discouraging,

transport. Observations of how they engage in different daily activities were also made as well as how they use the transport system. Documentary information produced in relation to what is happening in the rural areas in terms of services that are available, accessibility of such services, distance traveled resources, and means of transport were used. These sources were supplemented by taking photographs of rural women in action and also of the settings. Thereafter, there was an examination of connections among these methods. For example, photographs would indicate the real settings and the actual activities rural women engage in, thereby confirming what they have said in the interview. Also, observing the daily activities of rural women would give the necessary intersection among methods of data collection

4.7. Validity and reliability

To ensure validity and reliability of the data, strategies such as detailed description, triangulation, feedback, member checks, and comparison were used.

4.7.1. Detailed description

The main threat to validity description in the sense of describing what one saw and heard is the inaccuracy or incompleteness of the data (Maxwell, 1996). The tape recorder was used to record interviews and the photograph was used to capture observations. To supplement observations detailed notes were taken.

4.7.2. Triangulation

Collecting information from a diverse range of individuals and settings, using a variety of methods was used. This strategy reduces the risk of chance associations and of systematic biases due to a specific method and allows a better assessment of the generality of the explanations that developed.

4.7.3. Feedback

Soliciting feedback from others was used as a strategy for identifying validity threats, my own biases and assumptions, and flaws on my methods and logic. Data collected and methods used were presented in workshops on gender and transport. The participants were from a variety of people – gender and transport specialists from different countries in Africa

and Asia, transport practitioners, community representatives and planners in the transport sector. They gave different sorts of comments and all were valuable.

4.7.4. Member checks

Soliciting information from the rural women themselves was also followed, particularly on the data and conclusions made. This was done purely to rule out the possibility of misrepresentation of the meaning of what they said and the perspective they have on what is going on.

4.7.5. Comparison

Multisided studies are encouraged by Miles and Huberman (1984:237) as compared to single case studies. In this case three case studies were used to compare experience with other settings. In many instances the experiences of African rural women were similar, particularly those who fell within the same class and culture. This strategy of comparison was also used to check validity and reliability of data within the three villages studied.

4.8. Ethical issues

Since human beings are the object of study in this research, ethical issues were taken into consideration. In this regard, obtaining informed consent of the subjects was given first priority. A letter requesting permission to hold focus group discussions with the women was written to the local chief of each village, The purpose of the discussions were clearly indicated (Annexure 3(a)).

Another letter was read to the women's groups requesting their participation in the discussions. The purpose was clearly indicated and it was also made clear that participants take part in the discussions at their own will, nobody was compelled to join. Information presented in the letter offered them the opportunity to withdraw from the discussions if they so wish (Annexure 3(b)).

A tape recorder was used, but before it could be used, permission was asked from the participants. It was clearly indicated that the tape recorder was not going to be used for implicating anyone, but purely to capture the information as it comes and to avoid misrepresentation of facts.

4.9. Summary

This chapter has outlined a discussion of the main methodology of the study. It also describes the methods of data collection as well as the methods for data analysis, closing with presentation of data. These data was presented in the form of summaries and according to the method of research, such as focus group interviews, participant observation, documents and photographs. Ideas from workshops were also presented. Finally, the chapter attempted to present the guiding themes and categories of the data. Those themes include roles of rural women, rural women's use of transport, transport constraints, the impact of travel and transport on rural women, opportunities denied to rural women. Rural women's travel and transport needs, and the need for an integrated approach in travel and transport. The next chapter will present the findings.

Chapter 5

FINDINGS

5.1. Introduction

Although the democratic South Africa has created an environment for gender empowerment, rural women in South Africa are rarely seen to be reaping the rewards. Their access to basic facilities, for example transport, has become a stumbling block to fulfilling their needs. Moreover, patriarchy in rural areas has not eased in the new South Africa. This chapter will focus on the findings and emerging themes, such as roles of rural women in development, transport challenges facing rural women, and opportunities for women through rural transport. The findings are based on the three villages studied, Babanana, Tshitwi and Mamoleka, in Limpopo.

In most societies, low-income women have triple roles (CEDPA, 1996). These roles include not only reproductive work involving childbearing and child-rearing responsibilities, required to guarantee the maintenance and reproduction of the labour force, but also productive work, often as secondary income earners. In these rural areas productive work takes the form of subsistence agricultural work, while in urban areas women frequently work in informal sector enterprises located either in the home or in the neighborhood. In addition, women are involved in community management work undertaken at the local community settlement level in both rural and urban contexts. With the increasingly inadequate state provision of basic services, especially as far as water and health are concerned, it is women who not only suffer most but who are also the ones forced to take responsibility for the allocation of limited resources to ensure also the survival of their households.

5.2.1. Productive roles

Productive roles include work done by both women and men for pay in cash or in kind. Such work includes both market production with an exchange value and subsistence production with actual use value as well as potential exchange value. For both self-employed and unemployed rural women, this includes work as independent farmers, peasant wives and wage-workers. Faced with limited access to opportunities, rural women in the three villages

have differential access to economic activities. The majority of rural women struggle to make ends meet and to provide for their families. One respondent in Tshitwi indicated:

Our village is very poor with high levels of unemployment. The majority of people you find here are women, young children and the elderly. All of them have to be taken care of by us as women. The elderly have to be escorted to health centres which are far, and also to pension pay points, we do not have time to look for employment outside this village. We struggle to get jobs as a result we are unable to support our families.

5.2.2. Reproductive roles

In addition to their productive roles, women in the three villages play an important reproductive role, albeit within the context of economic and social hardships. Self-employed and unemployed rural women undertake reproductive responsibilities, which include the provision of household necessities, childbearing responsibilities, and caring for the sick and for the aged, for example, by escorting the elderly to pension pay-points. These tasks not only include biological reproduction but also the care and maintenance of both the male and female workforce, school going children, and aged dependants.

5.2.3. Community roles

Self-employed and unemployed rural women at the community level also undertake community development roles. This is done as an extension of their reproductive roles in order to ensure the provision and maintenance of scarce resources of collective consumption. Such resources include water, health care, and education — both formal and informal.

Unemployed and self-employed rural women perform most of the social and economic activities of the community, such as management and maintenance of community infrastructure, visiting the sick and the elderly, attending school meetings, etc. This is voluntary work, undertaken in addition to other responsibilities, further reducing leisure time.

Evidence from this study suggests that rural women are increasingly unable to attend village meetings or other political activities because of their heavy work schedule. Often it is a matter of prioritising issues which most urgently contribute to their immediate livelihood rather than those things which contribute to entrenching democracy in society.

5.2.4. *Men's roles*

Whilst this thesis advocates a gender analysis of rural travel and transport needs, the needs of men were regarded as beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless the community discussions that were held in one of the villages, Babanana, helped to highlight some of the men's roles and needs.

It should be noted that many of the men in rural areas are absent because they work as migratory labourers in big cities. As a result, the roles highlighted were of those men that are remaining at home taking care of livestock and tilling the soil during the planting season. During the weekends, when there is a funeral, men work as pallbearers, dig the grave, and slaughter the beast for the funeral while their spouses are preparing food. Rural men also attend tribal courts; others of course socialise in the village, drinking sorghum beer throughout the week under the auspices that they are unemployed.

Traditionally men have dominated all the tasks that involve the use of livestock, such as oxen and donkeys. Activities that involve harnessing oxen to animal carts and driving them have been men's tasks. The increased use of IMT's has led to the involvement of men in household duties that would normally be done by women. Men have increasingly assumed responsibilities for some transport tasks, such as fetching firewood, going to the grinding mill, taking the sick to clinics and so on, as long as they can use IMT's, especially donkey-carts. Men are involved in firewood and water collection particularly when it involves long distances and when larger quantities are required such as for big functions and gatherings, for example weddings and funerals and make money out of it. Women indicated that very few men participate in the collection of water, even if they do they use IMT's. and it is usually boys

Their needs include the need for better roads to enable them to look for formal employment or to own a taxi for self-employment. Some of them indicated that they need cheap cattle and donkeys to enable them to do their farming without big expense; hiring a tractor is expensive, particularly for a subsistence farmer. Donkeys are usually used as means of transport because they can be used to pull carts. So, if they can get donkeys at a cheaper price, then it would be easy for them to provide means of transport in the villages.

Some of the men expressed the need to be given more land for farming purposes. They also wanted the land to be supplemented by start-up capital so they would be able to purchase

manure, seeds and other implements that could be of use in a small farming business. The implication was that they want to do commercial farming, although on a small scale.

Transport plays an important role for subsistence, economic, and social needs as well as for the development of human capital. This section will highlight the characteristics of rural women's travel in terms of trip purpose, factors affecting the extent of travel, the load carried, and modes of transport used.

5.3.1. *Subsistence needs*

There are various modes of transport available in rural areas which women use to generate livelihood opportunities. Such modes include wheelbarrows, animal-driven carts and head-loading. These modes are used to meet subsistence needs. The basic subsistence needs are water, food and fuel for cooking. Access to these basic commodities and transport for subsistence seems to be the overriding priority for most rural households.

■ *Water*

Self-employed and unemployed rural women have to fetch water as part of their daily schedule. Water is needed for cooking, bathing and washing clothes and utensils. A recommended minimum total daily consumption for reasonable healthy living is 25 litres per person. This means that the size of the household will determine the amount of water consumption, which in turn determines the amount of the burden of transporting water. The bigger the household, the more the consumption, and, therefore, the more work there is. In rural villages of Limpopo, water collection from distant sources is still a major problem. For example, in Babanana and Tshitwi villages there are few water taps and many are dry; consequently the community depends on at least one. In Mamoleka there are only temporary wells.

Rural women fetch water from various sources, such as taps, ponds, streams and boreholes, as happens in Babanana, Tshitwi and Mamoleka, respectively. Figures 5.1 (a), (b), (c), and (d) show rural women and their children transporting water from the water tap to their homes in Limpopo. These women have to travel an average of 15–20 minutes to the water source, excluding waiting time. During recent droughts, there were several cases where women had to travel for more than 2 hours to fetch water from distant boreholes or taps as those nearby had dried up.



Figure 5.1(a): Women and children waiting at the water tap; (b) A girl at Babanana pushing a wheelbarrow to fetch water; (c) A girl transporting water using a wheelbarrow at Babanana; (d) Children pushing wheelbarrows to fetch water at Babanana

The majority of the rural women queue for about 30 to 60 minutes, waiting for their turn to draw water from boreholes or water tanks. However, for both rural women who live reasonably close to the water source and for those who live farther away, the burden of transporting water frequently for washing clothes and bathing is substantially reduced by members of the households bathing and washing at the source so that only water for cooking and drinking is

transported. Figures 5.2 (a), (b), and (c) show rural women doing washing at the water source in Babanana village.



Figure 5.2(a):
Women and
children washing
clothes near the
water tap in
Babanana; (b)
Women and
children washing
clothes at a
stream in
Mamoleka; (c)
Women and
children washing
clothes and
fetching water in
Babanana

Water in the three rural villages in Limpopo is collected and transported by rural women primarily through walking and head-loading 20-25 litre jars, which is the upper limit of what can be carried. It is clear that

collecting water is a major transport burden, involving several trips per day for rural women, especially for the self-employed and unemployed, because they are always around home as compared to those rural women who work in towns. They also push wheelbarrows with more than one or two 20-litre jars, which require even more strength and courage. Access to wheelbarrows enables women to fetch water more effectively than those who have to carry water on their heads. In recent years the price of wheelbarrows has increased, which further places heavy burden on the family cash resources.

In Babanana village, as in most traditional societies, there is a problem of gender power relations which compounds the issue of access to water sources. Rural women indicated that water is not available everyday in their village; it is pumped from the water reservoir on certain days of the week. Men use access to water resources as a way to entrench their power base. For example, responsibility is given to one man who only pumps water when it pleases him and when there are favours. This means that rural women sometimes have to go without water, especially if they do not know where the man in charge is. These women are thus put at a disadvantage because of unequal gender power relations. Apart from the fact that it affects men in the village as well, it also shows little understanding of the inconvenience caused to rural women as it aggravates the problem of poor physical access, perpetuating an element of exclusion. As such, access to water is a pivotal way in which men entrench patriarchy in rural South Africa.

The level of access to and control over water varies seasonally. During winter, self-employed and unemployed rural women travel longer distances in search of water. During rainy seasons, they travel relatively shorter distances – collecting water at nearby ponds. Figure 5.3 shows children collecting water in a temporary pond created by heavy rains in Mamoleka village. In some cases, households trap rainwater and store it in the tanks or wells. Innovations such as this could significantly improve access to water and reduce transport needs. This will require substantial investment of resources by national government in rural areas.

Access to motorised or animal-drawn transport can provide women with more time to focus on other important tasks as it cuts the number of trips to water sources. For example, in both Babanana and Tshitwi, the use of wheelbarrows and handcarts for water collection has allowed some self-employed rural women to save up to 2 hours per day in transporting water, enabling them to attend to productive work at nearby markets so that they can earn income.

Some households own vehicles, such as animal-drawn carts. Since vehicles are in most cases controlled by men, and are intended primarily for income-generating transport activities such

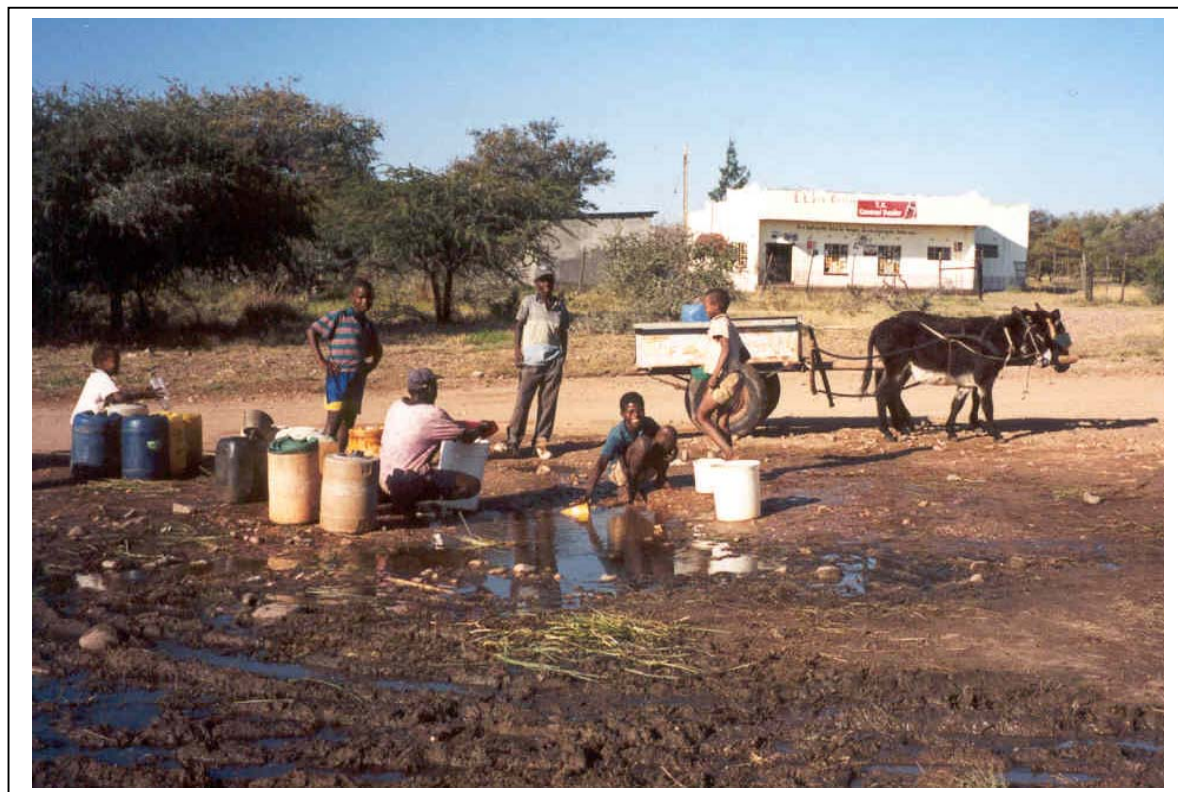


Figure 5.3: Children at Mamoleka collecting water at a temporary pond

as selling water or wood and collecting the harvest from the fields, rural women still have to do the job of water collection. However, if water has also to be transported for livestock, the volume needed is too large to carry by head; an animal drawn cart can be used in these circumstances. This is only an advantage for those who have the money to pay for the service. Only a few women have access to motorised or animal-drawn transport to fetch water. Largely due to patriarchy, women's access to such vehicles is restricted, hence entrenching unequal power relations in society. Otherwise head-loading is still the dominant mode of transporting water in the rural villages of Limpopo, and unemployed rural women are helped by girls to collect water through head-loading.

- *Food production*

At the subsistence level, production of food for the household is likely to involve travel and transport throughout the year. Rural women engage in pre-cultivation preparation around September/October. Their responsibilities include collection of inputs such as seeds and possibly manure or fertilisers. The second phase is immediately after the first rains, when they cultivate the soil. This stage includes tillage, planting, care and weeding of the plants, and finally, harvesting. The third stage includes off-farm storage activities. This takes place in winter

months around May/June, when they have to transport the produce from the plot to the household dwelling. Those who produced a surplus require transport to the market and to grinding mills. All these activities imply that food production activities occur throughout the year for unemployed and self-employed rural women, who perform the duties on behalf of their households and, for a fee, for those who are employed as domestic workers in other households. As such, women engaged in subsistence agriculture need transport all year long.

Various modes of transport are used. For example, these rural women carry the produce by head-loading or by hiring either a wheelbarrow or an animal cart for a fee. While animal carts and wheelbarrows are used, they are only utilised on a limited scale because most of the unemployed rural women cannot afford to pay for hire. A very heavy transport burden is thus imposed on rural women throughout the food production period, and they experience many inconveniences in terms of time spent attempting to access services and facilities. Women's access to transport plays a crucial role in subsistence agriculture and in rural livelihoods. Patriarchal social relations place a heavy burden on these women, and this places further brakes on their empowerment.

- *Fuel wood*

Fuel is needed for cooking, and in rural parts of South Africa, this is primarily firewood. Transport needs in this regard depend on the demography and the local vegetation. In densely populated areas, access to firewood is usually difficult, involving collection at considerable distances from the village partly because no resources are available nearby. Because of limited access to electricity, rural women rely heavily on firewood for cooking and paraffin for lighting. In most cases indigenous rare trees have been used for fuel, resulting in an environmental crisis. The women indicated that a few decades ago some villages could not be seen easily from others due to the thick bush. Today it is very easy to see what is happening in another village some kilometres away because the bushes have been removed for fuel. In sparsely populated areas firewood is more readily available close to the village.

Evidence from the three villages in Limpopo showed an average household consumption of between 15 and 25 kg of firewood per day and a one-way collecting distance varying from 2.5 to 8 km per day. There is no apparent relationship between level of access and consumption, but there seems to be a relationship between the level of consumption and the standard of living. Those who cook a large volume consume more wood than those who have very little to cook. This was a response from some of the women. The predominant mode of transport to fetch firewood is walking, requiring trips every second day.

Figures 5.4 (a), (b), and (c) show women and girls carrying wood. The implication is that the responsibility of collecting firewood has been placed on unemployed and self-employed rural women, helped by children — mostly girls. Girls usually collect wood after school or during the school holidays.

Figures 5.4 (d) and (e) show heaps of firewood collected by rural women using head-loading at Mamoleka in Bochum and at Babanana village, respectively.

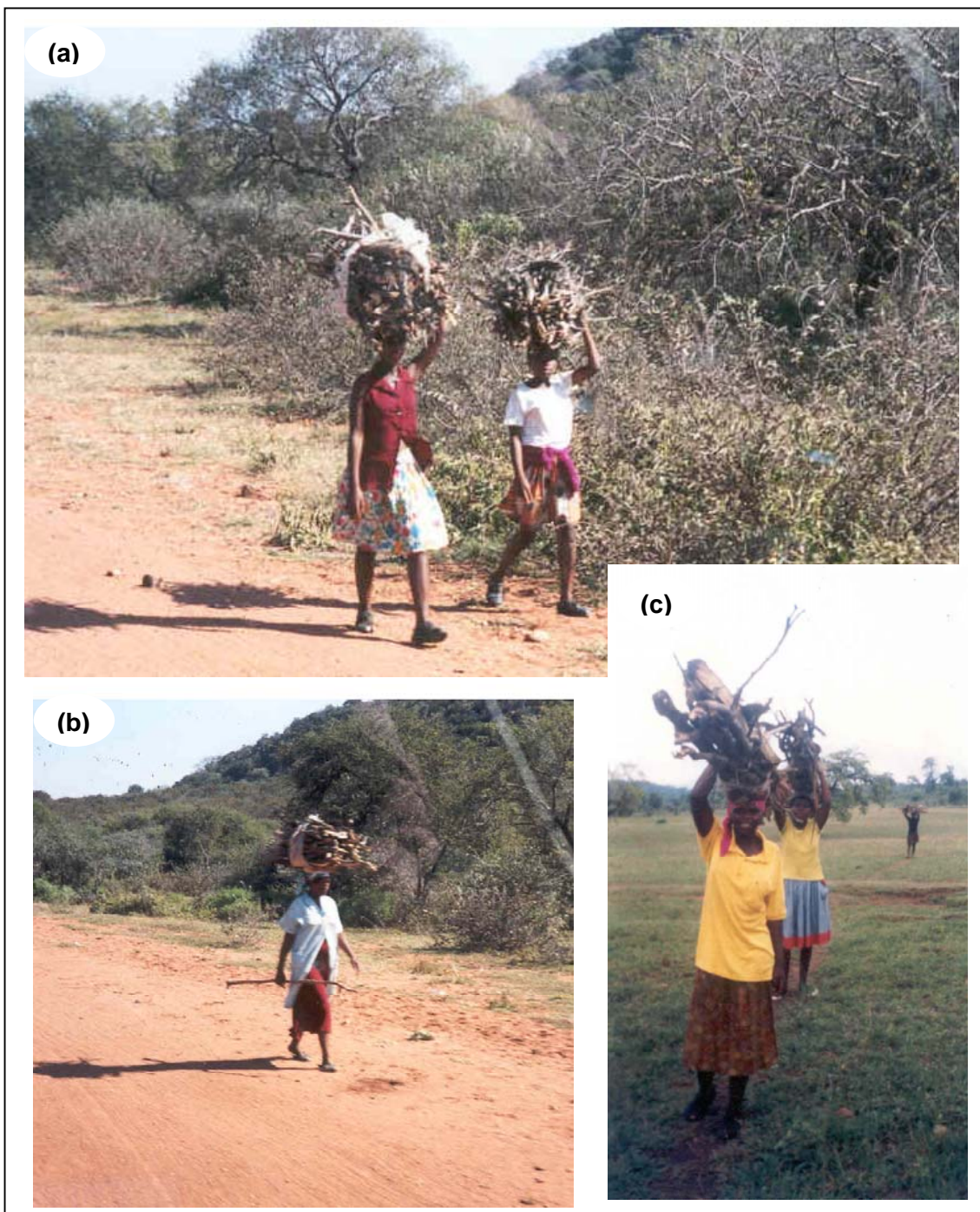


Figure 5.4(a): Girls carrying wood at Mamoleka; (b) A woman transporting wood at Mamoleka; (c) Women transporting wood at Mamoleka



**Figure 5.4(d):
Heaps of
wood at
Babanana;
(e) Heaps of
wood at
Mamoleka**

Increasing responsibilities for firewood collection has negative consequences for girls as it robs them of opportunities to study, grow and rest during school holidays or after hours. Besides the fact that their study time will be affected, they are excluded from children's activities. In addition, the girls' responsibility for this task perpetuates the stereotype that collecting firewood is 'women's work', putting the girls at a disadvantage compared to boys.

What emerges is that, in the attempt to fulfil subsistence needs, rural unemployed and self-employed women experience inconvenience in accessing water sources, in food production,

and in firewood collection. Evidence from this study suggests that rural women spend a great deal of time fetching wood and water and eking out a livelihood, thus taking their valuable time from productive activities.

5.3.2. Travel and transport for economic needs

Many rural households today depend on small-scale farming and informal trade for survival. It is in this regard that their needs for access to transport increase, and, in turn, their economic development becomes increasingly dependent on good access to facilities and effective means of transport. This is in line with what is happening in many developing countries of Africa and Asia, where the starting point in economic development is agriculture (Dennis, 1998). As agriculture improves and more production increases other multiplier effects result. Such multiplier effects include trade, which usually happens when a household has fulfilled subsistence needs. Surplus produce is sold at a local market or for even higher prices at a more distance, external market. The latter will particularly be the case if households are within reasonable distance and have good access through transport services to a town or rural centre, access which many rural villages in Limpopo do not have.

If consumption and marketing opportunities exist, then households may attempt to increase yields through using more fertilisers or manure on their land and may also seek to increase their holding size, probably requiring acquisition of land further away from the household. They may also use additional land holdings to diversify production in order to develop cash crops such as peanuts, beans, groundnuts, sweet potatoes, spinach, etc. All these need to be transported to depots or collection points, creating an additional need for travel and transport for rural women, particularly those self-employed and unemployed. It therefore stands to reason that transport needs for economic purposes may be grouped under agricultural activities, such as purchasing agricultural inputs, taking produce to the markets, and going to the fields, and non-agricultural activities including trading, provision of services, and general commerce. Findings from the three selected villages indicate that there is potential to improve the level of agricultural marketing, but the shortage of water to irrigate the plots places self-employed rural women at a disadvantage – thus excluding them from participating in the economy through this means.

In a village such as Mamoleka, there are some rural women who are employed in the local 'Babina-Chuene Project'. This is a project founded and funded by the provincial Department of Health and Welfare to improve food security in some rural villages in the country, including Mamoleka as one of the villages being studied in Limpopo. Figures 5.5 (a), (b), and show

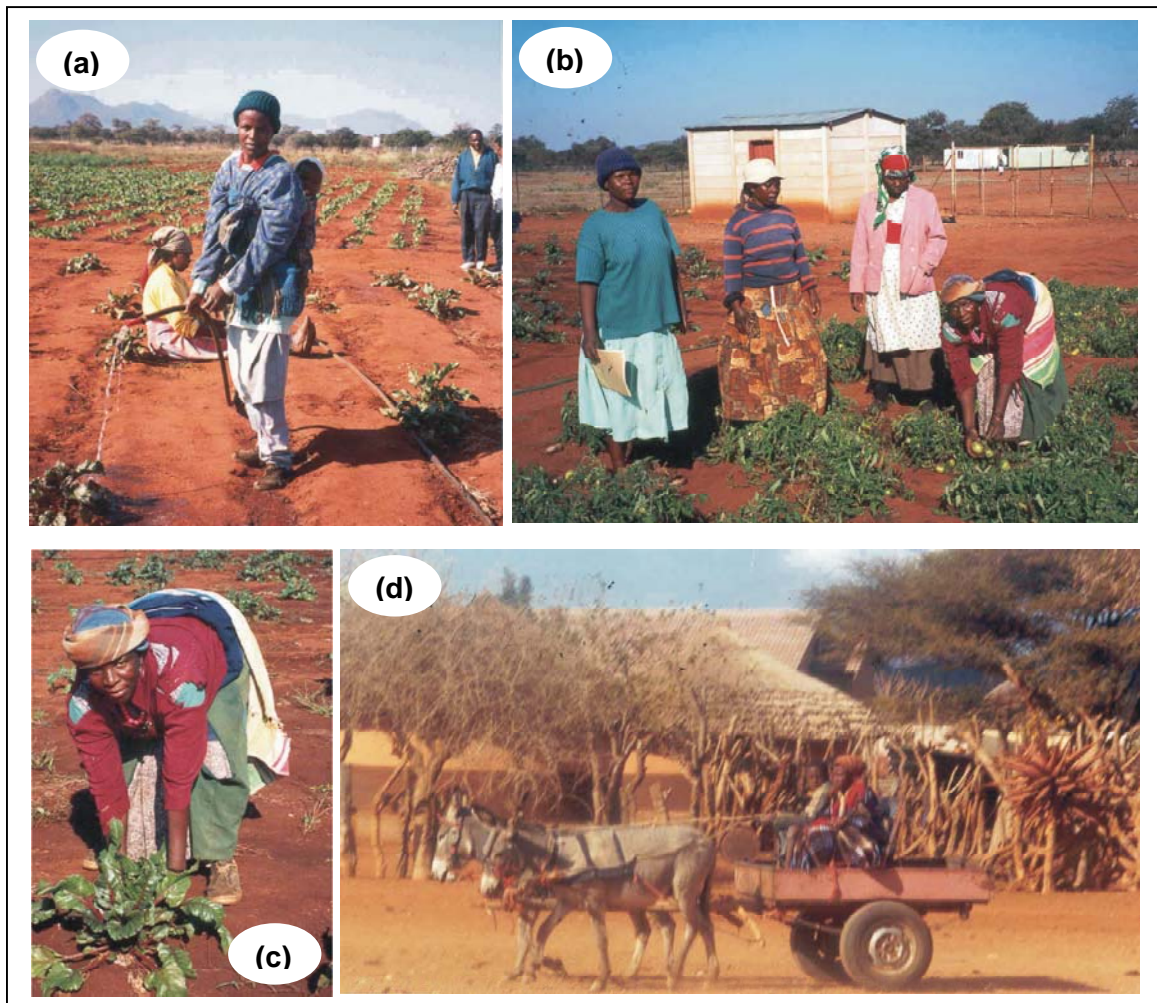


Figure 5.5(a): Women at Babina-Chuene Project watering the plants; (b) Women at Babina-Chuene Project picking some vegetables; (c) A woman picking vegetables at Babina-Chuene Project; (d) Rural woman using a donkey-cart as means of transport in Mamoleka

Women working in the 'Babina-Chuene Project'.

The *Babina-Chuene* Project promotes vegetable production such as cabbage, tomatoes, green pepper, spinach, beetroot and carrots. Water is available from boreholes. Rural women employed in the project do not have the means to transport their produce to external markets; they only rely on the local market. As a result, the perishable produce deteriorates and often rots. This also reflects another level of exclusion for rural women. They are forced to abandon commercial production because they make very little profit. Figures 5.6 (a) and (b) show self-employed rural woman selling at the local market shelter at Babanana and Tshitwi, respectively. Their dominant means of transport to markets is head-loading and wheelbarrows. They sell a variety of goods: vegetables, fruit, sweets, juice, snacks and poultry. Figure 5.6 (c) shows children in Babanana transporting goods using wheelbarrows.



Figure 5.6(a): Rural woman selling at the local market in Babanana; (b) Rural women at the local market in Tshitwi

Rural women in Babanana, Tshitwi and Mamoleka struggle to get transport to markets and to nearby towns, such as Tzaneen, Makhado and Polokwane, where they need to purchase or sell stock. One problem is that public transport is scheduled according to the commuting times of those who work in towns. In the study, in villages such as Babanana and Mamoleka, there was only one bus scheduled to leave the villages at about 5 a.m. and return at about 6 p.m. This kind of scheduling caters for commuters – those who are employed in the formal sector. As such, self-employed rural women do not have access to reliable, efficient and safe public transport. The motivation for proposing guidelines for future policy to be gender sensitive (so that the rural transport system will also be gender sensitive) becomes valid because transport policies favour men more than women, and this only perpetuates gender inequality. Also, the observed distribution of transport facilities is economically and socially inefficient, underestimating the productive and social roles of rural women in society. What this means is that those rural women spend a considerable amount of time attempting to satisfy economic needs, and this also leads to another level of exclusion: economic exclusion.

Moreover, public transport mainly covers the main transport routes, largely during peak hours, and it does not respond to rural women's needs for multiple trips off the main routes and out of

the peak times. This was the case in Babanana and Mamoleka villages where unemployed and self-employed rural women experienced lack of transport facilities, such as buses and taxis, during the day. Inflexible public transport does not create an environment conducive for rural women to become rural entrepreneurs.

5.3.3. Transport for social needs

Apart from the fact that current rural transport does not cater for the needs of the majority of rural women, limited access to cash further discourages unemployed rural women's mobility. Rural women make other trips both inside and outside the village for a range of reasons. Most of these are essential trips: visits to friends and relatives, church visits, visits to government offices, shopping, maintaining social networks, and hospital visits. All these are frequent in the three villages under investigation. These visits are undertaken more frequently by employed rural women who have access to income generating ventures. Unemployed rural women resort to walking or they abstain from going anywhere due to cash limitations. Self-employed rural women also visit but on a limited scale because their time is spent trying to make a living by selling goods. There is limited time for socialising. Moreover, exposure to criminal elements can impact on their security and vulnerability.

While the trips of employed rural women are seen to be internal and external, self-employed and unemployed rural women's trips are mostly internal because there is no transport costs involved. They resort to walking should they need to visit outside their village or ask for a lift from pick-up vans or animal driven carts. Unfortunately walking consumes a great deal of time. They often travel long distances of between 5 and 10 km in order to access facilities such as health centres, boreholes, pension pay-points, government offices, and even shopping facilities. For their daily needs, they usually opt to buy at local '*spaza*' shops, which are more accessible but expensive. The inability to visit friends and relatives, thereby maintaining social networks, leads to definite social exclusion.

5.3.4. Transport for the development of human capital

Travel and transport for the development of human capital include transport to educational centres, to health centres, and also to meetings. At the moment rural women either walk or use pick-up vans to access educational and health centres. These centres are essential to developing human capital at both household and national levels.

- *Educational centres*

The majority of learners travel long distances in the three villages to primary and secondary schools. For instance, in Tshitwi and Babanana villages, rural women expressed concern about lack of educational centres near their places of residence. School children walk an average distance of 11km to and from school. The distance is covered on foot. Because of this long distance to school, one respondent indicated:

Some of us mothers have to escort our children in the morning and in the afternoon when they return. The pressure is felt even more by those of us who have girl children. We are concerned about the safety of our daughters along the way. Our children are not safe and they arrive late at school tired.

The issue of schools located in the remote rural areas has major implications: first, on the literacy level of many rural women; second, on the rural women's time; and third, on the rural women who still want to obtain some form of basic education. Moreover, poor access to educational centres poses a serious constraint on the women, especially the self-employed rural women, who, after escorting their children, still have to transport their goods to the markets using head-loading or even a wheelbarrow. The location of schools far from places of residence also poses security risks among women, who could be exposed to rape and violence.

- *Health services*

Lack of access to health services, particularly in emergency situations, is probably one of the greatest concerns facing rural women. This is particularly so for mothers of young children who still need vaccinations and for pregnant mothers who must consult clinics and medical practitioners frequently. In the three villages studied, travel to the nearest clinic or hospital involves trips of about 40km or more, and such a journey can take several hours. Transporting a sick or injured person to hospital involves carrying or moving the person in a wheelbarrow or animal-driven cart to the access road and then seeking a lift from a passing vehicle. Transport policies and projects tend to favour men more than women, and this further perpetuates exclusion. Public transport is only available at particular times in the mornings to favour those who go to work in towns, who are mostly men. There is limited public transport during the day to cater for trips such as visits to health centres. As a result, rural women are largely excluded from participating in social and economic trips. In rural societies there is no or only limited access to ambulances. Where they exist, patients have to wait for several hours or even days before they are able to visit hospitals or health centres. If rural women are not healthy, they will

not be in the position to improve themselves, their households and the community.

- *Trips to meetings*

Rural women make other trips both inside and outside their villages for the purpose of attending meetings. These meetings have become more frequent since the 1994 democratic elections and are important in the promotion of rural development. The promotion of gender equality has come to place an additional time burden on rural women. This is what some of the respondents in Mamoleka village have to say:

Respondent 1:

We were used to doing reproductive work at home and around our village. Having to wake up early in the morning and put on fire to prepare breakfast and water for washing for the whole family appeared to be normal because we did not have to attend political meetings and other meetings that were meant to promote democracy in our areas. We were not even informed about such gatherings as they were regarded men's territory. But today because of the promotion of gender equality, many of us have to take part in many of such gatherings, be it conferences, empowerment training sessions etc. All these are new and have to be incorporated into our already full schedule. Because we really want to see ourselves developing and helping our communities, we try to participate where possible.

Respondent 2:

Some people when we talk of gender equality they think we mean disobedience and arrogance to our spouses. No, we actually mean getting our spouses to understand that we are also capable of doing just anything like them as long as they give us the opportunity to do so. Also for women to understand that we do not want to be equal to men, but better than them as we have been building houses in their absence, taking care of the family when they were in the big cities. What we want is government to put in systems that will reduce the burden of transport because every responsibility we do in life revolves around it.

Respondent 3: (Tshitwi)

Our water taps are located far from us because we never took part in the decisions of where to put them basically because women were not allowed to participate in decision-making meetings between traditional leaders and the developers. Only men were allowed to take part while we remain at home attending to household chores. The situation was disempowering as those who decided did not have any interest in the meaningful location of such services. So, attending meetings that would lead to the development of our village will be more empowering as we would be able to take responsibility of where services should be located for our own convenience even though we understand the extra time required. Only commitment is important to build the future.

Rural unemployed and self-employed women attend meetings organised by government officials with the purpose of teaching them about skills development in their villages. Meetings are held about water projects and there are even meetings at the schools where their children

attend. Meeting other people outside their villages enlightens them. These trips involve covering considerable distances, and this is only feasible if some form of motorised transport is used. However, due to the lack of motorable roads, they depend on a variety of means of transport such as donkey-carts, pick-up vans and passing traffic. Walking is certainly by far the dominant mode of transport.

What emerges is that rural women's ability to travel for access to health and educational centres, and also to attend meetings, is impaired, and that reflects multiple levels of exclusion: social, economic and political.

Rural women's travel and transport needs correspond with their three main role categories: productive, reproductive and social. A full presentation of the activities in each of these categories is provided in appendices. However, as found in the three Limpopo villages, each of the different roles generates both practical and strategic needs.

- *Rural Women's practical needs*

The practical needs of rural women are related to their traditional roles and responsibilities and are derived from their concrete life experiences. For example, when asked what they need, rural women focused on immediate practical needs such as food, water, health, etc. These needs are not homogenous; they differ by employment and status, education and location. The employed rural women had their own practical needs as did the self-employed and the unemployed (Table 5.1).

- *Rural women's strategic needs*

Rural women also have strategic needs which involve the creation of a more equal, empowered and satisfactory organisation of society in which they would have the same rights as men to own and control resources and to participate fully in policy and decision-making processes at all levels. Rural women's strategic needs are not only influenced by access to transport but also by non-transport factors with indirect links (Table 5.2).

Rural women are not a homogenous group, as has already been indicated in this study. Also, the constraints which they experience in their attempts to access travel and transport facilities vary. Two categories of rural women can be distinguished through the type of activities they engage in: the first comprised self-employed and unemployed rural women, and the second consisted of transport entrepreneurs. Each group explained itself in terms of transport problems

they experienced. These constraints are listed on Table 5.3.

Table 5.1: Rural women’s practical needs

	CATEGORIES OF RURAL WOMEN		
	Employed women	Unemployed women	Self-employed women
➤ Practical needs with regard to travel and transport			
◆ Productive needs	Employment advancement programmes, e.g. skills development	Employment or job	Market access to expand
		Accessible and cheap water	Accessible cheap water
		Educational facilities	Educational facilities
	Better wages	Accessible and affordable basic services	Accessible and cheap health facilities
	Reliable public transport	Transport facilities and services	Transport facilities and services
◆ Reproductive needs	Child care facilities	Child care facilities	Child care facilities
	Accessible water sources	Accessible water sources	Accessible water sources
	Travel to places of employment	Accessible shopping facilities	Accessible shopping facilities and markets to sell their produce
	Primary Health care centres	Primary Health care centres	Primary Health care facilities

Table 5.2: Strategic needs of rural women

STRATEGIC NEEDS		
Employed	Self-employed	Unemployed
Participation in decision-making at work	Participation in decision-making	Participation in decision-making
Training at work and skills	Training related to entrepreneurial activities	Capacity building in skills
	Empowerment	Empowerment
Changing attitude by rural women	Changing attitude by men	Changing attitude by men
Equal pay for equal job	Recognition by planners	Recognition by policy
Access to financial resources	Access to credit	Access to credit
Better facilities, e.g. nurseries	Better technology	Better technology

Rural women's constraints	Constraints on women transport entrepreneurs
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Heavy time burdens ➤ Public transport mainly covers the main routes ➤ Limited voice in the planning of transport interventions ➤ Limited control over household resources ➤ Focus on roads rather than footpaths and foot bridges 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Lack of access to credit ➤ Limited access to technical assistance ➤ Difficult for small companies owned by women to compete for road maintenance contracts

5.4.1 Self-employed and unemployed rural women

Access to and control over the delivery of transport play important roles in women's empowerment or their disempowerment. The self-employed and unemployed rural women indicated that they experience heavy time burdens because of poor access to facilities such as clinics, schools, government offices, and markets, and even to transport facilities. Moreover, rural women have limited control over household resources such as money and modes of transport. If the household owns a motor vehicle or an animal-driven cart, it is limited to use by the husband or a male figure in the family. Some rural women in Mamoleka, as in the rest of other villages, indicated that it is not easy to buy a means of transport to reduce their load on their own as their husbands control all the moneys in the household. Similar responses were found in Babanana and Tshitwi where, culturally, women have to be submissive to their husbands. The majority of women are therefore not able to make most decisions on behalf of the household. Furthermore, they shared their experiences related to the fact that even though rural women can make money through other survival strategies, they have no right to use it as it pleases them – they have to get permission first. This decidedly carries an element of exclusion with regard to home decision-making and would indirectly affect their sense of self-worth.

It was also observed that one major problem is that transport projects often do not reflect rural women's transport needs as these projects are designed with motorised vehicles in mind, even though most trips in rural areas are made on foot and with the use of wheelbarrows and animal-driven carts for transporting goods. This means that a greater number of rural women are excluded from participating in the economic activities of the country.

Often developmental priorities led by international development agencies and government are not aligned to women's priorities in rural areas. This requires a fundamental shift in setting priorities to ensure that gender empowerment and gender equity, as supported by the Constitution, is implemented. Labour initiatives on extended Public Works Projects have brought some development, but the benefits are mediated by gender and location.

Evidence has shown that women play many roles in the transport sector. They participate in the transport sector not only as transport users but also as workers and small scale entrepreneurs, but their roles are not recognised. The roles they played in the Tshitwi Road Upgrading Project are evidence to this. This project commenced in 1997 as a labour-base project, employing more men than women. Men performed technical work while women only collected stones. Figure 5.7 show men doing their elementary technical work. It should be noted that in our country technical jobs pay better than an ordinary manual labour jobs. It thus stands to reason that women were paid less than men, and that entrenches economic exclusion. We therefore need redistribution of resources, so that women can participate as equal partners, not as Cinderellas of transport.

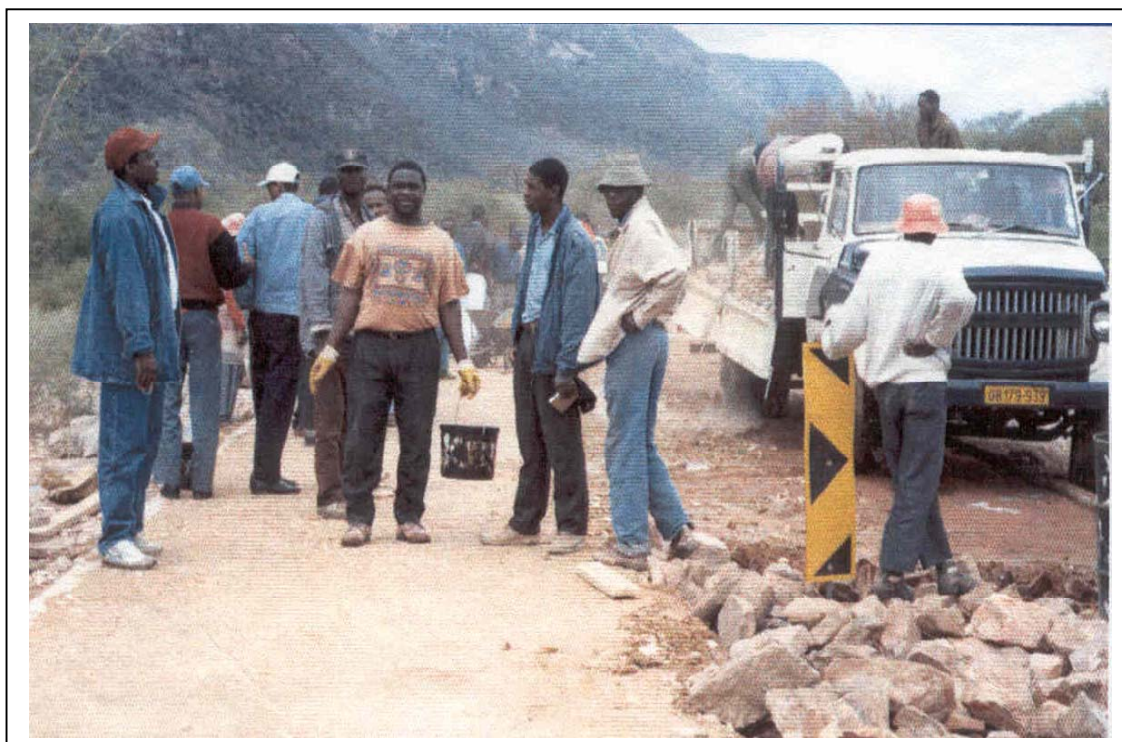


Figure 5.7: Men doing elementary technical work in the Road Upgrading Project in Tshitwi

5.4.2. *Rural women transport entrepreneurs*

It is not only the unemployed and self-employed rural women who experience travel and transport constraints but also rural women transport entrepreneurs. Their major problem is lack of access to credit. Many commercial banks do not lend emerging transport entrepreneurs money to buy a facility or to render a service without a guarantee, which many do not have. Thus women, more than men, are negatively affected by the banks' criteria, which further entrenches economic exclusion among women.

Apart from limited access to credit, transport entrepreneurs have limited access to technical assistance. It is also difficult for rural women transport entrepreneurs to compete in road construction and maintenance activities due to the lack of credit and experience. It is only big companies, owned and managed by men, largely whites, who tender for major roads works, and win. Rural women are excluded, depriving them entry into the field of business.

Several themes relating to rural women's transport needs in the three villages studied can be observed. For example, buses in Tshitwi, Babanana and Mamoleka, are more accessible to men than to women. In addition, the majority of workers (largely men) had more access to transport than unemployed women. Rural women are neglected as informal-sector traders, as subsistence farmers, and as the ones responsible for getting the families' water, food and fuel, and transporting children and the elderly to schools and clinics. Rural women carry most of the transport burden, yet services do not exist when they need them and these services are often not affordable. This reduces their productivity and capacity to meet their family needs.

Gender relations in the three villages complicated the triple roles that rural women perform. As revealed in this study, access to resources is difficult and often impossible in certain areas. In Babanana village, access to water reveals unequal power relations between rural women and men. The person controlling the water supply is a man who does not honour the agreements in terms of supplying water when required. Shortage of water in this village is not only a problem of a few water taps; the problem is made worse by a man who uses patronage and nepotism as means to discharge his duties. Because of water which is available at awkward times, rural women are compelled to push wheelbarrows with 20–25 litres of water frequently, and even to stand in long queues waiting for their turn at the taps.

In Tshitwi village, the road construction project recruited locals (47 women and 67 men) largely

from within walking distance of the road (Mahapa & Mashiri, 2001). This was done to establish a sense of community participation and ownership, to reduce costs, and to institute equity in the distribution of employment opportunities. However, in the Tshitwi Road Upgrading Project women were employed were non-technical and largely menial tasks, for example, carrying stones. Men occupied senior positions, which also had better pay than the jobs given to women. This further entrenches gender inequality. The issue is not so much about the number of women employed but more importantly about the type of jobs they were given. At the same time, rural women in Mamoleka village employed in the flagship project were also rendered helpless due to a lack of transport to the markets. The three case studies confirm that although the new political landscape is more empowering to women, rural women still face several problems due to unequal gender relations.

Rural women suffer a lack of access to facilities and services as seen in Babanana where there is a building for the clinic. But they travel long distances to access clinics outside their village. This is because the local clinic does not have nurses, doctors or drugs. It is used for community meetings. The implication here, comparing the three villages, is that lack of access to health services comprises the physical access through the provision of a structure, or the improvement of a track as in Tshitwi, or even the provision of vegetable gardens as in Mamoleka. In addition, there is also the question of whether health personnel are available and drugs in stock or whether transport services are available to take rural women where they want to go in order to fulfil their triple roles. Evidence suggests that access to facilities and services means the ability to reach, visit or use a facility, which is their main constraint. Here are some of the responses from Babanana village.

Respondent 1:

We spend almost the whole day at the water tap because we are many and we have to share a single tap and get water in turns. A lot of time is spent doing this one activity instead of addressing other things of use to the whole family and community.

Respondent 2:

Remember that some of us have to take care of our in-laws who are old and cannot do anything. They cannot cook for themselves and at the same time they must be cleaned and even escorted to health centres and pension pay-points. So, waiting at the water source really consumes a lot of our time. As a result I cannot attend meetings and do other things as expected.

Respondent 3:

At the moment we concentrate on things that consume a lot of time and our village is not improving. We want to have time to attend meetings with our men

here in the village and also outside this village in order to make our men understand what it means to be a woman as well as what we need in order to make life easy for everyone in the community.

These responses confirm that rural women have little time for self-development, leisure and meetings due to their heavy work schedule. As they are unable to attend community and political meetings, they are often not empowered enough to know what future developments are planned.

HIV/Aids has also increased transport needs of rural women in the form of volunteers who have to do home-based care and counselling of those affected and infected by the virus. The trips they make require some form of transport as they move around villages. The shortage of transport becomes even worse when such issues are taken into consideration.

5.6. Impact of transport on rural women

In the three villages studied in Limpopo access to health and education facilities are common problems and have a negative impact on both self-employed and unemployed rural women. The impacts range from low optimisation of human capital, to lack of capacity and self-esteem, to lack of skills and limited productivity.

Given the harsh realities of rural South Africa, women yearn to be subsistence farmers or small business people, or to get wage employment. Since they lack educational facilities, or because in some instances, as in Tshitwi, such facilities are inaccessible, they end up without the relevant education or training to allow them better jobs. Some of them raised their concerns in this regard; they feel they are at a disadvantage even in the domestic sector, where they used to get jobs easily, since many families who can employ them need a person with some education to at least answer the telephone.

In addition to the adverse effect caused by poor access to educational facilities, education and health infrastructures in the three villages were insufficient to meet the needs of the women. For example, the average travel time to reach family-planning facilities in Babanana is 2-3 hours, whereas it is only 15-20 minutes in many townships around Limpopo. In Tshitwi, a greater number of the women have no access to a family-planning clinic; as a result, they resort to traditional doctors for any form of illness and family planning. In Mamoleka village in the Bochum District the average travel time to a clinic or hospital is just over 1-2 hours. The time does not include waiting time at the clinic, which is determined by the number of patients who are already there against the number of doctors present. If that is taken into consideration then

the time spent to access medical facilities is considerably long. Evidence suggests that even in an urban medical centre, patients, and those who brought them, wait for more than ten or eleven hours in order to get medical attention. The situation shows how overcrowded medical centres and how busy medical personnel often are. In rural areas, the situation is far worse because of shortage of transport to such facilities themselves.

5.7. Summary

The findings are summarised in a framework of what transport means to the rural women of Babanana, Mamoleka and Tshitwi in Limpopo (Figure 5.8). This framework indicates that the starting point in this research understands rural women's roles, which are productive, reproductive and social. These roles determine travel and transport needs in that the activities rural women engage in require some form of transport. In the process of accessing both transport and other services and facilities, rural women experience constraints that create problems for them and that also impact on the opportunities for subsequently calling for policy to solve problems.

In the face of incredible hardships rural women face, women are not just victims but active makers of history, although not under conditions of their own making. Rural women are able to negotiate and to make a difference, albeit the unequal power relations work against their favour. Rural women are the primary food producers and homemakers and social organisers; they participate extensively in the marketing and distribution of household produce. Above all, they are responsible for the early training of their children.

This chapter has also referred to the impacts of travel and transport on self-employed and unemployed rural women in the three villages studied in Limpopo. Poor access to resources and facilities has incredible impacts on rural women. It restricts engagement in wage-earning employment, thereby disallowing them the opportunity to work and earn a living. For rural self-employed women, markets are difficult and/or expensive to reach, thus depriving self-employed rural women of the opportunity to expand economically. In addition, if markets are inaccessible, the price of obtaining consumer and intermediate goods increases, and that often results in a deepening dependence on traders, a relationship that may be exploitative.

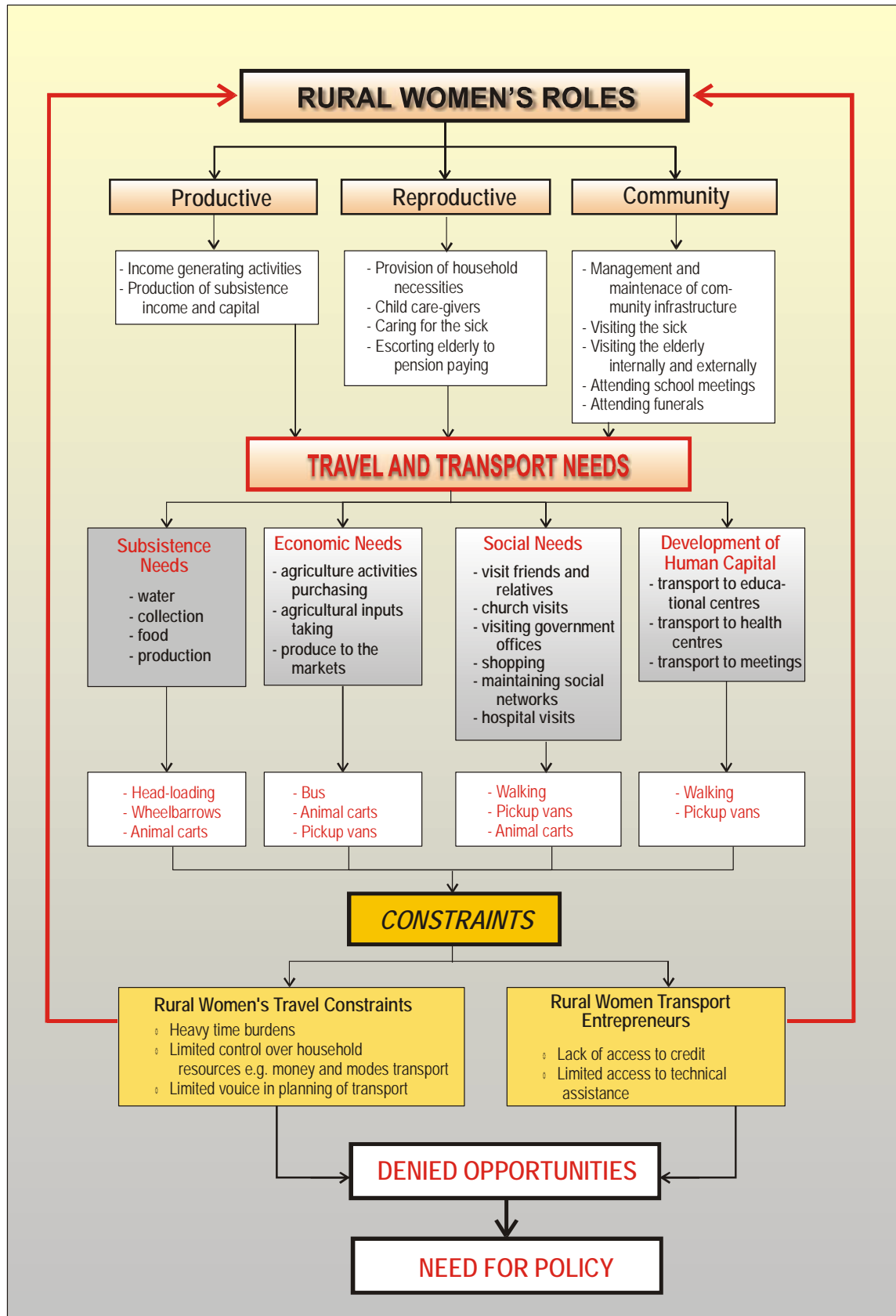


Figure 5.8: Transport needs framework (compiled from data)

The social and economic costs of the time spent collecting water and fuel-wood are high. The hours rural self-employed and unemployed women waste per day waiting in queues at water sources such as taps and boreholes cannot be used for any productive, reproductive or community maintenance activities. In this case, rural women experience time constraints, which is not only a problem for them but which also has consequences for the general economic, social, political and religious well-being of their families and the village.

The long hours devoted to the collection of water, wood, and food, tends to leave the women with little time or energy to invest in more productive or welfare-enhancing activities, depriving them of the opportunity to improve and also to gain access to information and to change the balance of power. What all these lead to are isolation, inaccessibility and immobility. Isolation, inaccessibility and immobility result in a poverty of ideas, poverty of innovation, poverty of health, poverty of opportunity, and poverty of hope for a better future.

The opportunities denied to African rural women signify the need for a gendered rural transport policy. Experience suggests that the macro-policy environment sets the platform for a gendered transport policy. Indeed, assessment of national transport policy suggests that there is a gap between rhetoric and reality. Some of the reasons are related to policy itself, but others are a reflection of unequal gender relations in society. Furthermore, the policy makers are wanting in their interpretation of the macro-policy transport needs, particularly for African rural women, and they are certainly gender-biased in their setting of a macro context for rural transport investments.

5.8. Conclusion

This chapter argues that if we want to come up with guidelines for future policy for a gender-sensitive transport system, we need to understand rural women's travel and transport needs from their socially-created roles, which are neither natural nor traditional. Each of the activities in the triple roles involves travel and transport needs. Therefore, a non-gendered perspective for understanding travel and transport needs of rural women provides not only an incomplete understanding of these needs and the instruments by which the needs can be effectively met, but it also constitutes a disservice to a highly potential resource. This can have adverse effects on the economy of the country. Proper understanding of rural women's needs may help to serve as a sufficient basis for determining cost-effective policies and appropriate interventions. This, therefore, calls for solutions and better approaches to rural travel and transport. These approaches are discussed in the next chapter.

6.1. Introduction

This chapter provides an interpretation of findings as presented in chapter five. These findings are examined and linked with the main argument in this study, which stresses that the transport needs of African rural women are not adequately addressed, thus suggesting a gap between national transport policy and rural women's experiences and needs on the ground and also between the Constitution (which guarantees the rights of all individuals and gender equity) and national transport policy. Various frameworks and models are suggested to interpret the gaps that exist at different levels, especially between national level and rural women's actual experiences. Those frameworks and models have to do with the provision of transport facilities and non-transport resources which facilitate or hamper mobility for African rural women. They include biases manifested in time schedules, division of labour, and access to resources and services. The discussion will further include different impacts, and the actual needs of rural women that require an integrated approach in rural transport planning.

6.2. The gap between policy and rural women's experiences

The main theme emerging from this research is that there is an obvious gap between macro-policy (as expressed in the Constitution) and national transport policy as well as between policy and rural women's experiences. The first gap affects planning and implementation and is evidenced by the government's commitment to gender equity in the Constitution while the National Transport Policy avoids using the concept. Thus, despite South Africa's gender-sensitive constitution, macro-policy has not been translated into a gender-sensitive national transport policy. The planning guidelines, as set out in the National Land Transport Act 2000, do not articulate the main objectives of the Constitution. This is because NDOT commits itself to the needs of the 'special categories', referring to passengers with physical disabilities. However, from another perspective, rural African women may also be classified as 'disabled' because of the multiple responsibilities which enslaved them within the confines of their homes – thus qualifying them as a special category. This inattention to these women's needs is regarded by this research as an oversight, one that should not have happened given that the South African government has been at the forefront of work on gender budgets. It is one thing to talk about gender-needs, and it is something else to come up with strategies that address

those gender needs. The good intentions of the South African Constitution have not filtered down to the national transport policy; consequently gender needs are not adequately addressed.

Some literature suggests that analysis of programme and project interventions should be set firmly within the contexts of macro economic and transport sector policy. It is argued that to adequately integrate gender analysis into any sector programme, planners must consider both the implications of sector policies for men and for women as well as the implications of gender relations for whole sector analysis and policy options (Elson *et al.*, 1999). Elson *et al.* (1999) also contend that it is important to examine the ways in which gender relations, gendered norms, and gender imbalances affect performance, priorities and impacts throughout the transport sector. This involves recognising that (i) the transport needs of women and men can be different; (ii) men and women have different capabilities to participate in the design and delivery of services; and (iii) institutions which design, deliver and evaluate sector programmes operate according to rules and norms which are gendered, i.e., they normally function in ways which prioritized men's needs and viewpoints over those of women. Elson *et al.* (1999) make an argument for looking at the whole transport sector as a gendered structure and find that seemingly 'gender-neutral' institutions may, in fact, be gender biased and may unwittingly overburden the economy of social reproduction, particularly within households.

The other aspect of significance when unpacking the gap between policy and practice is economic growth. Whenever economic growth is planned for, it is associated with big bus companies, taxis, and big international airports. Small-scale transport entrepreneurs are ignored because their impact cannot be easily 'measured'. Measuring the impact of these small-scale, low cost means of transport requires understanding their roles, and until these are recognized in policy, there is no way that they can be planned for, and, therefore, there is no implementation. Thus as long as policy and planning focus on airports, buses and taxis, rural African women will be excluded from the mainstream economy because their roles require the use of small scale modes of transport.

It is not just incorporating and providing small-scale, low-cost means of transport in the rural transport policy that matters. The appropriateness of the intervention is important as well. For example, in one project commissioned by the National Department of Transport, bicycles were introduced to address low-mobility needs of learners and women. The intentions were good, but it was found that those bicycles were not suitable to addressing the needs of women in particular. The structure of the bicycles was not suitable for use by women and girl children. Instead of supplying them with bicycles that could help carry goods to the markets, mountain

bikes were supplied. Given that rural women need such bicycles for carrying loads of different kinds, the intervention was not appropriate. These bikes were not even suitable for the local environment, which is sandy in some places. The issue that emerges suggests that there was no consultation with the beneficiaries about the design and structure of the bikes – again a violation of the Constitutional provision of gender equality. In reality, the situation is symptomatic of the need to understand the requirements which attach to the different roles and responsibilities of women and men. For each role, there is usually a transportation need to be met in order to perform that role more efficiently. Policy should recognise such needs so that planning can be done effectively and efficiently, and implementation can be made smoothly. Unless that strategy is followed, rural African women will remain excluded.

The importance of a more gender-responsive rural transport policy was confirmed by both unemployed and self-employed rural women in the three villages studied in Limpopo. These women made it clear that making rural transport policy sensitive to gender issues requires more attention to their transport needs. In simple terms, this meant finding out how they use the transport system in their respective villages and examining their travel patterns, which were found to be determined by the roles they perform in society.

6.2.1. Rural women's roles

This study found that gender biases exist in rural travel and transport of Limpopo. These biases stem from the different roles that rural women and men perform in the villages, roles that generate different patterns of travel and transport needs. Rural self-employed and unemployed women perform productive roles for the generation of income, for managing the households, and for the community. Men in these rural areas are responsible for traditional courts and productive work. Unfortunately, there are perceptions in these rural villages among both men and women regarding the household roles: there are separate men's roles and women's roles. Pay is received for some of these roles but not for others. Roles that are associated with men warrant payment, while those that are associated with women are not paid. According to Turner and Fouracre (1995), this perception originates from a male-dominated society.

In terms of distance, both self-employed and unemployed rural women tend to work near home, and they make more trips for subsistence, economic, social, and educational and health purposes. Because of these activities, their transport schedules are more dispersed in time and location. It is therefore important for policy makers to be aware of these specific needs. Until they become aware of these needs, the biases that currently exist in rural transport planning and in subsequent implementation will continue to perpetuate social and spatial exclusion of

rural women.

6.2.2. *Time schedule*

The issue of bias that exists in rural transport was also found to manifest itself in the time schedule offered for public transport, particularly buses. Buses are scheduled to leave very early in the morning and to return home late in the afternoon. This kind of scheduling does not suit the activities of self-employed and unemployed rural women as their activities are dispersed in time and location. When asked about their views of the bus time schedule, rural women in Babanana village indicated the following during the focus group discussion:

View 1:

We need transport for visiting our relatives in other villages and even attending prayer meetings especially when someone has died in the neighbouring village and also to attend club meeting. But there is no transport to take us to these villages during the day. We resort to walking or getting a lift from local vans.

View 2:

Some of us are not working in Tzaneen or Nkowakowa, we work from our homes. Therefore I need transport to take me to Tzaneen to buy goods that I can sell in the village. Sometimes I go to Durban or Johannesburg to buy clothes and other household goods to come and sell here at Babanana, but I find it difficult to transport my goods from Tzaneen to my village because of poor transport that is only in the morning and in the afternoon. So, we are suffering.

View 3:

We also need transport to go to the farms to get vegetables, fruit and chickens to come and sell here in Mamoleka. Transport is a problem. I have to carry the goods on my head. Imagine having to carry a box of live chickens for about 19km. That is not nice. We cannot buy in big quantity because there is not transport to help carry the goods during the day.

Although these rural African women are trying to keep the rural economy going in their respective villages, they still suffer inaccessibility to transport, particularly public transport. Most of their day is spent waiting until the public transport is available so they can go back home, after having left early in the morning. In the process that day's profit is lost because nothing was sold. If they want to return home before the late-afternoon bus, they have no choice but to hire someone with a 'bakkie'. The profit money made is spent on transport; as a result they gain nothing from their small businesses. Theoretically, public transport is available in the villages; in reality, it serves the needs of those passengers who commute to work, particularly in towns. The social and economic needs of those rural women working for themselves are not catered for, partly because they are not accurately understood.

6.2.3. *Division of labour*

Division of labour was found to be another manifestation of bias in rural transport. A good

example was at the Tshitwi Road Upgrading Project, where more men than women were employed. In addition, men performed elementary technical work, while women's tasks were non-technical and largely menial, for example carrying stones. Added to this, men were paid more than women due to the types of jobs they performed. Women then used their money for household necessities, while men used theirs for their personal gain. Behaviour of this nature suggests that a rise in the income of the male may not necessarily result in a proportionate increase in the quality of life of the household as a whole. In fact, empirical evidence suggests that children's nutrition may actually deteriorate with an increase in earnings of male members of the household (Jacobson, 1997). This latter relationship is understandable. Increases in earnings are usually designed to compensate for the rising standard of living. However, most of the rural men in Limpopo often construe any increase in earnings as a signal to marry more than one wife – money is power just like owning many head of cattle.

Worth noting here is the fact that when females make extra earnings, the quality of life for the entire household almost invariably improves. Jacobson (1997) noted this in Guatemala, where nutrition for children improved as a result of a rise in female income. These observations suggest that efforts should be made to increase the earnings as well as the income-generating opportunities available to rural women. Ideally, the goal should be to ensure parity between men and women in terms of job opportunities and income. The chances of attaining this goal are vastly enhanced by knowledge of the nature and magnitude of women-specific travel and transport needs.

6.2.4 Accessibility to resources and services

There is a high price to be paid for insufficient access to economic and social facilities, particularly with regard to health and education. Government, in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), states commitment to meeting basic needs and building the infrastructure, and it sets out strategies how this can be done. The infrastructure programme is believed to:

Provide access to modern and effective services such as electricity, water, telecommunications, transport, health, education and training for all our people (South Africa, 1994:8).

In terms of meeting basic needs, the RDP hopes to open up previously suppressed economic and human capital in both urban and rural areas. Those basic needs are extensive: job creation, land and agrarian reform, housing, water, sanitation, energy supplies, transport, nutrition and health care, the environment, social welfare and security. One of the strategies is ensuring that people are encouraged and supported to participate in making key decisions

about where the projects should be and how they should be managed.

In reality, rural African women still travel long distances to reach basic services, such as clinics, schools and employment. Some of the realities on the ground are:

There is no clinic at Tshitwi. Many of us have to walk to Straidhart for medical treatment, for vaccination of children and for pregnant mothers' consultation. Those who can afford better medication go to Makhado for treatment as there is a doctor there. Some of us consult with traditional healers because of the distances that one has to travel and that goes with money. Both Makhado and Straidhart are far from our village. They are 40km and 7km respectively. Otherwise we have to connect public transport at Straidhart to go to Makhado and Louis Trichardt.

The principal asset of rural women is their labour, either for subsistence or wage employment in the domestic sector. It should be remembered that in order for poverty to be reduced and productivity increased, labour must be promoted. This can be done principally by increasing access to health and educational facilities. The World Bank Report (1993) states that lack of physical infrastructure is the largest obstacle to the use of health services. Distance to health facilities limits people's willingness and ability to seek care, particularly when transport is limited.

Thus the distinction between economic and social services suggests that access to social services, which should be available to all, should be planned on the basis of gender equality and equity. In contrast, access to economic services should be planned on the basis of potential and ability to pay (Edmonds, 1998). There is, however, a difficulty here in that the provision of education and of health – even of potable drinking water – do have economic consequences that may lead to exclusion of the poor section of the community, particularly rural women. This group is mostly represented by self-employed and unemployed rural women who cannot afford to pay because their ability has already been affected by poor education, unemployment, limited expansion and productive potential.

What is actually emerging here is that an appropriate approach is needed to analyse rural women's transport needs. The Sustainable Rural Livelihood Approach (SRLA) (Carney, 1998) may be used as in Figure 6.1. This approach centres on people's livelihood assets (such as human, natural, physical, social and financial), on the structures and mechanics that constrain their access to these assets, and on livelihood strategies that can overcome these constraints and enhance their livelihood opportunities. Furthermore, the approach can serve as a useful tool in understanding the constraints rural women experience in rural transport. According to Fernando (1999), transport provision plays many roles in this complex arrangement. On the one hand, transport infrastructure and means of transport available to a community, household,

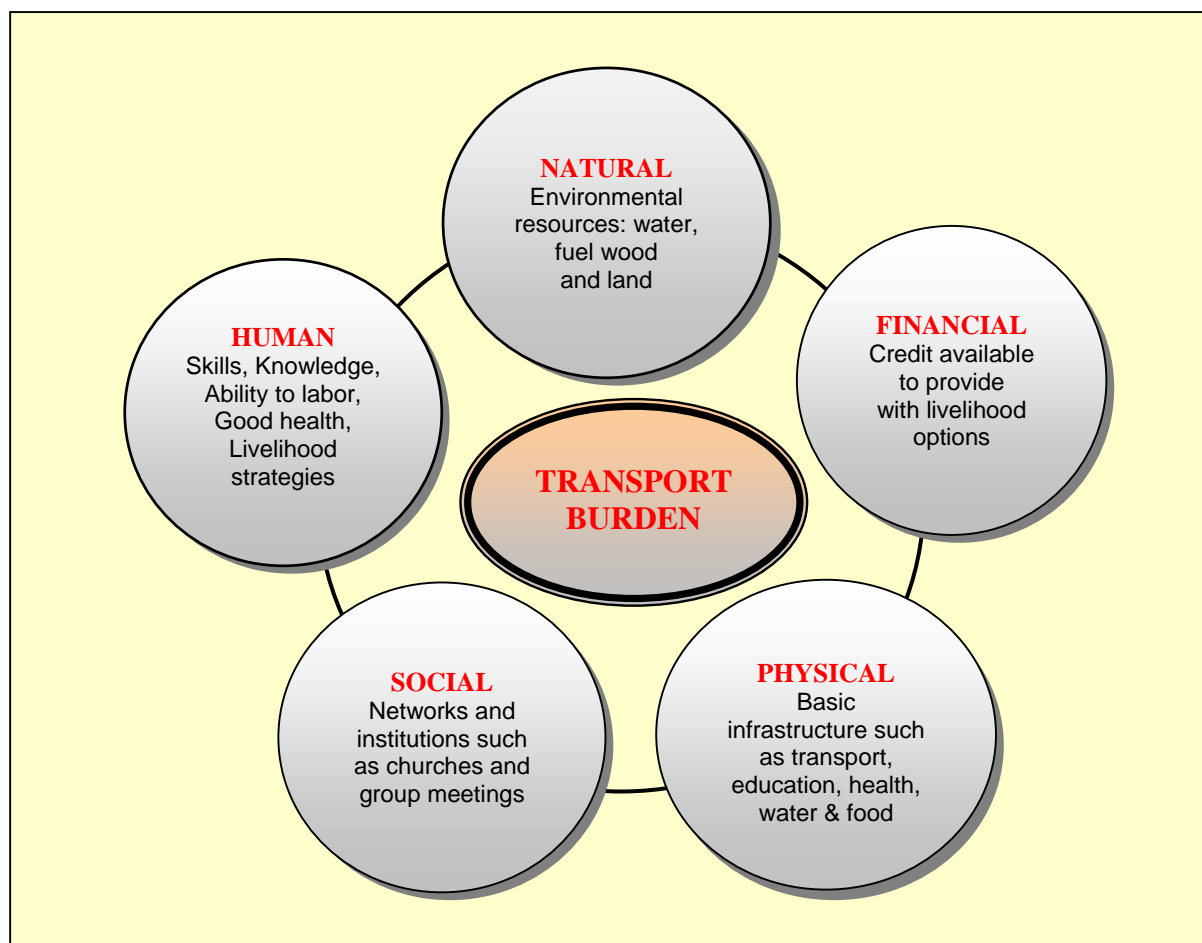


Figure 6.1: The sustainable rural livelihood framework (adapted from Carney, 1998:6)

or individual contribute to the level of physical assets. On the other hand, the lack of transport undermines the capacity of communities, households, or individuals to access or to draw on their other assets. Restricted access, for instance to education and health services, can impair people's ability to make the best use of their human assets. At the heart of the Sustainable Rural Livelihood Framework (Figure 6.1) lies an analysis of the five different types of assets upon which individuals draw to build their livelihoods. These are natural, social, financial, physical and human assets.

The starting point in this arrangement is the burden of transport experienced in the three villages studied. This transport burden puts severe pressure on the time available to unemployed and self-employed rural women. Basic household tasks, such as collecting water and firewood and travelling to and from fields and markets, are time and energy consuming, particularly for these groups. Poor rural women spend so much time in meeting subsistence needs that they lose out on opportunities to earn higher incomes and to develop their financial

resources. They are unable to invest in means of transport or in transport infrastructure because they have limited financial resources.

This lack of the transport undermines the capacity of rural women to access or to draw on their own assets, further restricting them from attending education and health centres. This situation impairs rural women's ability to make the best use of their human capital, further excluding them from participating in the socio-economic and political life of their communities. Essential is their location, that is, their basic social and spatial exclusion.

The type of analysis that the SRLA brings to the transport system helps us realise the central role the lack of appropriate transport plays in maintaining the cycle of poverty and isolation. In addition, it pinpoints the need to develop alternative transport systems for rural self-employed and unemployed women. Developing such systems requires consideration of four key elements. They are:

- the spatial interpretation and analysis of the location of services, thereby reducing the need for lengthy travel (which is in reality a non-transport component because it does not involve interventions that relate either to the means of transport or to infrastructure but to the location of service closer to the communities);
- the improvement of village-level infrastructure, such as paths, tracks and footbridges;
- the promotion of the use of intermediate means of transport; and
- the provision of adequate and affordable rural transport services.

6.3. Different impacts on rural women

Different impacts simply clarify the different effects experienced by rural women as reflected by this current study of three villages in Limpopo. What is clear from these villages is that rural women are often the ones who shoulder the bulk of the transport burden. This, in many cases, is made worse by male migration from rural areas to urban centres.

A number of theories have been put forward to explain these different tasks, particularly food production. Hence activities such as water and fuel wood collection were regarded simply as components in the final goal of food production. The fact that these were additional to the burden women experienced was not taken into consideration.

As explained earlier in this study, rural women's productive, reproductive, and social roles have both associated travel and transport needs and constraints. The constraints, such as heavy

work schedule, lack of transport, poor accessibility to infrastructure and services, lack of employment, and even gender-biased transport policies and systems have differential impacts on self-employed and unemployed rural women in particular. The sections that follow concern these issues.

6.3.1. Heavy work schedule

Rural women in the three villages studied in Limpopo indicated that they do not attend village meetings or political activities because of their heavy work schedule (Figure 6.2). Their heavy work schedule also impacts negatively on the multiple roles rural women have to perform. The hampering of these roles leads to household deprivation, consequently

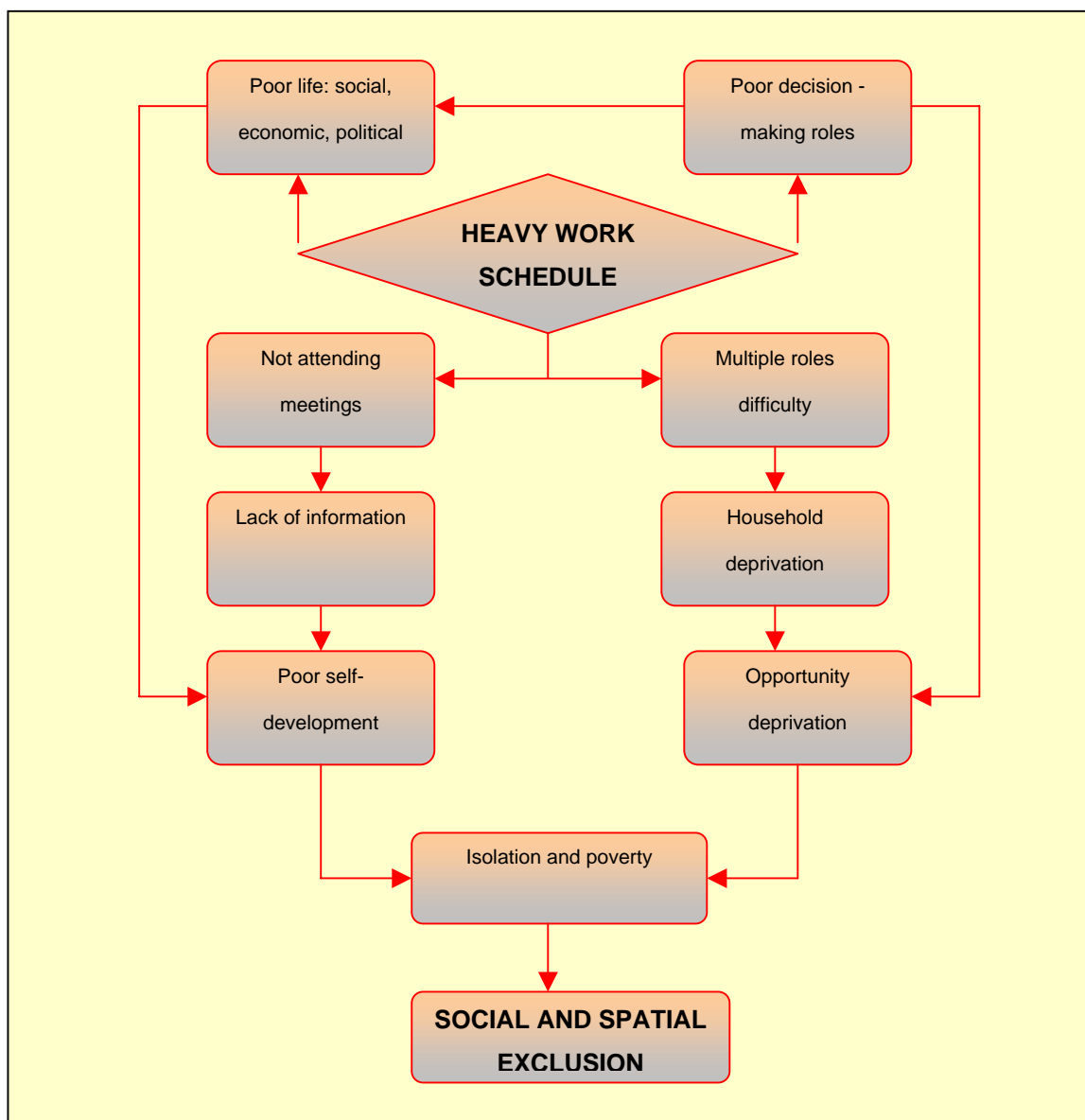


Figure 6.2: Heavy work schedule cycle (compiled from data)

leading to opportunity deprivation and to isolation and poverty. Rural women cannot participate in decision-making roles because of their heavy work schedule. This leads to poor social, economic and political life. All these lead to lack of information, poor self-development, isolation and poverty, and to social and spatial exclusion.

6.3.2. Lack of transport

Lack of transport has multiplier effects on rural women. This is represented in the transport disadvantage cycle (Figure 6.3). Both self-employed and unemployed rural women indicated

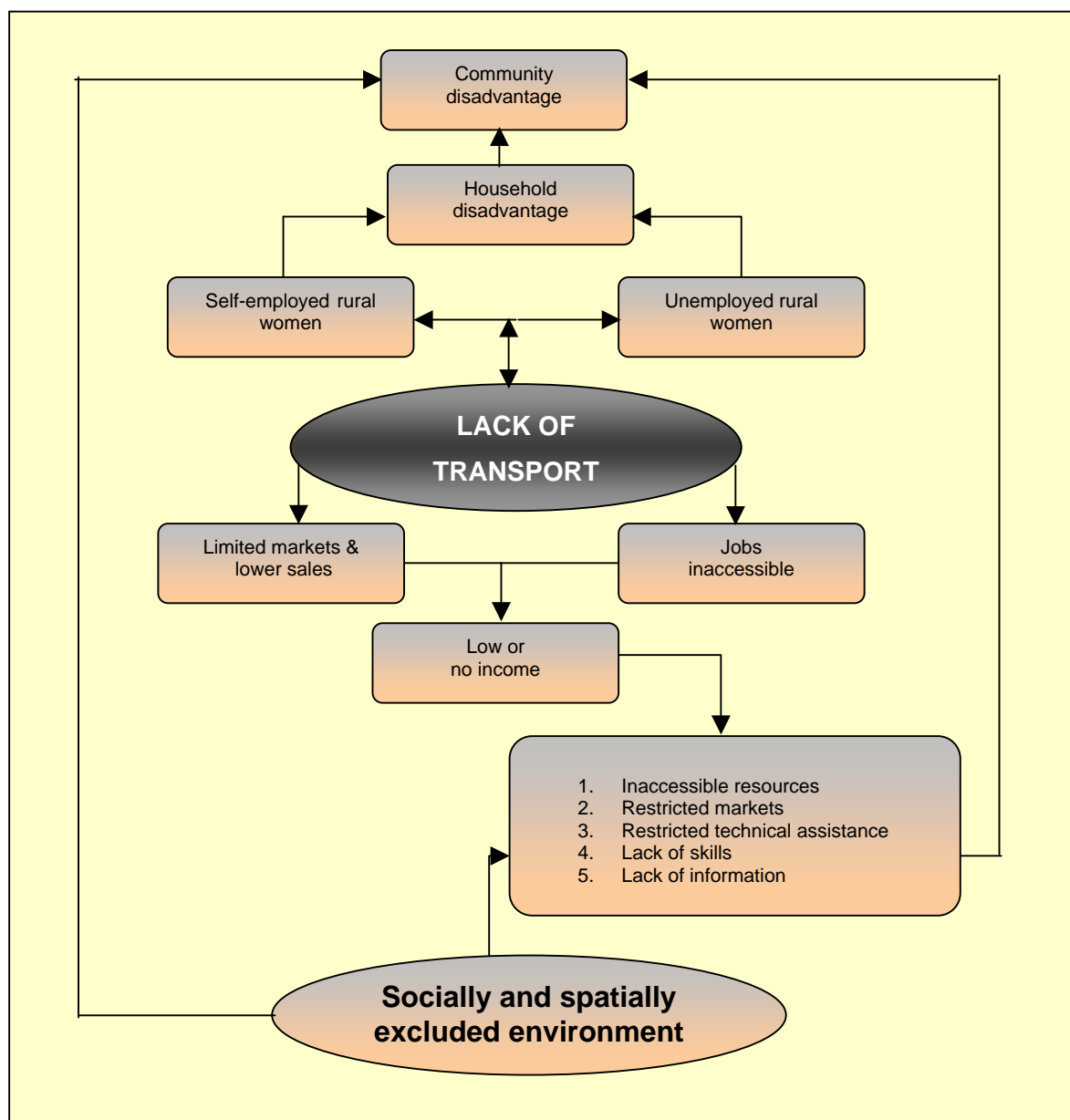


Figure 6.3: Transport disadvantage cycle (compiled from data)

that lack of transport reduces their access to resources, which, in turn, reduces their chances of changing the existing balance of power. It also limits their access to work and constrains their ability to use services necessary for their reproductive and community roles. These rural women also lack access to formal sector employment because they are unable to seek employment due to lack of transport. Consequently they do not have income either to pay for transport or to purchase means of transport.

Opportunity to market their products is also affected, and their ability to obtain marketable skills with which, for example, they could produce goods of high quality and perhaps set up small businesses, is restricted. In addition, because these women lack skills and information, they are excluded from participating in leadership structures. This, in turn, denies them the opportunity to participate in the discussion of issues that affect their daily lives. Essentially, they are in excluded spaces and fall in the category of excluded social groups, and they remain there, trapped by the structures that put them there in the first place.

Transport deprivation also forces African rural women to spend long hours and waste valuable time in travelling to buy necessities and to collect water. Head-loading has compound effects on the health of these women, which, in turn, detracts from the attention rural women can give to household members and to income-generating activities. The welfare of the entire community is thus affected, and this must be brought to the attention of national policy makers and planners as well as to those of local municipalities.

6.4. The needs of rural women

Although the practical needs of self-employed and unemployed rural women showed some similarities (ranging from accessible education to health and cheap water), they also showed some differences in terms of employment and marketing of products. Unemployed rural women need employment, whether in the formal sector or in the informal sector. They expressed lack of hope in getting any formal employment because many families get low payments and consequently they no longer keep domestic workers – the sector which provided the most employment for rural women in the past. This is partly because of the difficult laws to which the employers are now exposed. In the past, the employer and the employee agreed on the wages and the conditions of employment. Today employers have to adhere to the 'living wage' policy – meaning simply the amount of money that enables an ordinary person in the street to survive. Many employers may not offer the minimum monetary level required for survival because they also earn low salaries. In addition, employees join the labour unions, which give them some

guiding principles in their employment place. These interventions by the state and the labour unions pose a serious threat to some employers. As a result, they resort to doing away with domestic workers, which affects access to such employment for many unemployed rural women. This is a situation which occurs in both rural and urban areas.

Self-employed rural women indicated that they need access to markets in order to sell their produce and goods. In actual fact, the real issue here was found to be access to the facilities and services they need for everyday life, such as water and energy sources, health and educational centres, and child care facilities. These needs may be summarized in Figure 6.4.

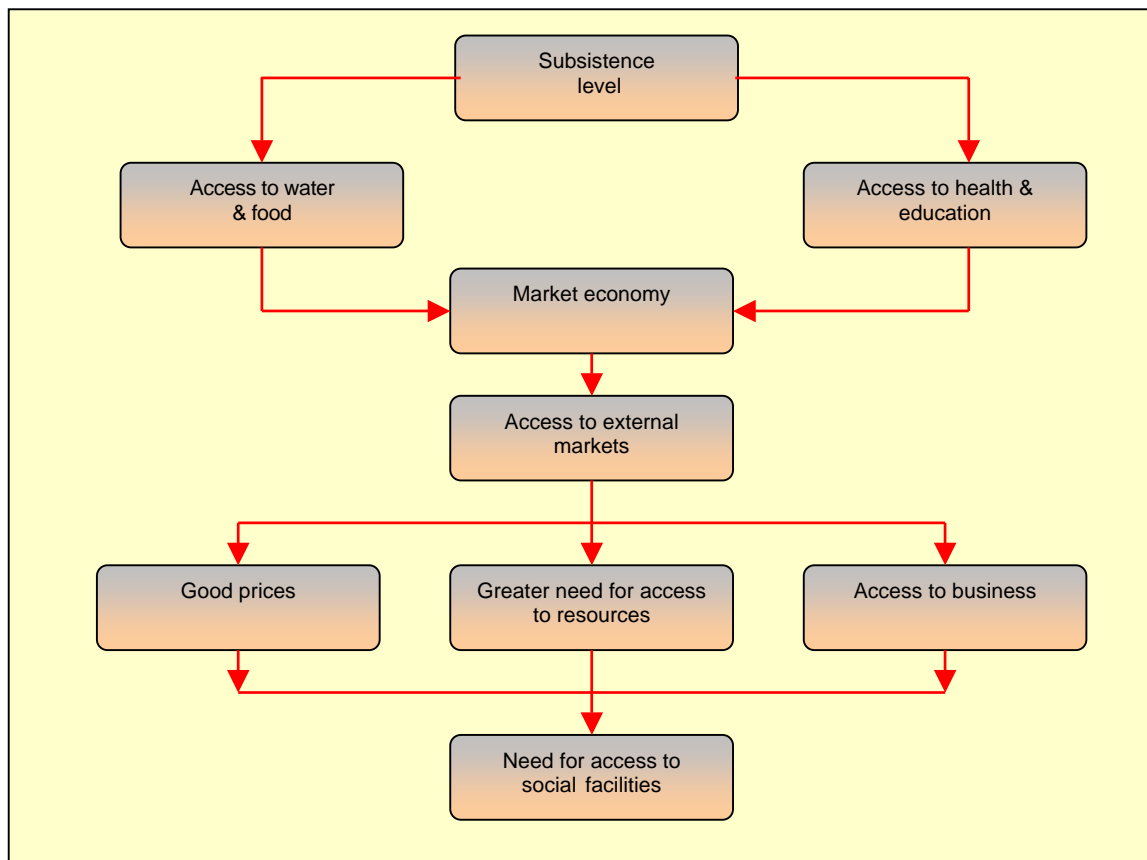


Figure 6.4: Stages for improving rural unemployed livelihood (compiled from data)

Using improvement as a principle, it is suggested that rural African women should start from subsistence level, where their production caters for their families. They therefore need access to the primary need, which is employment, and also to water and firewood as well as to health and education facilities. They indicated that they need good access to water as they make several trips per day to collect water for household use. Firewood is not as critical as water because they do not collect it everyday. But poor access to these facilities, which involve excessive time in transport, may well constrain their potential to produce surplus crops that would enable them move into the market economy.

Given an opportunity, these rural women can actually improve from subsistence level to market economic level. They believe access to education is very important for the future development of both their families and the nation as a whole. This is in line with what the democratic government is encouraging – that people start small businesses and export their goods. Obviously it is not an impossible venture. As long as there are correct strategies to implement the ideas, then rural African women will follow and improve.

Access to health care is also important for the well-being of the household, and it maximizes the availability and productivity of labour capacity in the household. When that happens, women will then improve and join the market economy. This is the level that is needed by self-employed rural women, and is one they can achieve if given the opportunity. In relation to both unemployed and self-employed rural women, this is the level where many household will be food secure because of the surplus they produce beyond subsistence needs. This is the level at which self-employed rural women could get good prices for their goods and produce in the external markets. However, this means they would need, in addition, access to resources such as fertilisers, tools, equipment and other agricultural inputs and household inputs. All these will increase the need for access to business, financial and government facilities. As business and finances increase, the need for access to social facilities arises. For example, the need for leisure time, for sporting and shopping facilities and even for visiting friends and relatives, some of whom are mainly outside the villages. These activities are important to improving the quality of life of rural women. The practical needs of employed rural women range from reliable public transport and nurseries to better wages and employment programmes necessary for improving their skills.

Most of the needs of all three groups of rural women require practical interventions that would increase the women's ability to participate in the development process. For example, child care services, maternal and child health care, subsistence crop marketing, traditional employment opportunities, and transport facilities such as animal-carts and wheelbarrows are means of reducing the time and energy required to perform the various tasks in the women's work schedule. However, rural women indicated some of their needs require interventions of a more strategic nature in order to increase their participation in development.

A concern of self-employed rural women was access to credit in order to afford better means of transport for their goods. For employed rural women, access to education and good health facilities would earn them better wages. The rural women also need the alleviation of the burden of domestic labour and child-care that would be provided by better facilities and more

access to technology.

The three groups of rural women raised concerns regarding exclusion from participating in decision-making, particularly in the improvement of transport facilities and services. Such participation may help in identifying the correct interventions in the alleviation of the burden of domestic labour.

The nature of rural women's strategic needs are long-term achievements, but these needs have to be considered in transport planning if the development goals of such planning are to be sustained. Making transport policy sustainable requires paying more attention to rural women's needs, which proved to be both transport and non-transport related. This suggests a new framework, one that is more pro-active and integrated.

6.5. Why a pro-active approach?

Evidence suggests that unless specific steps are taken to ensure the equal participation of men and women in these villages, the rural women will still be excluded spatially and socially. Consequently projects and programmes will fail to benefit from rural women's contributions and will fail to meet the particular needs and interests of rural women. For example, in Tshitwi it was found that rural women carried the greater share of responsibilities in the Road Upgrading Project, but they appeared to benefit very little from it. This was mainly identified in the type of jobs performed by both men and women. Women's tasks were non-technical and largely menial, while men took all tasks that remotely resembled elementary technology. Clearly project supervisors, who were generally male, should have been trained to be more aware of and sensitive to gender issues as this impacted on the wages received. Men received higher wages than women, making it difficult for these women to accumulate cash; thus increasing gender inequality rather than reducing it.

The other example was found in Babanana village, in a sector in which rural women carried great responsibility. The water supply there was controlled by a man who does not understand the needs of these women. They also appeared to benefit very little. The causes are deeply embedded in social and cultural institutions. Men and women play different roles, have different needs, and face different constraints in responding to macroeconomic or sectoral policy changes and to the specific opportunities and limitations provided by particular projects and programmes.

Systematic bias often exists in the form of rural women's workload, which imposes severe time

burdens on them. These systematic biases can be more disempowering to rural women as they make life difficult for them. In other villages studied, customs and beliefs, and the attitudes of both rural women and men confine the former mostly in the domestic sphere. A good example was found in Babanana village among the Tsonga speaking rural women. One of these women indicated:

It is a shame to allow my husbands to cook, wash dishes and even fetch water. These jobs are women's jobs in our culture – it will be like men are taking over our responsibilities and also that we do not respect them. They are the heads of the families; therefore they need to be respected. Otherwise, the people in the village will look down upon such a woman who allows her husband to cook and wash dishes. In addition, people will think she has given some *muti*² to soften her husband, and no one wants to be associated with that.

This is a problem of rural women's attitudes, which was identified as a strategic need. While there is a need to educate men to understand the transport burden of rural women, there is also a need for rural women themselves to change their attitudes and to take a more pro-active approach to solving transport problems. While we acknowledge respect of personal and cultural beliefs and actions, rural African women and men should be encouraged towards taking responsibility for balancing the load.

No one is advocating that rural African women be culturally disrespectful. They only need to be supported by giving them access to resources and services that would reduce the time and energy needed to fulfil their household chores. But because of the bias that exists, it is difficult to carry the responsibilities fairly and justly. Overcoming the bias requires both a pro-active and integrated approach in transport planning (Figure 6.5). In the long run, the equal participation of men and women depends on practical and strategic measures to tackle the root causes of gender inequalities and to remove the constraints to rural women's involvement in public life. Examples of such measures in this study include cross-sectoral thinking and equal weight in infrastructure provision, appropriate modes of transport, improved location of facilities, mainstreaming gender and transport; and, lastly, mainstreaming livelihood issues. All these are summarized on Figure 6.5.

6.5.1. Cross-sectoral thinking

In many parts of Limpopo, especially in the three villages studied, conventional approaches that concentrate on one particular sector to address rural transport problems still apply. A good example is the Tshitwi Road Upgrading Project, which has been described and discussed earlier in chapter five. A heavy investment in the building of roads is usually seen as a solution

² "Muti" is a traditional medicine which is believed to tame someone.

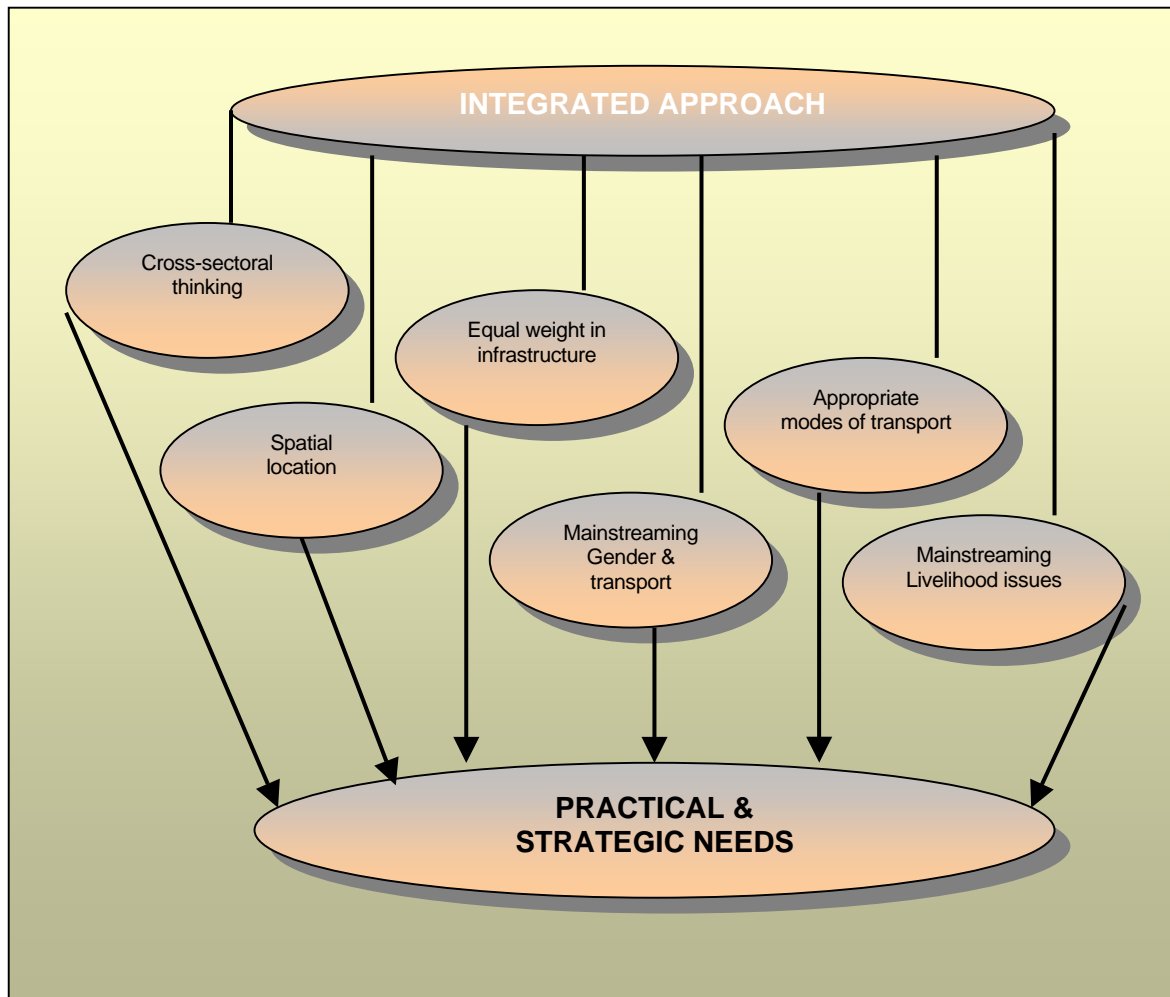


Figure 6.5: An Integrated Approach in Transport Planning *(compiled from data)*

to the problems of access for rural women. However, investments in roads may not, in any case, be the only solution to the problem of access. This is because very few rural women own motor vehicles or can afford to pay for motorized transport. Thus, in terms of improving individual access, roads are not enough (Dawson and Barwell, 1993). Roads have to be seen in the context of the daily transport needs relating to obtaining water and fuel wood; getting to health services, schools, markets, and government offices; and visiting friends and relatives. Roads are certainly part of the solution to the transport problem but so are the wider availability of simple low-cost means of transport, improved village infrastructure, and more appropriate location of services. The latter is important as it brings the concept that the only solution to a transport problem may not be the provision of transport. It may also be in the better location of services, thereby reducing the time required to reach these services. This implies that the evaluation of transport interventions must be weighed against that of the provision of non-transport solutions to rural transport problems. This should be done within the ambit of an integrated rural development framework by way of a cross-sectoral and gender-sensitive approach, all of which starts with the conditions of the rural poor, their resources, aspirations

and problems. This calls for government sectors such as Health, Public Works, Education, Local Government and Housing, Agriculture, and Labour and Transport to incorporate gender needs into their policies and to discuss issues of common interest to addressing these needs. That would minimise reproduction and repetition in the provision of services and facilities. It would also help them discuss strategies tailored to rural women's specific needs and circumstances, which could make an important contribution to meeting both the practical and the strategic needs of rural women.

It is therefore necessary to develop policy guidelines and strategies for the various levels of government that require the inclusion of rural women in the assessment of their own transport needs. This would improve the planning, dissemination and implementation of transport solutions with a view to ensuring that rural women's travel and transport needs are addressed. It would also be necessary to train officials specifically to be sensitive to gender issues in order not to exclude rural women in the day-to-day running of socio-economic, political and cultural activities.

6.5.2 Equal weight in rural road infrastructure

There are extensive networks of footpaths and tracks in the three villages studied. In general, these paths and tracks are used mainly by rural self-employed and unemployed women, and they have not been 'constructed' in the sense that a road is constructed. Rather, they have evolved through continuous use by rural women and the community. This situation is not different from the rest of South African rural areas. These routes link houses to key places in the community, such as sources of water and firewood, agricultural land, markets, and other villages. These are sometimes complemented by local efforts to deal with particular trouble spots. For example, in Tshitwi, the community constructed a simple means for crossing the stream between two villages. These paths and tracks are important in rural travel and transport as many rural women use them to reach the main road before undertaking a journey by public transport or motor vehicle. Since much of the movement in the rural areas take place along these paths and tracks, which do not involve four-wheeled motor vehicles, rural road improvements need not necessarily be designed to provide access for such vehicles. The simple upgrading of paths and tracks may do much to enhance the opportunities for rural self-employed and unemployed women. These areas often do not justify more expensive investments, as in the Tshitwi road-upgrading project. Equal weight must be given to building roads, upgrading of footpaths and tracks, and to the rehabilitation of selected roads through community participation to a maintainable safe standard. Such upgrades would go a long way in addressing rural women's practical needs.

6.5.3 *Appropriate modes of transport*

Although the variations among the villages are enormous, it is clear from this research that the transport burden on self-employed and unemployed rural women is lower where there is widespread use of appropriate transport modes than where there is none. A range of transport solutions could be used, but in most cases non-motorized modes of transport (NMTs) may be the most appropriate. Rural women in the three villages studied use NMTs such as donkey-carts and wheelbarrows for domestic tasks such as firewood and water collection. They save a great deal of time compared to when they have to walk and carry heavy loads by head in order to access services and facilities. Here are some of the responses from self-employed and unemployed rural women when asked about the modes of transport currently in use and their views on NMTs.

View 1:

We do not have a choice of mode of transport. You can see that the dominant mode of transport here is donkey carts, wheelbarrows and walking. We only have a problem with walking because we get tired before engaging in the actual activities. For instance, when we walk to neighbouring villages to attend funerals, we arrive there tired, especially when we have some responsibilities there. But with the other modes such as donkey carts, they reduce the load carrying; the distance and the time, while wheelbarrows reduce the load and time.

View 2:

Some of us use wheelbarrows to transport wood and many other goods that we sell. The problem is that some of us are unemployed, as a result we cannot afford to either purchase or hire carts or vans and so we resort to head loading.

These responses are an indication that non-motorized means of transport can play a significant role in reducing the burden of transport on self-employed and unemployed rural women in Limpopo. They can reduce economic, social, political and spatial exclusion of these vulnerable groups. It needs to be borne in mind that in a developing territory such as Limpopo, road transport is the main transportation facility. As such, its improvement and expansion will be directly associated with the development of the territory at large. Because of the high capital investment required for such improvements, Limpopo, like other developing territories, is tempted to improve external links with the economically more advanced adjacent urban centres at the expense of internal links. The result is the neglect of the rural roads and also of the forms of transport appropriate in such areas (Mahapa, 2000). This neglect of appropriate modes of transport perpetuates spatial exclusion, and it manifests itself in rural self-employed and unemployed women being isolated and confined to their respective villages. Therefore, making appropriate means of transport available for rural women would make them flexible in fulfilling their multitude of tasks, such as the collection of water, cleaning of clothes, crop production,

firewood collection, marketing of products and the care of infants. All these must be undertaken preferably at the same time.

Although in many cases the use of NMTs can reduce rural women's burden of transport, there are circumstances where most of these women do not have access to NMTs because they cannot afford them. Very few of these rural women can afford to purchase these means of transport because they have less access to disposable assets; as a result the majority are excluded. Some of the rural women indicated they could not ride bicycles or use donkey carts because these are owned and used by their spouses. They mostly use wheelbarrows to carry wood, water and agricultural produce. In situations where they want to use carts, they will have to hire them or use the services of a male partner, but for a fee. This constitutes another level of exclusion. Some researchers have argued that mobility ought to be considered a human right, since restrictions on mobility prevent rural women from accessing existing opportunities for education, employment, and political participation (Matin, 2000).

Access to an animal-cart can offer simple, affordable and manageable transport. Ownership, or even the ability to hire a cart, frees rural women from dependence on motorized transport services, which are often costly and unaffordable. Carts also have carrying capacities that are adequate to the needs of rural women, which usually involve relatively small loads and short journeys. Such modes of transport can also operate along paths and tracks that generally cannot be used by motorized vehicles. The provision of roads and motor vehicles can meet only a part of the rural transportation needs because such transport is orientated towards movement between spatially concentrated work areas and spatially dispersed residential areas rather than within the rural areas (Mahapa, 2000).

Therefore, making NMTs more widely affordable to rural women may require looking beyond the basic costs of the technology to providing credit or subsidies for their purchase, which could stimulate their widespread adoption. However, credit programmes usually require borrowers to have a source of income that would ensure repayment of the loans. Rural women spend more time on transport activities, which leaves them no extra time for income generating activities; as a result the burden becomes worse.

6.5.4 Spatial planning

Spatial planning in rural transport involves looking at the problem experienced by rural women holistically. This means moving beyond an exclusive focus on measures to improve mobility by making travel faster, cheaper or less burdensome. It also incorporates the option of non-

transport policy measures and interventions to increase accessibility by reducing or eliminating need for travel by rural women. The non-transport measures that can be taken to reduce the time and burden in the transport of subsistence goods involves spatial planning. This simply means that for rural women not to be excluded, the location of services, such as wells, hand-pumps, and water taps; firewood sources; agricultural input supply centres and crop marketing facilities; and clinics and schools should be closer to the rural women who use them. For these kinds of measures to be viable, there must be community involvement at all planning levels, even though at times this will not necessarily resolve all problems. The community should recognise the need for the services and eventually pay, manage and maintain them themselves.

From observation, some facilities such as water taps, telephones and so on, have been installed in some rural villages. But because of lack of ownership among the community and the costs of using these services, such facilities are vandalized and destroyed. In the end, it is rural women who suffer the consequences of such actions.

It should be realized that the facilities required to reduce the burden of transport for rural women are many and that they vary from one village to another. What has been found in the three villages studied in Limpopo is that about a quarter of all the time spent by self-employed and unemployed rural women on transport tasks is devoted to the collection of water, even though the delivery of water by government has increased since 1994. The new democratic government has also encouraged Escom to increase the supply of electricity in many rural villages. But firewood collection still constitutes a substantial drain on rural women's time and energy budget in each village studied. Evidence suggests that rural African women use firewood for cooking, and electricity is reserved for lights only. The main reason is that they cannot afford to pay the electricity rates. Also, the burden of firewood collection is increasing in many rural villages because of deforestation, exacerbated by increasing population pressure. This means that rural women will continuously have to travel further to reach wood sources. The odds have become too great to be overcome by many of the rural women, who experience hardships in fulfilling household chores. Some of the rural women interviewed indicated that in the past the bush used to be so dense that one could not see the next village, but today neighbouring villages can be seen easily because the intervening vegetation has been cut. The implication is that the more dense the forest, the nearer is the woodlots and vice versa.

Therefore, there are non-transport measures that could be taken to reduce the demand for fuel wood and water collection. In the case of water, the most effective policy would be to provide improved, subsidized water supplies closer to the rural women and to have families contribute a

reasonable amount towards the service, according to the rate of consumption. The question of contributing something towards services rendered is important in that people will protect the facilities and use water sparingly. In the case of firewood collection, the policy options include the establishment of community woodlots and the dissemination of fuel-efficient cooking stoves to reduce demand for firewood. Rural electrification has less impact since the main use of electricity is for lighting. This was confirmed in Babanana village where electricity is available but rural women there still prefer to collect heaps of firewood and pack them in their yards. Using electricity for cooking entails investment in suitable stoves and relatively high running costs, which very few could afford. So, what is required here is to understand the needs of rural women, particularly the self-employed and unemployed, and to understand as well how decisions are taken in their respective villages, and then to identify institutions and mechanisms that could make opportunities available for these rural African women.

6.5.5 Mainstreaming gender and transport

Mainstreaming gender equality, particularly in transport should be a commitment to ensure that women's as well as men's concerns are integral to the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of all legislation, policies and programmes so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality. Gender mainstreaming should be integral to all development decisions and interventions, and it should concern the staffing, procedures and culture of development organisations, involved in the transport sector as well as their programmes. It should support women-only or men-only projects designed as strategic interventions to address aspects of gender inequality and promote greater equality (Derbyshire, 2002). Mainstreaming gender and transport is important in terms of setting the policy because the situation many rural women face has made them vulnerable members of society, and their productive roles are sometimes not fully reflected in sector strategies such as in transport projects, as has been indicated by the Tshitwi Road Upgrading Project in the previous chapter. Transport planning has to take into account a clear distinction between the sexes in terms of transport needs and patterns. Previous attempts to improve mobility in rural areas have generally not favoured the rural unemployed and self-employed women as the facilities provided are not accessible to them and are irrelevant to their needs, such as water collection. This kind of situation is disempowering African rural women by robbing them of a better livelihood. Planning should therefore take account of the gender division of labour in transport and should plan improvements, which might alleviate the burden for both sexes. Doran (1995) says:

There is a wealth of gender-disaggregated data on transport patterns but far less on gender-responsive transport interventions. It is clear that women need to be

more involved in the planning and implementation of the transport interventions so that their perspective and needs are more central to the initiatives and implementation of the transport interventions.

These conclusions are true in the three villages studied in Limpopo where rural women need more participation in decision-making roles and planning. The failure of many development plans and their implementing instruments has been blamed on planning processes, which involve rural women neither in the decision-making process nor in the identification of their needs. Greater involvement of the wider society in decision-making through democratic process is argued to be central (Young, 1993). Greater involvement by the women in decision-making would help address both their practical and strategic needs.

6.5.6 Mainstreaming livelihood issues

Mainstreaming livelihood issues is also important if we want to understand the needs of rural women and to make transport policy and systems responsive to their needs. Rural self-employed and unemployed women engage in a variety of income-generating activities, such as selling fire-wood, vegetables, brewing of sorghum beer, selling *mopani* worms and so on. These are maintained as part of their survival strategies, and such activities require some form of travel and transport. Understanding these strategies would involve identifying ways through which the women could improve their livelihoods through better access to basic needs and opportunities – an approach which will be more empowering to the African rural women than are current practices. A multi-sectoral approach in this case means understanding rural women's livelihood strategies, based on their assets and opportunities and the livelihood outcomes they are struggling to achieve.

6.6. Summary

Evidence suggests that rural women's needs in transport are integrated. Their significance stretches from cross-sectoral thinking, to specifying appropriate modes of transport, to advocating improved location of services and facilities. There is also a need to educate men to understand the transport burden on rural women. This may happen by using participatory techniques at all levels of planning and implementation of programmes and projects in the villages, which may increase their awareness of such transport burdens. The men may not actually take over any of this burden, but they may release funds for the purchase of labour-saving devices.

Rural women need to be involved in decision-making. Involving them in this role and getting resources to them requires strengthening their ability to act for themselves. This can only occur

through investment in human capital, such as educating them and providing them with health services that will allow them to utilise their full potential. Strategies must be developed to ensure that rural women are given opportunities to participate in other spheres of life, such as in political, social and economic spheres. The provision of health care facilities in the form of mobile clinics on a weekly basis might help address some of the practical needs of rural women.

The need for capacity-building programmes has been recommended by rural women themselves, and this must be accompanied by mainstreaming gender and transport and livelihood strategies. This multi-sectoral approach involves giving rural women necessary skills and creating enabling environments in their villages and districts so that they can participate better. For example, they should be encouraged to establish child-care centres where they can drop their children every morning when they engage in income-generating activities. They may be trained in handwork and needlework in order to give them access to credit. They must be able to use a suitable — and available — transport facility. Obviously they will need to travel to areas where training is offered or trainers must come to their respective villages, according to the needs of the women in that village. Such interventions should be supported by, and should be given the blessings of, local councils and district councils. Giving rural women access to training, water, credit and employment may not be a solution to their travel and transport needs, but it may be a useful step in the women's empowerment. If they were empowered, they would not be excluded from participating in the socio-economic, political and cultural activities of their communities. Above all African rural women would be in a position to overcome the odds of travel and transport – odds that would no longer be too great to overcome.

A good recipe for isolation is a person who does not have information. Isolation leads to poverty of information, economic poverty, and even poverty of ideas. According to Dawson (1993), isolation means poverty. This is explained by the fact that in many parts of the non-industrialized world, particularly in the rural areas, isolation imposes a heavy burden on households and on whole communities (IFRTD, 1993). Isolation from the outside world inhibits social and economic development. If an area is difficult to reach, or if the people cannot easily travel, there will be a variety of constraints to development. The spread of new ideas, new technologies, and new practices is at best slow; at worst, it is halted, as in the rural areas studied. Isolation from those services and resources for which rural women need access to transport for household production intensifies poverty by adding to the time and effort required to gain access to them.

Thus, any savings in travel and transport, and in the provision of infrastructure such as water

and electricity, can offer rural women opportunities to attend meetings, engage in self-development, and even increase their small holdings' productivity. Savings in time can also offer these rural women opportunities to meet with other women and discuss common problems and strategies to overcome them. In Tshitwi, the women said that the reason they do not meet was because they do not have leisure time; all their time is spent doing household chores and fulfilling community responsibilities. For all these reasons there is a need to consider gender issues in rural transport planning and planning as a whole.

6.7. Concluding remarks

It was discussed in this chapter that the South African government has not translated its macro-policy into a gender-sensitive national transport policy, suggesting an apparent gap between rhetoric and reality. This is evidenced by the biases that exist in the provision of transport and in the solutions to transport and non-transport problems. Problems stretch from the time schedule of public transport, to division of labour and accessibility, to resources and services. When the heavy work burden of rural African women is combined with such transport problems, the odds against the women are too great to overcome.

The obvious gap between macro-policy and the national transport policy affects both planning and implementation. The Constitution should guide national transport policy, which, in turn, should be guided by the roles of the African rural women. These roles determine the needs for transport, and the planning should be done accordingly. Relevant strategies should come from such plans, thereby making implementation easy. As it is now, implementation is very difficult precisely because the needs of rural African women are not known. Consequently, these needs are not adequately addressed, partly as a result of the gap between policy and implementation, but most importantly because of the main gap between macro-policy and national transport policy. There should be policy to guide planning in every institution; failure to have that in place further suggests the need for rural African women to participate in all institutions: macro-, meso-, and micro-level institutions. This should not be just token participation, but meaningful participation: where their needs for transport may be voiced and heard better, where they can advocate for themselves the need for an integrated approach in rural transport planning. The next chapter will present conclusion and make recommendations.

7.1 Introduction

The thesis has demonstrated that, although government is committed to addressing gender equity, ten years after the beginning of the new South Africa, women still face several structural problems in society. Their access to basic services has only slightly improved; the majority of rural black African women still struggle to get access to these facilities. This research has also attempted to highlight gender issues that need to be considered in rural transport planning in order to address social and spatial exclusion of rural black African women. Through this study, we are able to develop some understanding of how the gendered division of labour at household and society levels, and the excessive labour burden arising out of such a division of labour, affect rural women's transport burden. Furthermore, gender relations influence women's travel and transport needs and patterns, as well as their access to resources and services. These gender aspects illustrate how inadequate or inappropriate transport, or simple lack of transport, impact on the ability of self-employed and unemployed rural women to meet their practical and strategic needs. In addition, the issue of participation of rural women in decision-making at both household and community levels has been investigated, and suggestions have been made about how this affects participation of those women in policy and planning.

In discussing these issues, worth noting is the fact that obtaining access to different resources and services is the responsibility of different members of the rural household. The total workload of a rural household is rarely shared equally among its members (Edmonds, 1998). Given that the household is a social unit in which each member has different responsibilities, solutions to the unequal distribution of workload should take this into account. For example, the different roles and responsibilities of rural women and men imply that rural women have different travel and transport tasks and needs than do men. In Limpopo, trips to collect water and firewood and to escort children to school are predominantly made by rural women. Those women also provide food for the family through subsistence farming and, where possible, through some form of income-generating activities. This increases their daily travel distance, which adds to their burden of transport. Rural women in Limpopo suffer both the physical and health burdens of head-loading large portions of fuel-wood, water and goods for income-generating activities. In addition, they have less access to public transport and other vehicles. This combination of multiple roles, poor services, and poor access to transport severely limits the time available for other activities, particularly those that would lead to self-development. It is

clear that transport planners ignore the transport associated with domestic tasks and that rural transport services and infrastructure are rarely planned with rural women's needs in mind, even though the South African Constitution claims commitment to addressing gender equity. There is an obvious gap between policy and implementation.

Treating rural women's transport needs as non-significant has meant that rural women spend longer times travelling to and from their income-generating activities as well as to and from their children's schools and health clinics, and they spend more time transporting water and fuel-wood. These have not only affected rural women's ability to care and nurture their families but have also restricted their ability to work effectively in the paid economy. The suggestion made in this study is that planning for improved access has to take into account the clear distinction between the sexes in terms of transport needs and patterns.

Worth noting, too, is the fact that the labour burden and poor access to resources and services arising out of the division of labour have reduced the participation of rural women in decision-making, particularly in policy and planning. As a result, they have been excluded, and, as such, they do not have the political and economic power to influence the forces that affect their livelihoods. Participation, therefore, is the process whereby these rural women could achieve influence and become able to negotiate access to these resources which can help them sustain and improve their livelihoods (Oakley and Clegg, 1998).

7.2. Approach of the study

The main argument in this thesis is that rural transport plans and development in South Africa, as elsewhere, have failed to adequately address the specific transport needs of rural African women, and this suggests a gap between policy and implementation. It was therefore appropriate to employ a gender analysis approach. This approach helped in identifying and examining the actual transport needs of rural women in Limpopo and also in suggesting the interventions which could reduce the transport burden. Furthermore, this approach has increased understanding of the gender-based division of labour, of resources and control of resources, of participation in local institutions, and of the local knowledge and perceptions of both men and women in the three villages studied. A number of guiding themes were developed in order to identify gender disparities in rural transport. These included the roles of rural African women that involve the use of transport; the constraints that create problems that impact on opportunities; and the need for policy to accommodate African rural women's transport needs. The purpose of exploring these three themes was to create an awareness of the transport needs of rural African women so that future rural transport policy will be

implemented in a gender-sensitive manner.

7.3. Literature and methodology

The literature review focused on gender and rural transport. The focus also included the gendered dimensions of social and spatial exclusion in rural transport and within the context of feminism. Literature on gender and transport in South Africa was also covered. Finally, included were rural transport policy reviews and the commitments by policy in terms of gender and transport.

What emerged from the literature is that gender issues are still not sufficiently recognised in rural transport plans and practice. Evidence has shown that the burden of transport falls on women, yet conventional approaches that concentrate on roads still dominate in rural transport planning. Discussions have since moved on from the provision of rural infrastructure meaning roads, from rural development also referring to roads, and from the need for low-cost means of transport. Even so, gender has not been integrated into these discussions over time. Gender analysts, within the confines of social exclusion, have focused on gender roles, resources and gender relations, but they have not considered transport. These situations entrench social and spatial exclusion. In addition, gender and transport has remained peripheral in the central role of transportation geography, as revealed by, for example, a series of progress reviews of transport geography. This also entrenches social exclusion.

In South Africa, too, studies concentrated on the construction of roads, as evidenced by the projects commissioned by the National Department of Transport (NDOT). Although women are responsible for most of the transport demand in the rural areas of Limpopo, as elsewhere, they are the most transport disadvantaged. Transport policy has also not sufficiently recognised the transport needs of African rural women. This is evidenced by the commitments that government has promised in terms of the RDP, the Transport policy documents, and strategies such as 'Moving South Africa'. The concept of gender is avoided; instead there are some generalisations and reference to 'special categories' or 'vulnerable and disadvantaged' passengers within the principles of the National Land Transport Policy. What is interesting about the issue of avoiding committing to gender needs is that the country has a gender-sensitive constitution and has also been in the forefront of work on gender budgets. Still, the South African government has been unable to translate macro-policy support into a gender-sensitive national transport policy.

Development agencies such as the ILO and the World Bank attempted to do justice to transport activities of rural households, but they used quantitative methodology. Most of the studies

concentrated on the need to stimulate transport services by building more roads, particularly in rural areas of lower income countries, and also to encourage rural people to use transport technologies that are affordable, such as NMTs and Intermediate means of transport. Gender, however, has not been fully integrated into their projects. It is only recently that the World Bank is beginning to realise the need to integrate gender into their financed transport programmes. This is evidenced by the studies commissioned by the IFRTD and IC-NET to identify promising approaches to the integration of gender into transport policies, programmes and projects, and by surveying experiences and best practices. This exercise is taking place in ten different countries, including South Africa, and the findings have not yet come out. The possibility is that the findings may be out towards the end of this year, 2003.

This study has, however, indicated that quantifying transport may not necessarily give clear indications of the transport problems, needs and concerns of rural women, particularly those who are self-employed and unemployed. Since studies of this nature are complex, and cannot be clearly understood from outside, there was a need to have an inside perspective of the issues related to the transportation of rural women. Therefore, a qualitative research approach was adopted. To this end, research methods associated with qualitative feminism, such as participant observation, focus group interviews, documents, and photographs were used. Furthermore, ideas from workshops were also used to supplement the discussion in this study.

7.4. Emerging themes

Three main themes emerged in this study, as summarised in Figure 7.1.

The first theme that was identified in the data was on the roles of rural women. African rural women and men have different social and economic roles and responsibilities. Consequently they have different transport needs and face different constraints. These distinctions were made possible through observations and interviews with rural women in the three villages studied. Rural women have to make sure that the three sets of responsibilities – reproduction, production and community management – are balanced. In terms of reproductive roles, they have to provide household necessities, such as fetching water, collecting wood, producing and making food; give care to the sick in the family and children; escort the elderly to pension-pay points; and, in some instances, escort children to school. In terms of productive roles, they have to be productive by engaging in income-generating activities, such as selling in the local markets, in schools, at pension-pay points,

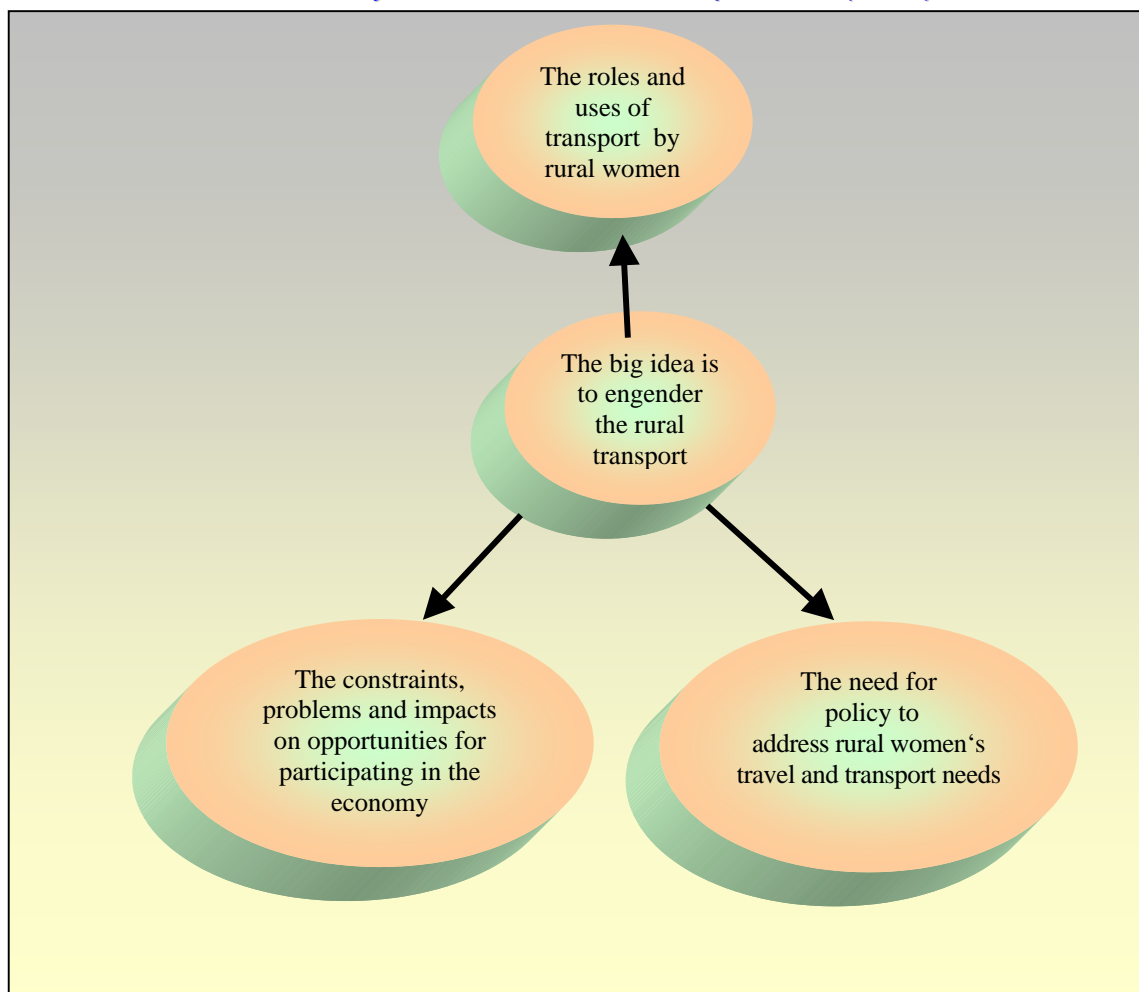


Figure 7.1: Themes explored (compiled from data)

or in formal wage employment. They have also to be involved in the production of food as subsistence farmers, either stock farming or crop production, or even a combination of the two, complemented by poultry farming at a local scale. At the community level, they have social obligations, such as managing and maintenance of the community infrastructure (water, schools, place of worship, clinics and roads). These women engage in visiting the sick within and outside their villages, and attending school meetings, funerals and celebrations. Each of these sets of activities involves transport.

By using interviews, I was able to identify these sets of roles; through observations, I was able to see African rural women engaged in many of these activities and income-generating activities, such as producing food in vegetable projects. Photographs helped to map these activities and their settings.

Although it was clear that the reproductive, productive and community roles require transport, it was appropriate for the African rural women to specify how they use transport. Transport was used for four main functions, namely, (i) to meet subsistence needs, as in the

collection of water, food production, fuel-wood collection; (ii) for economic purposes, as in agricultural activities, taking produce to the markets and going to the farm, traveling to non-agricultural work, seeking work, visiting credit institutions, and general commerce; (iii) for social purposes, as visits to friends and relatives, church visits, visits to government offices, travel to community meetings, hospital visits, shopping and maintaining social networks; and (iv) transport for the development of human capital, including travel to educational centres, health centres, meetings, visiting technical assistance institutions, and attending training meetings.

African rural women experience transport constraints that create problems not for them only but for the entire community that depends on them also. These constraints were identified as those that affect women transport entrepreneurs, and those employed, unemployed and self-employed in businesses other than transport. In general these constraints are wide ranging: heavy work schedule, limited voice in the planning of transport interventions, transport projects that do not reflect their needs, lack of good transport services, poor access to educational centres, lack of access to employment, no cheap transport, lack of access to clean water, limited access to technical assistance, and many more. According to Fernando (1999), restricted access, for instance to education and health services impairs people's ability to make the best use of their human assets. Most these constraints have related problems. For example, the heavy work schedule results in African rural women spending more time at home without any spare time to attend meetings or for self development. Other constraints, such as poor quality of roads, inadequate transport and limited access to resources and services, make the three sets of roles difficult, while lack of transport services and educational facilities result in these rural women lacking information. Annexure 2(c) shows more of these constraints and the problems they cause.

It was very clear that constraints created problems that impacted on opportunities. For example, rural employed women indicated that poor access to educational centres, particularly after work, denied them of the opportunity to improve, while unemployed rural women mentioned that they were denied the opportunity to labour and earn a living. Lack of transport denied them access to information to improve themselves and achieve full utilisation of their potential. In short, their economic expansion is curtailed, particularly that of the self-employed black African rural women. A heavy work schedule means that they waste several hours per day doing household chores, and this time cannot be used by rural women to participate in decision-making activities. Consequently, they lose out on so many issues that are relevant to their self-development and to the development of the community as a whole.

The constraints and related problems as well as the opportunities denied to rural women indicated that their needs for transport are not known. Consequently, they had to indicate what their needs are in terms of transport. African rural women's transport needs fall into two main categories: those that deal with practical issues and those that deal with strategic issues. The practical issues are actually practical everyday needs. They include productive activities in which women produce subsistence income and capital and provide space for transporting goods; reproductive activities carried out to maintain the household, such as fetching water and fuel-wood, cooking, child care, care of the sick and many other actions for which the women need nurseries, health care, energy sources, clean water and shopping facilities; and community activities that are carried out as members of a social grouping, such as house building, road construction and maintenance (particularly of paths and tracks which are used by them in most cases), and micro credit to help them acquire transport individually or communally.

Rural women also have strategic needs, which involves the creation of a more equal and satisfactory organisation of society in which they have the same rights as men to own and control resources and to participate fully in policy and decision-making processes at all levels. These needs were identified as alleviation of the burden of household labour by better facilities and technology; access to credit to improve income in their small businesses and to enable them to afford better means of transport; and also the right to participate in all decisions regarding improvement of transport policies. Training at work and outside work, particularly on technological issues, was also raised as an important strategic aspect to help the women overcome stereotypes such as 'men are more technical than women'. This kind of stereotype, the women said, excludes them from many job opportunities.

The element of exclusion from either job opportunities or from political participation (and even economic participation) suggests that the problems experienced by rural women are not only transport related. They require both transport and non-transport solutions to rural women's travel and transport needs. The approach suggested is integrated in that it is cross-sectoral, calling for various government sectors to discuss issues of common interest in addressing the needs of rural women. This approach also gives equal weight to the building of roads, upgrading of footpaths and tracks, and the rehabilitation of selected roads through community participation, with women actively involved. It also recognises appropriate modes of rural transport, such as animal-driven carts, wheelbarrows, ox-carts and hand-carts. Other approaches mainly considered non-transport solutions, such as spatial planning, that are bringing services closer to the communities who use them. For

these kinds of measures to be viable, community involvement at all planning levels was found to be appropriate.

Mainstreaming gender and transport has also been found to be a possible approach that responds to the travel and transport needs of rural women as well as to mainstreaming their livelihood issues. Rural women are engaged in a variety of income-generating activities and survival strategies. This is in line with what Fernando (1999) suggested, that understanding these livelihood strategies can enhance rural women's livelihood opportunities. This view of livelihood strategies is supported both by the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and by the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) discussed in the previous chapter. These two approaches have common points worth noting for the sake of this thesis:

- **SLA is centred on peoples' livelihood assets**
- **SLA seeks to unravel mechanisms and structures constraining access to these livelihood assets**
- **SLA develops strategies to overcome constraints and to enhance livelihood opportunities**
- **Both RDP and SLA promote universal access to socio-economic opportunities, with a view to promoting sustainable livelihoods**

Transport plays many roles in these arrangements. On the one hand, transport contributes to the level of physical assets, to the infrastructure, and to the different means of transport available rural women. On the other hand, the lack of transport undermines the capacity of rural women to access or to draw on their assets. As already indicated in this thesis, restricted access (for instance to education and health services) impairs rural women's ability to make the best use of their human assets.

The burden of transport activities puts severe pressure on the available time of rural African women. Basic household tasks, such as collecting water and firewood and travelling to and from the fields and markets, are both time and energy consuming, particularly for rural women. These rural women spend so much time meeting subsistence needs that they lose out on opportunities to earn higher incomes and to develop financial resources. Then, because they have limited financial resources, they are unable to invest in a means of transport or in the transport infrastructure.

The type of analysis that the sustainable livelihood approach brings to rural development helps us realise the central role that the lack of appropriate transport plays in maintaining the cycle of

poverty and isolation, and it pinpoints the need to develop alternative, more affordable transport systems for rural women.

7.5. Other emerging themes

This thesis has highlighted that there has been some generalisation of African rural women's transport needs. Linked to this is the need to focus on specific transport needs of rural African women for economic and social efficiency, as well as for social sustainability.

7.5.1 Generalisation of needs

Evidence suggests that, until recently, transport needs and the expectations of the socially and spatially excluded have not received sufficient attention. This may be partly because of the generalisation of rural women's transport needs rather than of mainstreaming these needs according to gender and partly because men undertake most of the planning with little or no regard to rural women's transport needs. In transport planning, the position of rural women has largely been hidden, as planners consider them to be housebound. These kinds of attitudes do not provide useful observations on the localised problems of the excluded. The local studies that have been undertaken in this thesis, however, have hopefully given a more reasonable understanding of the relationship between transport needs and disadvantaged groups, in this case, rural self-employed and unemployed women.

7.5.2 Economic and social inefficiency

This thesis has also found that the observed distribution of rural transport resources is economically and socially inefficient, thereby underestimating the productive and the social roles of rural self-employed and unemployed women in society. This was usually seen where important transport tasks involving women (such as water and fire-wood collection, and health and education access) were often considered to have insufficient economic benefits to justify IMT investment. However, a social and economic benefit approach should be used for assessing IMT benefits as they relate to unemployed and self-employed rural women.

7.5.3 Social sustainability

Another theme that emerged is that transport interventions and investments do not necessarily benefit rural women, consequently undermining project sustainability. Projects were designed by men and largely managed and operated by men; in other words, men were the major beneficiaries of most projects and intermediate means of transport initiatives. In many villages

in Limpopo, there were many IMTs such as donkey carts and ox-carts, but these were considered male domains. Because of their social position in society, women generally had less access to information, capital, credit, cash income and profitable transport activities. As a result, their viewpoints have been less heard and few transport projects have incorporated gender analysis in designing IMT components. Evidence suggests the need for projects to be more inclusive and more sensitive to the beneficiaries, especially women, if the projects are to be sustainable. Therefore, a gender-desegregated accounting of benefits is required for social sustainability. In other words, transport should be used as an instrument to target and address rural women's needs.

Another finding suggests that there was not only gender inequality in the transport burden but also in the intervention designed to alleviate that burden. IMT promotion programmes must therefore ensure there is gender-desegregated data relating to rural transport problems, needs and priorities, and to project impact.

Integrating gender into IMT strategies requires ways of identifying gender differences in transport needs and priorities as well as ways in which the gender inequalities in transport interventions can be addressed. It is therefore vital to involve rural women and their perspectives in the decision-making process when developing transport policies and IMT initiatives. However, it is also vital to guard against the dilemmas of following this strategy. Such dilemmas include increasing women's responsibilities; for example, getting them involved in the time-consuming task of participating in committees empowers them but also adds to their workload. This situation suggests the real need to reduce the labour burden and the burden of transport experienced by rural women so that they can participate fully without incurring more workload.

Intervention programmes should make a point of involving women, addressing gender imbalances in IMT adoption, and ensuring information and credit systems are suited to rural women's needs. Planners and policy makers need to work closely with local organisations that target women and provide innovative information provision systems and credit arrangements for women.

7.6 Recommendations for rural transport policy and planning

7.6.1 Equity or efficiency?

From the aforesaid analysis, it is clear that the scope of rural transport policy has been limited

because of a limited gender focus in rural transport systems, projects and programmes. This could be attributed to an emphasis on conventional transport planning objectives, which focus on ensuring that investments were economically efficient but which say very little about the distribution of project benefits. This approach, therefore, raises the question of whether the gender impacts of transport should be treated primarily as an efficiency issue or an equity issue.

If the problem is seen as primarily economic, the issue to decide is whether the benefits of gender-specific interventions are worth their costs. But if the problem is seen as essentially an equity issue, then it may be clear that self-employed and unemployed rural women have worse transport scenarios than any other groups in rural areas. This may be the result of a general gender inequality. For example, in terms of access to public transport, other groups have better access than self-employed and unemployed rural women. In practice, transport interventions should be designed to be more inclusive in order to help the most vulnerable groups of the society.

7.6.2 Sector strategy

The South African gender and transport policy should be linked to continental policy issues on gender and transport. This means that the NEPAD's transport and gender strategy should be very clear so that it can be translated into a continental plan of action. Attention to gender in rural transport policies must be a part of a broad sector strategy that considers all disadvantaged groups. In general, well-designed improvements in transport systems can benefit women and men equally, and, in some cases, women more than men. But problems may arise when projects do not address gender differences in transport needs and, as a result, rural self-employed and unemployed women benefit less than men. Some women may even be worse off, as is the case with self-employed and unemployed rural women in the three villages studied in Limpopo. Thus, assisting rural women means raising awareness among policy-makers and planners and ensuring that rural women are represented in participatory planning. In addition, it should be recognised that if access to adequate and appropriate means of transport and resources is not provided to rural women, they will be excluded socially, economically, politically, and even emotionally. They will also be substantially excluded from participation in civil society, and their social, economic and political contributions will be limited or non-existent.

7.6.3 Broadening of the rural transport problem

What needs to happen, also, is recognition of and a broader understanding of the transport problems of rural women. This brings in a new concept and definition of rural transport as the provision of access to resources and services. In other words, the core problem should be seen as the scale and nature of transport tasks rather than as an inadequacy of the rural transport

system per se. This has some policy implications in the sense that another door is opened for looking beyond improving rural women's mobility by making transport cheaper or faster or by providing subsidies. Policy and planning must also look at solutions which reduce or obviate the need to travel. This generally means looking at the location of facilities and the delivery of services and goods closer to rural women.

7.6.4 Acknowledge appropriate rural transport interventions

Rural transport policy should also acknowledge appropriate transport interventions which are location specific. In other words, policy should respond more closely to the specific physical, cultural, political and socio-economic characteristics and needs of the target area and group. This also implies that attention should be paid to involving rural women in the planning and implementation of projects that affect them. Given these circumstances, policy makers and planners have great challenges ahead of them.

7.6.5 Challenges for planners and policy makers

In socially divided societies, such as in Limpopo, a strong and prolonged commitment to integration is essential in order to overcome cultural practices of exclusion while still protecting civil liberties. Integrating civil societies requires the creation of a public sphere in which the excluded (in this case self-employed and unemployed rural women) find common interests and co-operate despite the differences. It is a challenge that Limpopo will have to face.

The challenge is to integrate institutions into a co-ordinated whole. Since social exclusion is multi-dimensional, and since aspects of deprivation are inter-related in complex ways, a systematic approach is necessary. Institutions such as government need to draw upon many disciplines and must attempt to co-ordinate the interventions of many actors. And because social exclusion entails lack of power, social relations, and the economic resources needed to organise politically, new institutions will provide a mechanism for the excluded themselves to participate actively in decision-making. Thus, institution building is part and parcel of establishing a new regime of social regulation to fight exclusion.

In the fight against exclusion, multi-actors and interventions should be involved. At the national level, the fight against exclusion should involve promoting inter-ministerial commissions, encompassing representatives from human services, labour, commerce, housing, health, culture, education and other previously independent bureaucracies. Other social partners, such as business and unions, may join the discussions. Non-governmental organisations may be consulted as well. These inter-ministerial, inter-sectoral institutions may facilitate the diffusion of

information about programmes and projects that work, and provide feedback about necessary reforms.

Locally, the same approach can be discerned in the new institutions of rural transport development policy. Decision-making has to be inclusive, involving especially business and voluntary associations. Engendering the rural transport system requires the creation of new partnerships with the excluded, private and public sector representatives, including employers, local residents and interested parties.

Participatory democracy and a vibrant civil society can provide the excluded groups with a public forum to express their particular concerns. Through representatives in new, broader, multi-purpose institutions, the involvement of excluded groups can revitalise active citizenship. In this way, the process of constructing a new model of social integration can be truly inclusive.

What also emerged as a challenge was that it would be difficult to consult with rural women in male-dominated cultures because many men would not allow women to say anything on their own behalf. This calls for more respect for local cultures. What was even more obvious was that one would not respect the local cultures if one did not know and understand them. Therefore, we need to make special efforts in knowing and understanding local cultures. Otherwise we would generalise in attempting to plan for rural women.

Furthermore, rural women are one of the many components which make an urgent call upon funds allocated at national level for transport improvements. Even when an appropriate allocation has been made, there usually is the question of how best to distribute the investment within individual rural villages to secure the most effective return in social and economic terms.

Other challenges to face include issues such as project officials who are not trained in gender planning and who thus still cling to the traditional ways of doing things, resulting in perpetuation of spatial, social, economic and even political exclusion. It would also be difficult for government to find cost-effective ways to manage small projects, which must respond to the cultural, social and economic needs of the local communities due to the latter reason mentioned, amongst others, and also to the limitations on government resources. Therefore, the role of government should be to attempt to follow the suggestions below:

- develop a gender-sensitive policy framework
- design and test pilot interventions
- pilot projects

- organise workshops on promoting gender awareness within the transport professional community and among clients
- develop a toolkit and training materials which could involve providing tools and techniques for sector professionals to better account for and improve gender distribution of project impacts
- document the importance of gender analysis in project work and sharing lessons learnt.

7.7. Recommendations for further research

A number of approaches have been identified in order to minimise the spatial and social exclusion of self-employed and unemployed rural women. They include mainstreaming gender issues in rural transport planning, gender-sensitive monitoring and evaluation, setting targets, gender-sensitive interventions, and empowerment.

7.7.1 Mainstreaming gender issues

Mainstreaming gender issues in rural transport planning involves evaluating how projects and programmes affect rural women and men and what steps need to be taken to address specific constraints. For example, when training rural communities in road upgrading projects, using high technology equipment will only benefit the men and will exclude the women, since women are considered to be incapable of managing technical equipment. This has happened in the Tshitwi Road Upgrading project. Women also have little time to participate in such training because of their multiple roles. Special efforts are needed to include rural women in such training through alleviating their time constraints, through targeting them, and also through changing the attitudes of both rural men and women. This can happen if project planners and implementers work with the local organisations and develop better ways to measure the value of rural women's time and incorporate this into project economic analysis.

7.7.2 Gender-Sensitive monitoring and evaluation

Gender analysis must be included at all the stages of the programme and project implementation and monitoring and evaluation. One way to do this would be to have checklists of questions to be addressed at every level of a project to check whether gender issues have been considered.

7.7.3 *Setting targets*

One way to ensure mainstreaming of gender in rural transport would be to set targets for equitable participation of women in projects and keeping statistics by gender. For instance, it was found in the Tshitwi project that more men were employed than women. It should be a requirement for village projects to have equal numbers of men and women who have to be trained or who carry a responsibility.

7.7.4 *Gender-sensitive interventions*

A number of policy initiatives can help ensure that rural women benefit from interventions introduced in rural areas. These interventions should be geared towards addressing rural women's needs as it has been shown that many of them are dependent on non-motorised transport. This is because of the nature of their trips and types of responsibilities carried. For example, wheelbarrows and handcarts could halve the amount of time rural women require for local transport. Other promising interventions include animal-driven carts and modified bikes to transport water, goods and children.

Micro-credits should be encouraged in order to help rural women acquire transport, individually or communally. In this way, rural women themselves would be taking responsibility in attempting to address their needs. In addition, this would open up opportunities for rural women entrepreneurs in the transport sector. This can further be facilitated by giving rural women access to credit through income-generating activities, such as promoting them to participate as transport providers, levelling the playing field for rural women contractors in road construction and maintenance, and providing technical assistance to rural women entrepreneurs. The other option would be to empower them with skills such as sewing, baking and gardening in order to give them access to credit. In this way, they would be able to purchase an intervention of their choice to reduce the burden of domestic work.

Planners should be aware of the nature of activities taking place in the rural areas and performed specifically by rural women in order to avoid interventions that benefit the richer section of the community at the expense of the poor. They should adopt procedures that specifically meet the needs of rural women, thus ensuring a more gender sensitive rural transport system. An effective rural transport system is not just reliant on the provision of roads but also on the vehicles that will provide the transport services.

A number of policy initiatives could help ensure that rural women benefit from road construction, upgrading and maintenance projects. The advantage of involving rural women in

these projects is that these roads facilitate marketing of produce, promote family food security, and give access to schools, thereby leaving the mothers with ample time for self-development. In most cases the construction and improvement of the transport infrastructure range from building roads to improving paths and tracks. These are labour-based activities in most rural areas, with technical inputs from the District Engineering Department. Labour-based improvements must ensure the participation of rural women in the choice of the road and path to be improved in order to include gender considerations.

Therefore, such improvements must ensure that:

- the decisions as to which path, track or bridge to improve should not be taken by the village government (predominantly men) or the district excluding rural women;
- improvement of interventions, especially paths and tracks, should not only consider those leading to feeder roads or marketing centres but also to fields, water and fuel-wood sources; and
- in both paid and unpaid labour-based work, there should be equity in the number of rural women and men involved, otherwise such works add to the rural women's labour burden while the improvement may not address the major problems in travel and transport. Rural women should not be discriminated against in terms of the type of job they should do. They should be given an opportunity to do what they can do best because, in most cases, the type of job corresponds with the wage, and the danger is that rural women are given low-paid non-technical work and men better-paid more technical jobs, and this perpetuates socio-economic and spatial exclusion.

These road-building and upgrading projects are essential if access to local markets, schools and clinics is to be increased. But, given the high costs of road-building schemes, plans should be preceded by feasibility studies that investigate the potential advantages and benefits to be gained from road upgrading and, where appropriate, the introduction of mechanised transport.

7.7.5 Empowerment

To be more specific, planning should include elements such as mainstreaming and empowerment since we acknowledge that women contribute significantly to the development efforts of any society. Therefore, they must be included in all sectors and from all levels of society so as to enable them to meet their needs and priority. This simply means empowerment, which should be interpreted as giving rural women the means to meet their practical and strategic needs. Some of the ways in which this can be achieved include

changing attitudes about what rural women can and cannot do. For example, women are considered incapable of mastering technical skills. Giving them an opportunity to prove themselves should change that. Such skills upgrading would also enable them to participate in policy and decision-making.

Given that exclusion from the world of work is one of the principle causes of poverty and marginalisation, it is urgent to replace the current dynamics for unemployment with an active job creation policy. This policy would consist of strategies whose objectives are to remove handicaps and enable the most vulnerable and deprived groups to acquire the tools that are indispensable for obtaining remunerative employment. One is aware of the extent to which illiteracy and lack of skills bar rural women from paid employment. In this case they need to be trained in skills and encouraged toward entrepreneurship in order to gain access to resources.

7.7.6 Implications for further research

The burden of transport on rural women is obvious; what is less obvious is how rural women, with little or no cash income, could afford to purchase a means of transport. One could suggest developing credit schemes. But the big question would be how these schemes could be developed to address their needs, particularly since in many instances it is the time taken for transport that restricts their engagement in additional income-generating activities.

There is already a good understanding of the role that many vehicles such as donkey-carts, wheelbarrows and, to lesser extent, tractors, bicycles and pick-up vans play in rural transport systems. Specific research is still needed on each of these vehicle types in each locality so as to fully understand the contribution that they make to rural transport systems and in alleviating the burden of transport. The danger that we usually face is to generalise about issues, yet there are pockets that need special attention. The specific transport needs of each area must be identified, followed by the selection of the most effective technology in terms of road surface standard and vehicle type. Finally, the extent to which the opportunities offered by new or improved roads for the advancement of living standards are actually realised must be assessed wherever possible.

There is a fair understanding of the micro differences between men and women in terms of travel patterns and decisions at home. For example, men make simple trips to work and to leisure activities, but women make complicated trips, such as escorting children to school, going to markets, to fields etc. In terms of means of transport, men travel further and use cars, bicycles and other forms of public transport. Little is known about the role of transport sector

work as a political body in maintaining gender bias. More research still needs to be done in this regard to identify what is happening at the micro level (household and society) and at the policy level and how they connect.

The question of the link between transport and poverty still needs to be established. What is fairly clear is that poverty is associated with very low income and consumption and is manifested in many dimensions – physical isolation, political and social exclusion, ill health and illiteracy. Each of these dimensions tends to reinforce the transport linkages and they seem to share important linkages.

7.8. Concluding statements

It has been frequently assumed that conventionally well-designed and implemented transport policies would benefit women and men equally, and that consequently there was no need to focus specifically on the special transport needs of women. This study challenges this assumption of gender neutrality based on the following shortcomings:

- i) Rural women's multiple roles as household keepers, as unpaid managers of both family and society businesses, and as wage earners means that rural women's travel and transport needs are more complex than those of men.
- ii) Most public transport systems have been designed to transport large numbers of people to and from work along major transport routes, and these do not respond to the multi-trip requirements of rural women, particularly as many trips are off main routes and out of peak travel times.
- iii) Rural women are excluded from many stakeholder consultations on transport projects design, particularly because most transport projects and intermediate means of transport limitations are determined by men, designed for men, and men are the major beneficiaries.

The findings of this study, therefore, advocate a more gender-sensitive rural transport system, one that should address the actual transport needs of rural women in specific localities. Efforts should be made to encourage the use of non-motorized vehicles appropriate to the village and also to provide transport to rural women. The provision of transport may have its own part to play in changing attitudes of both rural men and women. However, it remains true that much can be achieved by way of a gender-awareness planning process to remove the biases which currently result in inadequate transport for the rural women, limiting their access to work and constraining their ability to use services

necessary for their multiple roles. The losers in the end are not only the rural women themselves but also the children who depend on them, their local societies, and even the nation as a whole. Still, rural women's problems still need to be tackled at a much more basic level than at national level. And the decision as to which means of transport is the most appropriate should be determined to a large extent by the resources of the local area and by the rural women themselves.

Through this research on the relations between gender and transport, the power of a qualitative engendered transport geography study has been demonstrated. May the continuation of the academic sub-discipline field of Geography and Gender research, in general, and of the Geography of Transport in rural context, in particular, improve and expand our understanding of Human Social Geography.

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ANNEXURE 1(a): BABANANA FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

TRANSCRIPT OF TRAVEL AND TRANSPORT NEEDS OF RURAL WOMEN IN THE
CONTEXT OF BABANANA, IN THE BALOI TRIBAL AUTHORITY

FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW (30 Rural Women)

DATE: 08/04/2000

TIME: 9H00 TO 14H00

The purpose of this focus group interview was to gather information on the following issues:

1. The roles of African rural women and how they use transport.
2. Whether the existing transport facilities meet their needs for travel and transport.
3. Opportunities denied to them when the system cannot meet their needs.
4. What their problems are in travel and transport.
5. The impact of travel and transport on their lives and livelihood?

The ultimate plan is to genderise the rural transport system.

Abbreviations:

M: moderator

W1: woman number 1

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

<p>Moderator: <i>Good morning ladies. The guests here have noticed that there may be problems that need to be addressed concerning the status of living. When you are at a distance, you cannot notice the problems unless you come closer and talk to the relevant people. So, they decided to come closer to you so that they can discuss the problems with you.</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Introduction
<p>Based on transport:</p>	
<p>M: <i>Can you tell us about the present transport situation in this village?</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Transport situation
<p>W1: In this village we have serious problems. Access to this village is constrained by poor, winding roads that at times are impassable during the rainy season The quality of roads is poor e.g. when you want to go to the clinic, you have to walk for a long distance because there is no transport. For health services we have to go to Mavele that is the neighbouring village or go to Mamitwa.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Transport constraints ■ Poor quality of roads, no roads, no transport, long distance, seasonal constraints ■ Concern about accessibility of transport (issues)
<p>W2: Like when we have to go to Musiphana where there is a health centre we have to walk to Mametwa first to get a taxi, bakkie or bus to Musiphana. The poor roads in most cases scarce away public transport such as buses and taxis. As a result we experience some delays and inconveniences in transporting our goods and ourselves. We wait for longer times at the bus stop, like you can wait for an hour for a bus that will never come. Remember there are no shelters; we depend on the shades from the trees.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Quality of roads, absence of transport, waiting time, lack of facilities, e.g. bus stops (issues) - inconvenient and sporadic transport services ■ impact on time
<p>W3: But even before the heavy rains that damaged the roads, it was difficult to get transport. We even asked the government to make a road from Babanana to Musiphana, but unfortunately there is no reply till today.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Poor transport, aggravating conditions, e.g. rain, no roads (issues)

<p>W4: These heavy rains damaged the bridge linking Tzaneen and our village. Because of that taxi fares increased whereby they charged from Babanana to Mamitwa R3.50 and, Mamitwa to Nkowakowa is R5.50, but before the rains we paid R4.50 for the whole trip from Mamitwa to Nkowakowa and Babanana to Mamitwa R2.50. This is a problem because we cannot afford the high cost of transport.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Raising transport cost, lack of access to urban centres (<i>concern about access problems, e.g. affordability</i>) poor roads, aggravating condition - rain
<p>W5: The quality of roads within the village is very poor. This is not because of the heavy rains. They have been like this since. When one is sick in the family the ambulance has to wait at the main road from Mametwa which is about 6km from Babanana. The heavy rains have worsened the situation. One can even die because there is no transport.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Quality of roads has been ignored, aggravating condition, e.g. rain (<i>impact, health concern</i>)
<p>W9: Our children have to walk for about 2 hours to school. As a result they do not concentrate and this leads to high failure rate. You must also remember that after accompanying them to school we still have other things to do at home. At the end of the day we are tired.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Distance and time, impact on children and education, impact on mothers ■ <i>Impact</i>
<p>W10: Another problem we have is water. There is only one tap in the whole village and you have seen how big this village is. Sometimes water does not come out of the tap and we have to fetch water from the fountains, which is dirty in most cases.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Poor access to sources ■ Impact on health
<p>W11: Because the tap is not in our yards we have to carry a 25 litre bucket on our heads or use the wheelbarrow for an hour or two, three to four times a day if you are lucky to have girl children who can relieve you. Even when we want to do some washing we have to carry the big washing-bath on our heads or use the wheelbarrow if you have it and do the washing around the tap.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Poor access to sources, impact on social, cultural and religious activities of the villagers
<p>W12: We spend almost the whole day at the tap because we are many we have to share one tap and get water in turns. A lot of time is spent doing one thing. If we can get</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Impact on time ■ Wasted time, caring

<p>more taps life will be better for some of us. Remember that some of us have to take care of my mother-in-law and father-in-law, who cannot do anything. They cannot cook for themselves; they must be cleaned and even escorted to their pension pay-points. If there can be transport to help us during the day things will be better.</p>	<p>for the elderly</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Impact on other household responsibilities
<p>W13: My mother-in-law is not staying with us. She lives in another village and my husband is the one who must take care of her as he is the only son. As a result I must check on her almost every week and there is no transport, I have to walk for a long distance and even make sure that I take her to the doctor in town when she is ill. We have one clinic here and it is not working. It only caters for pregnant women, for other sicknesses one has to walk to Musiphana and is far from Babanana if you have to carry a sick person who cannot walk properly and faster. Otherwise it means spending the whole day escorting a sick person to the health centre.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Household responsibilities, caring for elderly – family welfare ■ Poor access to services - need for antenatal care ■ Impact on health ■ Impact on mothers
<p>M: Can you tell us: what do you need transport for?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Needs
<p>W14: We need transport to help us take our sick to hospital and health centres which are not available in our village and pregnant women to clinics and to go to town in Tzaneen for shopping. There is only one clinic, which is not in use because there are no nurses. The only service we have is provided by a mobile clinic for immunization of children and pregnant women. This clinic works once a month. If anything can happen during the days when the mobile clinic is not there we have to see how to come out.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Need for ante-natal care Health services ■ Impact on health
<p>W15: We also need transport to take our children to school because we only have a primary school and also to reduce the taxi fare. The taxi people know that we do not have transport, especially during this rainy season when most of the roads are damaged they charge more than they use to charge.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Education ■ Transport facilities ■ Unfair charges - abuse by taxi transport providers
<p>W18: We also need transport to go to the farms to get vegetables, fruit and chickens to come and sell here. Transport is a problem. I have to carry the goods on my head. Imagine having to carry a box of live chickens for about 10km. That is not nice. One cannot buy a big quantity because it is heavy. We therefore have to hire someone with a bakkie to save time. So all the profit money that one makes is spent on transport and we do not</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Trading ■ Impact on health, on cost ■ Impact on time, business

<p>see any benefit out of the businesses we run. So we are suffering.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Unprofitable business
<p>M: <i>What modes of transport do you presently use?</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ <i>Modes of transport and use</i>
<p>W19: Those who are working in Tzaneen and Nkowakowa use bus transport. They can only use taxis if they are prepared to walk to Nwametwa, and is far to walk in the morning.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Bus - employment ■ Taxi - employment
<p>W20: If there is something urgent we hire bakkies from those who have. Like when someone is ill and has to be taken to hospital.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Bakkies - emergencies
<p>W21: We use donkey-carts for collecting firewood and sand for building purpose and use wheelbarrows for fetching water or even head-loading.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Donkey-carts - goods ■ Wheelbarrows - goods ■ Head-loading - goods
<p>W22: In short, those women who are in paid employment use the bus, while those who are self-employed use either wheelbarrows to transport their goods to the local market where they sell or use the animal cart. In fact it depend on whether you can afford to pay for a hired cart. You must know that some of us are selling in our homes because we cannot afford to hire any means of transport. Alternatively we have to carry sweets, juices and fat cookies by head to the schools where we sell. If I want to buy stock from town I have to hire or take the morning bus and wait until late in the afternoon when paid workers return. This means I spend the whole day doing nothing.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Bus - employment and shopping ■ Wheelbarrows – goods ■ Hired carts - goods and people ■ Head-loading - goods ■ Time wasting ■ Impact
<p>M: <i>If government can buy a bakkie, what will you use it for? Do you think donkey carts can be good in this village or you prefer to use wheelbarrows?</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Perception about appropriate technology
<p>W23: We can use the bakkie to develop the community by reaching the TLC, go to the police station because presently it is far. Concerning carts, they can be good to transport us during the day when there are no buses and</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Development opportunities ■ For households and

<p>vans. They can also help in the collection of firewood and transport for our school children and to pension-pay points. Remember we sell a lot of things at the pension-pay points, ranging from food to clothes besides transporting the older people.</p>	<p>community</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Trading
<p>M: <i>What do you think should be done to address your problems?</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Solutions/views
<p>W24: Government should build secondary schools in our village. Bring water because there are taps in our village but they do not have water. There is a clinic but it is not used. Nurses should be brought to the clinic and a doctor. As of now the clinic building is used for community meetings.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Practical need - building schools, bring tap water, bring nurses and doctors
<p>W25: Our roads should be improved because now the rain has caused terrible damage to an extent that bakeries no longer deliver; we have to hire vans to town to buy bread and other goods for our <i>spaza</i> shops. Remember we do not have shops in the village; we depend on <i>spaza</i> shops for our daily goods such as bread, milk, sugar and maize meal.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Practical need - road improvement to ease life
<p>W26: The government should come to us so that we tell them what we want. Now they say they do not have graders to repair the roads. This village has many people especially men, who are unemployed and many of them resort to drinking beer instead of repairing the roads and government should pay them.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Practical need - consulting with authorities ■ Concern about male unemployment - impact on community facilities
<p>W27: We need to talk to the TLC people to come here and repair the roads and also talk to the taxi association to come to Babanana and collect people because as of now there is no taxi coming in this village. Maybe because the roads are bad as you can see. If you have powers to go to government tell them they should bring services in this community such as roads, clinics, water and schools.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Negotiations with service providers, need for transport facilities - taxis ■ Practical need - infrastructure
<p>M: <i>Some of you are working and some are not. Can you show by raising your hands who is working? Tell us: you say the quests must go and tell government your problems and amongst others you need transport. What do you need transport for as women?</i></p>	
<p>W30: You must also know that there is no woman who is not working. All of us here are engaged in some form of economic activities that bring in money to help in the family</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Economic activities - employed women, self-employed, concern

<p>because many men here are not working. They remain at home drinking beer. We have to see to it that there is a bag of maize meal at the back of the kitchen door. We sell a whole range of things including fruit, vegetables and clothes. We also need transport to go and stock.</p>	<p>about unemployed men, need for transport facilities and services</p>
<p>W31: We need clinics here maybe some of us can get employment. We can be cleaners and even make tea for the nurses. We also need nurseries for our children. I believe if someone can give us direction, we can run the nurseries ourselves. But now, we do not know where to start and what to do.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Practical need - clinics, employment ■ Strategic need - better facilities, e.g. nursery ■ Need for training
<p>M: <i>As women, do you have an organization, which addresses your problems?</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Emancipation
<p>W32: Yes, we have a care-group, but we do not meet because some women do not honour it. Only a few of us meet and then we elect a committee to take our problems to government but we do not get feedback.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Poor organization, lack of time ■ Practical need - recognition
<p>M: <i>If all these problems that you are indicating can be solved, what will you do with the time gained?</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Opportunities
<p>W33: We told you that we do not have time to attend community meetings; the availability of facilities will give us time to concentrate on real women issues. We can get someone to teach us how to use sewing machines, how to cook and to make vegetable gardens and sell, since we will be having enough water and time.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Practical need - need to attend meetings, capacity building, empowerment
<p>W34: Right now the village has electricity, but many of us cannot use it because we cannot afford it. Even those who have installed it use it for lights only. They still have to fetch wood for cooking. Obviously, if people can come here and teach us some of the self-help schemes we will be useful to our community and the village as a whole.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Practical need - need for electricity, affordability (impact) - fetching wood ■ Community role and empowerment
<p>W35: At the moment we concentrate on things that consume a lot of time and the village is not improving. We also want to have time to hold meetings with our men here and discuss things that affect our village.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Concern about development in the village, decision-making role ■ Strategic need - need to participate

<p>W36. You know what, some of the problems that we experience men do not know and they also do not understand. If we have time to ourselves we can take our problems straight to the TLC.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Strategic need - need to participate in decision making ■ <i>Decision -making role</i>
<p>W37. The lady who has just talked is right. You have seen when this meeting started that some of us could not say anything in front of them. You have also seen how they were responding to the lady who wanted to clarify our problems. They made it appear as if she was out of order, as if she was wrong.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Strategic need - need for recognition, concern about gender bias ■ Male domination
<p>W38. Our village is not improving at all. We tried, as a community to inform government about our problems but they never did anything up to today. So, I think it is time to stand up as women. (<i>She used the Northern Sotho expression saying "Mosadi o swara thipa ka bogaleng" meaning "A woman holds the knife at the sharp point especially when there is trouble." This is direct translation.</i>)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Strategic need ■ Need for change ■ Power and control
<p>W39: I really believe it is high time that we wake-up and not expect men to do things for us, we really need to help them and help ourselves. This is our village too and we are the ones suffering.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Strategic need ■ Empowerment ■ Emancipation
<p>M: <i>Do you participate in community development projects?</i></p>	
<p>W40: We would like to participate in community development projects, but it is difficult because most of the time we are busy doing this and that. At the end of the day we have less time and energy to channel towards initiating and participating in the community development projects.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Participation in community development projects - impossible - heavy work schedule
<p>W41: Some of us want to participate and initiate projects, but I only passed standard 2, as a result it is difficult for me to give inputs and understand some issues relating to designing and planning projects, I can only provide labour.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Lack of education, opportunities denied, participation in project operation phase only
<p>W42: At some stage we attempted to initiate an agricultural project, and it failed not because we are lazy. But because of lack of the necessary resources such as water supply system and agricultural technological know-how. We have been pleading with authorities to bring water, but up till now we still survive by using one tap; many of them are dry.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Project failure, lack of resources, e.g. water, knowledge, practical need - need for resources
<p>W43: We do not have knowledge and information that is required to initiate development projects. As a result it is difficult to even suggest that we take initiative.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ No knowledge, no information, difficult to initiate projects
<p>W44: You know what, we use not to talk in front of the community or strangers, but things are changing, because</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Absence of men, sense of empowerment,

<p>most of our husbands are not at home to talk and do things on our behalf. Right now we are discussing with you issues of interest to us and the community as a whole. I think when you leave this place we will remain and do something to help our families and community. The other issues is the agricultural project which failed, we learn from mistakes and that was an initiative.</p>	<p>community role</p>
<p>W45: We already told you that we have problems of water. At the moment we attend meetings with women from neighbouring villages to talk about what should be done to solve our problems. Unfortunately we walk to these villages as there is no transport.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Community role, Social obligations, opportunity to meet other women, need for transport
<p>W46: Some of us belong to care-groups which started because of health reasons. The problem of trachoma, which is a result of poor nourishment, led to the vegetable garden we mentioned earlier on. We also care for the sick, aged, orphans within our village and surrounding villages, But the plans are complicated by transport problems.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Participation in development projects, opportunity to meet other women, social obligations, transport problems
<p>W47: I think we need to participate fully in the local organizations such as the civics and many of those I do not know because we are the once remaining at home, in the villages so to say, when our husbands are away. We know how and what it feels to be in the village without water, fuel-wood and food. So we must take charge of the villages, especially projects that must come in to help us. Otherwise some of the young men who are involved in decision making of our village do not understand what we want as their mothers. We must get involved.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Strategic need - political participation, participation in development projects, impact
<p>W48: Some of us are able to do jobs they usually say are done by men. We organized ourselves, as women to make mud-bricks and even build house for ourselves. What happens is, we start with one person's house and then followed by the next until all the house are complete. In this regard we need transport to carry material.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Mainstreaming Gender issues, empowerment, practical need - transport ■ Facilities and services
<p>W49: We have been excluded from participating in the traditional leadership structures in our village. This denied us the opportunity to participate in the discussion of issues that affect our daily lives and that I think is a problem especially to the development of the community as we are always at home. At least now one or two women are included in the civic organization. We need more and more women to take part as they understand what it means to be a rural woman.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Strategic need, political activity, opportunity denied, (impact) more representation, understanding of gender needs, e.g. women needs
<p>W50: Some of us do not participate because we are afraid to take a stand before men. We think it is the responsibility of government and local leadership structures in the village to initiate development projects. So, someone should come to our rescue like Social Workers.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Practical need, e.g. need for training, capacity building

CATEGORIES:	
1. Transport situation (problems)	
2. Transport uses	
3. Impact of transport	
4. Travel and transport needs	
4.1. Practical needs	
4.2. Strategic needs	
4.3. Social needs	
5. The need for Integrated Approach	<p>Schemata must include the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ gender issues ➤ livelihood issues ➤ cross-sectoral issues
6.1. Interaction of factors that affect their travel and transport needs.	
<p><i>The problems experienced by rural women in Babanana village do not seem to involve transport only. They reflect interaction of factors that affect their travel and transport needs. These factors, to a large extent, range from those that require transport solutions and those that require the siting of services. To a lesser extent they include emancipation and empowerment. Therefore, there is the need for an integrated approach in addressing rural women's travel and transport needs.</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Interaction of factors

ANNEXURE 1(b): MAMOLEKA FOCUS GROUP

TRANSCRIPT OF TRAVEL AND TRANSPORT NEEDS OF RURAL WOMEN IN THE CONTEXT OF MAMOLEKA VILLAGE IN THE BOCHUM DISTRICT

FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW (15 rural women)

DATE: 27 JUNE 2000

TIME: 11H00 TO 14H00

The purpose of this focus group interview was to gather information on the following issues:

1. The roles of the African rural women and how they use transport.
2. Whether the existing transport facilities meet their needs for travel and transport.
3. What their problems are in travel and transport.
4. The impact of travel and transport on their lives and livelihoods.

The ultimate goal is to genderise the rural transport system

Abbreviations:

M: Moderator

W1: Woman number 1

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION

Introduction:	
M: <i>Good morning ladies. We have come here today to make friendship with you so that we can understand how you live your lives in this village. Let us start by introducing ourselves. We come from the University of the North and would like to know more about the transport situation in this village.</i>	
W1: I would like to welcome you here in our village. As you see us some of us come from the neighbouring villages such as Windhoek, Vergelegen, Grootdraai and Bultfontein. Some of us work in the Babina-Chuene project, while some remain at home doing other things.	Employed women, self-employed and unemployed
W2: Transportation system during our early childhood was very poor and the state of affairs is still continuing. We still suffer and live under appalling conditions like before.	Poor transport, poor living conditions <i>(issues)</i>
W3. The problems we experience have been existing since we started to stay here, some 40 to 50 years ago. We travel for longer distances on foot especially during the day when there are no taxis to take us to the clinics, to Bochum for our shopping and even to visit our relatives in other villages.	Long distance travel, travel on foot, no taxis, Difficult shopping, visiting clinics and relatives <i>(issues)</i>
W4. Our village as you can see does not have a clinic, a decent shop and many other good things that women need. As a result we rely on other areas for help like MyDarling clinic, which also far from Vergelegen. We use to have one bus in the morning. But because of the flood destruction on our roads, the bus has stopped to come. So we rely more on pick-up vans, taxis and donkey carts.	Poor access to facilities No clinic, no shops, long distance travel, roads destroyed <i>(issues)</i> rely on other areas, one bus service, pick-up vans, donkey carts, one taxi
W5. We also have one taxi which only operates in the morning and come back late in the afternoon. If you miss it, then you must see how to come out, either to walk or wait for a lift. If you can miss the taxi from Bochum afternoon you still have to devise some means on how to get back home.	One taxi, operates in the morning, comes back Late in the afternoon, rely on lifts or walk <i>(issues)</i> limited transport facilities
W6. You know the floods cause a terrible destruction on our roads, but we can not really put all the blames on the floods. Our roads were bad even before the floods, they are now worse	Flood destruction on roads, bad roads worse, government visit during elections <i>(issues)</i> poor government delivery -

<p>than before. My problem is the people from government usually visit our villages only during the elections when they want us to vote. Thereafter, you will never see them.</p>	<p><i>transport disadvantage</i></p>
<p>W7: If they could one day visit our villages and use the same roads that we use, they will understand our problems and what we feel everyday.</p>	<p>Politicians should reach out to villages, understanding of problems and livelihood issues (issues)</p>
<p>W8: The other problem is that the possibility of the roads being repaired is minimal because the village is far from the nearest town, Dendron, and many of the people working in the town come home only during month ends.</p>	<p>Repairing of road minimal, village far from town, people work in town, come home month ends. Problems of distance decay</p>
<p>M: <i>How do you visit other villages then if you only have one taxi to town and one bus?</i></p>	<p>Visit to other villages One taxi</p>
<p>W9: Even though we do not have public transport, we depend so much on donkey carts and walking. We also use wheelbarrows to carry our heavy loads, such as goods for selling, sand for building purposes and water.</p>	<p>No public transport, survival transport strategies - depend on donkey carts, walking, wheelbarrows for heavy loads, selling, sand, water</p>
<p>W10: If you can help, please tell us where we can get donkeys at a reasonable price because here they are expensive. They have realized that we need them so desperately, hence the high price.</p>	<p>Demand supply principle Need for donkeys (IMTs) Expensive modes, high prices charged</p>
<p>W11: You were asking how we travel to other villages if I am not wrong. We either walk or get a lift from a tractor or pick-up vans and even donkey carts.</p>	<p>Travel to other villages; walking, lift from tractors, pick-up vans, donkey carts</p>
<p>M: <i>What do you need transport for?</i></p>	<p>Transport uses</p>
<p>W12: Transport is needed for a variety of purposes such as going to town for shopping, going to work, to school, to church and even to attend funerals in other villages. We also need transport to get to the health centres because we do not have one in our village.</p>	<p>General travel - shopping, work, school, church, funerals, health centres</p>
<p>W13: Some of us are engaged in many activities for survival. For example we sell soft-drinks, home brewed beer, fruit, vegetables and poultry. But we do not have the means to go to areas where we can stock. Transport is a problems.</p>	<p>Income-generating activities - selling soft-drinks, home-brewed beer, fruit, vegetables, poultry; no transport for stocking, transport a problem (need for transport)</p>
<p>W14: For some of us who work in the Babina-Chuene project, we walk for long distances to come to work. There is no local transport. Even for those working in white farms there is no</p>	<p>Accessing places of work; Employment in the project; long distance travel to work, employment in white-owned farms, no transport,</p>

transport; they walk to such an extent that when you arrive at work you are already tired.	walking, arrive tired (<i>impact on production</i>)
W15: There is no police station here. As a result we have to travel to either Bochum or MyDarling for such services and the places are far. From Vergelegen to Bochum is approximately 70km. It is not easy to walk. So, if you miss a taxi then you have to post-pone what ever you wanted to do on that day. That is inconveniencing.	No post office, travel to far areas, not easy to walk, miss taxi, postpone, inconveniencing (<i>impact on time</i>)
W16: Because of the distance taxis and buses have to travel and the bad road conditions we find ourselves with one taxi. Remember we also attend prayer meetings in this village and outside our village.	Long distance travel for taxis, bad roads, one taxi (<i>impact on transport facilities</i>) Emotional work
M: <i>Can you tell us what is the most important thing that you need?</i>	Needs
W17: We need roads, because if they can be improved then we can easily travel to other villages to sell our goods and we can open up small businesses, as there is no employment here.	Improved roads, travel easily, selling of goods, open small businesses, employment creation (<i>empowerment</i>)
W18: Even if we do not have other services such as clinics, we can easily travel to MyDarling and Bochum as more and more public transport will be attracted. As it is now, things are bad. No taxi owner would like to see his vehicle using the roads in our villages.	Better roads; more public transport, travel easy (<i>emphasis on roads</i>)
W19: Services should be brought to our villages because now we waste a lot of time walking and waiting for transport to come.	Bring services; long distance walking, long waiting times, wasting of time (<i>emphasis on services</i>)
M: <i>What is your view on non-motorized transport?</i>	Perceptions on IMTs
W20: We do not have any choice of mode. You can see that the dominant mode of transport here is donkey carts, wheelbarrows and walking. We only have a problem with walking because we get tired before engaging into the actual activity. Like if we attend funerals, you know both men and women have to perform some duties and we have different responsibilities. When you reach the place you are already tired to do the job perfectly. But with the other modes such as donkey carts and wheelbarrows they reduce the load of work and the time that one needs to travel either to the veld to collect wood or to fetch water.	No choice, dominant mode of transport; donkey carts, wheelbarrows, reduction of load, travel time to fetch wood and water, walking; get tired, job not perfectly done (<i>impact</i>) men and women have different responsibilities (<i>gender awareness</i>)

<p>W21: Some people use wheelbarrows to transport wood and many other equipment that we need or that we buy from the shops, or sell wood and water using a cart. The only problem is many of us are unemployed. As a result we cannot afford to pay for the services rendered. We then have to resort to head-loading.</p>	<p>Wheelbarrows fetch wood; selling wood, water, and other goods; unemployment a problem, unable to pay services (<i>impact</i>) Head-loading solution</p>
<p>W22: We have indicated earlier on that if you can get donkeys cheap elsewhere you should inform us as they are expensive in our village.</p>	<p>Cheap donkeys needed, expensive in the village</p>
<p>W23: The donkeys are expensive because they know their importance. If you do not have one then you will struggle to travel and transport your goods.</p>	<p>Donkeys expensive; donkeys important, no donkeys, travel and transport difficult (<i>significance of IMTs</i>)</p>
<p>M: <i>Are you prepared to invest time and effort in the construction or upgrading of roadways?</i></p>	
<p>W24: We do come together to discuss the issue of repairing damaged roads. What we normally do, we gather stones and different soil as an attempt to stop gullies from getting worse. That allows tractors to pass with ease.</p>	<p>Community organization; repairing of damaged roads, gathering of stones, soil, stopping of gullies, tractors pass with ease (<i>empowerment</i>)</p>
<p>W25: Women in another village called Sweethome (Sebotlana) had to construct a "toll-gate" by using stones and logs for vehicles to pass. Those who used the road had to pay R10. That is a sign to show that we are prepared to invest time in repairing and constructing our roads, but we need help and support in the form of trucks and vans to carry the material.</p>	<p>Women's organization; construction of toll-gate, payment for the toll-gate, time invested in repairing roads, need for help and support, carrying of material, trucks, vans</p>
<p>M: <i>What development opportunities will be opened up as a result of transport improvements?</i></p>	<p>Expectations</p>
<p>W26: We will be capable of transporting and selling of our farm produce to different communities outside the village, and much money and time will be saved as we will leave our homes in time and come back in time because most of the taxis will be encouraged to use our roads without any difficulty.</p>	<p>Selling of produce outside village, saving money, leave homes in time, more public transport available (<i>income-generating need</i>)</p>
<p>W27: We can even hire a truck to transport our produce to the nearest markets in either Bochum, Dendron, MyDarling and Polokwane. We need some form of transport to carry our goods to the nearby communities. That can only happen if we have good roads.</p>	<p>Hiring of trucks, transporting goods to markets, good roads, more marketing (<i>impact</i>) (<i>income-generating need</i>)</p>
<p>W29: There is no money circulation in this</p>	<p>Bad roads, (<i>issue</i>) No money</p>

<p>village, especially at this project because of bad roads. We produce but our goods get rotten, as you can see from the heaps of tomatoes on the ground. We lose quite a lot because there are no markets for our produce. Bad roads have to be put first on the list of improving the standard of living in this village.</p>	<p>circulation; rotten goods, no markets, run at a loss (<i>impact</i>), improvement of bad roads, improvement of standard of living.</p>
<p>W30: If transport can be improved like to the markets where we can sell our produce, then it will be easy for us to produce more, and more goods will be available for sale. Remember we do not have transport to take our goods to the outside markets; we only depend on the people around for buying. If they do not buy, because they lack money, then our goods get rotten. We lose a lot. You can see from the tomatoes that are lying on the ground.</p>	<p>Improved transport; improved markets, more production, no transport to outside, rely on local markets, lack of money, rotting produce, tomatoes (<i>income-generating need</i>)</p>
<p>W31: We told you that we travel for long distance to health centres, to shops and even to get transport to go to towns. So, if we can get better transport services like more buses and better roads, obviously we will have enough time to do other things such as hold meetings as women to discuss what we can do to help ourselves. Right now many of us are struggling because our husbands are in Jo'burg; they do not send money home. Personally, I can go and learn how to make dresses and sell.</p>	<p>Long distance travel; shops, health centres, to transport, better transport services; more buses, better roads, more time for meetings, absence of husband, no money, learning dress-making (<i>empowerment</i>)</p>
<p>W 32: We can even request the social worker to organize someone who can teach us some of the skills of surviving. I also think if transport can be available, we will be able to transport farming inputs such as implements, fertilizers and better seeds to our village, and also transport harvest from the village to the market.</p>	<p>Organize social worker, teaching of survival skills, transit of agricultural inputs and harvest crops between village and market (<i>practical and income generating needs</i>)</p>
<p>W33: My belief is, we can concentrate on small vegetable gardens in our homes as not all of us can get employment from the vegetable project here in Vergelegen.</p>	<p>Small vegetable garden (<i>employment creation, empowerment</i>)</p>
<p>W34: I pay a lot of money to transport my goods to better centres such as Bochum. So, the profit that I get is consumed by the transport cost. As a result it is better to sell locally even if there are no better returns. Therefore, if transport can be improved, more taxis will come in even pick-up vans will be many and that will make transport cost low. Some of us will be left with some profit to do other things, such as paying for our children's school fees or even buy more goods for selling.</p>	<p>Pay lot of money for transport, profit consumed by transport, local market better, improved transport; more taxis, pick-up vans, low transport costs, make profit, payment of school fees, more goods for selling</p>

<p>W35: Many of our children did not go to school because we cannot afford to feed them and pay school fees. If transport can be improved we will be able to go to different places for employment, like do washing for other families and even clean for those who need people. Right now it is difficult to work for more than one family because of poor transport.</p>	<p>Poor school attendance of children; (ability to labour and earn a living) no money for fees and food, improved transport; employment elsewhere, domestic work, poor transport; difficult to work for two families (impact)</p>
<p>W36: If I can get employment, I will manage to pay for my societies and <i>stock-vel</i> moneys, which is the only way I use to generate income. Otherwise my family is suffering.</p>	<p>Employment; payment of societies, stock-vel (income-generating activities) (community development projects)</p>
<p>W37: Our children cannot compete with others out there, but if we can have transport they can also visit places and know and see things. That will make them better off. They cannot compete with children from townships because they are just here. They only know Mamoleka and Vergelegen, the nearby villages only and that is bad.</p>	<p>Children isolated, poor competition, poor knowledge, no external experience, only local experience, not good (impact)</p>
<p>M: <i>What do you think should be done to solve your problems?</i></p>	<p>solutions</p>
<p>W38: Since we do not have health centres here, government should build such in this village, to avoid long distance traveling. They can also improve our roads, as you can see they are terrible. Hence we only have one taxi and we use to have one bus before the floods destroyed all the roads and the bus service stopped.</p>	<p>No health centres; building of health centres, reduce long distance traveling, improve roads, bring public transport (practical needs)</p>
<p>W39: The people who have been coming here to look for votes they should still come and see the conditions that we are in so that they can help us out of the mess we are in.</p>	<p>Politicians venturing into villages, first hand experience of situation (practical need)</p>
<p>W40: If building a clinic is expensive, then they can improve the roads so that a mobile clinic can visit the village on certain days of the week. Doctors can also come in this village if roads are good. But now, no one is coming to this village because of the roads.</p>	<p>Building of clinic, improve roads, mobile clinic, bring doctors and nurses, poor roads, no service (access needs)</p>
<p>W41: They must also sell donkeys to us so that we can use them as transport to carry goods, or use them to draw carts in the meantime. But we need someone who can make cheap carts because at the moment carts are so expensive that many of us cannot afford to buy. There is one white person who is selling carts and he only wants cash. There is no credit nor deposit.</p>	<p>Sell donkeys for goods transport, drawing of carts, manufacturing of cheap carts, no credit, (practical needs)</p>

<p>W42: Roads must be improved so that more buses and taxis can come. In that way transport will be cheap. At the moment transport services are poor and expensive because there is no competition. That one operator knows that we do not have any choice, ours is to pay or remain at home.</p>	<p>Improve roads, more buses and taxis, cheap transport, poor and expensive transport services, no competition, no choice (<i>practical needs</i>)</p>
<p>W43: Improved transport will bring job opportunities and we will be able to pay for transport and to fulfill our responsibilities at home and in the society.</p>	<p>Improved transport, job opportunities; ability to pay for transport, ability to take household and community responsibilities (<i>issues, access to employment, impact</i>)</p>
<p>W44: Water is also a problem using wheelbarrows because the source is far. Hence we think the only solution should be donkey carts or bring water to the village. If we had money we would buy big water tanks and store rainwater so that in times of need we use it.</p>	<p>Water problem; source far, use wheelbarrows, donkey carts to bring water, buy water tanks, rainwater storage (<i>access needs</i>)</p>
<p>W45: What I can say in short is that whatever we do as women is not taken seriously by both our husbands at home and even government because they think when you sell something at home is just a play, you are whiling away time. No, this is serious; we want to do so many things with the income such as buying a wheelbarrow for transporting goods, water, fire wood and pay societies.</p>	<p>Women not taken seriously, both husbands and government, selling at home not taken serious, income used for household and community development. (<i>Opportunities denied, Gender bias system</i>)</p>
<p>W46: I am going to say something different from what they have said. We all know that the rural woman is a mother and a father when her husband is gone to work in <i>Joburg</i>, a farmer, a builder and a provider of the daily needs of her family. So, if we do not change and wait for our husbands to provide our village will never get out of poverty.</p>	<p>Women as household heads and breadwinners; need for women to change their attitudes, need for progress and to restore self-reliance</p>
<p>W47: She is right, the only way to get out of poverty and get rid of those things that oppresses us and build a better future for us and our children is to take responsibility to change our life situations.</p>	<p>Need for women to change their attitudes, Need to restore self-reliance</p>
<p>M: <i>How do you intend to change your life situation?</i></p>	
<p>W48: We have to create jobs ourselves, like working as domestic workers in many families per week. There is no job for us.</p>	<p>Need for job creation - women taking responsibility</p>

ANNEXURE 1(c): THE TSHITWI GROUP IN VENDA

TRANSCRIPT OF TRAVEL AND TRANSPORT NEEDS OF RURAL WOMEN IN THE CONTEXT OF TSHITWI IN VENDA

FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW (25) rural women)

DATE: 15 JANUARY 2000

TIME: 11H00 TO 14H00

The purpose of this focus group interview was to gather information on the following issues:

1. The roles of the African rural women and how they use transport.
2. Whether the existing transport facilities meet their needs for travel and transport.
3. What their problems are in travel and transport.
4. The impact of travel and transport on their lives and livelihoods.

The intention is to genderise the rural transport system in Limpopo Province.

Abbreviations:

M: Moderator

W1: Woman number 1, and so on

FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW

Introduction	
M: <i>Good morning ladies. We have come here today to understand how you live your lives in this village. Most of us come from urban areas where life seems to be different from rural life. We come from the University of the North and would like to know more about the transport situation in this village. Let us start by introducing ourselves before discussing other issues.</i>	
W1: You are welcome to this village, Tshitwi. As you can see this is a small isolated village full of women. I do not want you to ask questions why? What I can tell you is many of our husbands went to <i>Jo'burg</i> for work. Let me give chance to others to talk to you.	Isolated village, migratory labour system - more women than men
W2: This village is far from urban areas. It is approximately 40km north of Makhado township, 70km northeast of Makhado, 70km northwest of Thohoyandou and 70km east of Musina. If we want to go for shopping, we go to those places and there is no transport.	Concern about distance to shopping, no transport
W3: Our village is very poor with high levels of unemployment. The many people you will find here is many women and young children and the elderly people.	Poverty, unemployment, aggravating condition - absence of men
W4: We are in desperate need of employment because there is nothing here. I hope after this discussion you will help us get jobs.	Need for employment
M: <i>You said there is no transport. Tell me more about how you use transport?</i>	Transport use
W5: We use transport for many things such as transporting water to our homes. There is no water in this village; we depend on one water tap, which is nearby other people and far for others. In most cases we transport 25 liters of buckets and jars in the wheelbarrow. Those who do not have carry water on their heads.	Household use - water, modes - wheelbarrows Inaccessible water tap - head-loading of water
W6: Some of us need transport to take us to employment areas. Remember we said this village is far from urban centres where we can get employment. From Tshitwi to Straidhart we walk because there is no transport. Straidhart is about 7km, which must be walked everyday if one is employed and then pay for the other transport. This is the best village where almost everything is available except jobs.	Employment, no transport, impact - long distance walk
W7: There is no formal business in Tshitwi. Only one <i>spaza</i> shop caters minimal human needs of the community. Most of us travel to other neighbouring villages for other things. The distance that we travel for buying food only, the average is 22km. Most of travel is	Concern about lack of business/shops, no transport for household shopping - means of transport is walking to

done by foot because there is no transport.	shops
W8: I am selling vegetables so as to make money for my family and in many cases I need transport to go and borrow money from 'Matshonisa" in Makhado to strengthen my business. Unfortunately you find that there is no transport during the day for that. We end up postponing the trip and even doing shopping once a month because it is expensive to do it frequently	Income generating activity, need for access to credit facilities - impact on shopping, absence of transport during the day
W9: I hope you have seen people busy building a road, we hope this will link us with the other villages. As it is now, to walk alone for a long distance is not safe. But usually government builds roads without providing us with vehicles. I think this road, without vehicles to operate on it, is useless.	Building of road, concern about distance and safety, concern about supply of transport services - <i>practical need</i>
W10: There is no school at Tshitwi. No primary, pre-primary nor secondary school available. School children walk an average distance of 11.4km to and from school. The distance is covered on foot. Because of the distance some of us mothers have to escort them in the morning and in the afternoon when they come back we have to fetch them.	Concern on education, impact on travel distance, escorting children - impact on mothers
W11: Remember some of us are self-employed. After dropping them at school I still have to come back home and put my vegetables on the wheelbarrow to sell in the market at Straidhart because that is the only place which has a good market since they have a clinic, schools and many people use taxis and buses passing to other villages. So it is at the bust stop where we get more sales done.	Impact on self-employed mothers - escorting, income generating activities Poor access to market Means of goods transport - wheelbarrows
W12: There is no clinic at Tshitwi. Many of us have to walk to Straidhart for medical treatment, for vaccination children and for pregnant mothers' consultation. Those who can afford better medication go to Makhado for treatment as there is a doctor there. Some of us depend on traditional healers for medical attention because Makhado is 40km away and Straidhart is 7mk away. In the case of serious illnesses we have to hire a bakkie to help, especially from villages which are 3 to 4 km away such as Sane and Afton. We walk for almost all the trips to Straidhart to connect transport.	Concern about accessibility of health facilities - clinic, no transport - long distance travel to facilities (<i>impact on time</i>) health services <i>inaccessible</i>
M: <i>Do you have electricity in this village?</i>	
W13: No. We depend on firewood collected from the veld. Normally we go in groups to collect firewood, as it is not safe to go there alone. Those who can afford but from cart owners who sell both water and wood to us. Sometimes we send our children, especially during the school holidays. Both Girls and boys help us to fetch water and wood.	Concern about accessibility of household necessities - firewood, safety, affordability, boys and girls play a helping role

<p>W14: The wood is carried on our heads or in some cases we go to the veld, cut the wood and pack it accordingly, then after school request boys and girls to fetch with wheelbarrows.</p>	<p>Head-loading - mode Helping role of boys and girls</p>
<p>M: <i>Tell me briefly about the present transport system in this village.</i></p>	
<p>W15: you know what, the transport system in this village is very poor. We walk and carry our goods on our heads. It is only for those who can afford, maybe because the husband has sent some money from <i>Jo'burg</i>. Then, that month one can buy water and wood.</p>	<p>Poor transport system - walking and head-loading, concern about affordability</p>
<p>W16: There is no road to connect us with other villages. Our village is isolated to such an extend that when it rains our children cannot go to school because the pond that is between us and Afton gets so full that no one can cross and many of our children go to school in that village.</p>	<p>No road, isolation, aggravating condition - rain, impact on children's education</p>
<p>W17: We hope the new road will help in solving some of the problems we experience. Remember there is no bus, no taxi, nothing. We depend on walking and pick-up vans, which sometimes leave us on the road, and the road you have seen is not so good for motor vehicles. Those who persist using our roads end up paying a lot of money repairing their vans. That is the reason why taxi people do not even attempt to come this way.</p>	<p>Impact of new road on transport facilities, e.g. vans, buses ad taxis Bad roads - impact on costs of repairing vehicles</p>
<p>M: <i>Tell me about the new road.</i></p>	
<p>W18: The Tshitwi Road Upgrading Project commenced in March 1997 with a budget of approximately US\$300 000 to upgrade fifteen kilometers of road. The project recruited locals, 47 women and 67 men on a rolling basis, largely from within walking distance of the road.</p>	<p>Road upgrading project Men and women employed Locals employed</p>
<p>W19: I was not happy with the way people were employed in the project. Already you can see that there were more men than women and the type of jobs we performed was different. Women's tasks on this project were to carry stones while men were doing everything, all technical jobs. Remember the type of job that one performs correspond with the amount paid. In short, men were paid better wages than women in the project.</p>	<p>Concern about gender bias in employment, impact on women's income</p>
<p>W20: Some of us were employed in the project for 12 months. All of us were paid according to the tasks which we performed</p>	<p>Payment according to task - impact on women's income</p>
<p>M: <i>What did they use to upgrade the road?</i></p>	

<p>W21: There was no machinery used in the project except for the wheelbarrows, old trucks to carry stones and the stumping material. We used our hands and the local material such as stones and gravel.</p>	<p>Labour-based techniques Local material used</p>
<p>W22: It was very difficult to build the road because the village is located on the slopes of the mountains. It even took more than the expected time to finish the road.</p>	<p>Difficult terrain - impact on completion of project</p>
<p>M: <i>Did you gain anything from the project?</i></p>	
<p>W23: Yes, to a certain extent we managed to get employment for sometime. When the project ended it was not nice because our source of income was over even though very little.</p>	<p>Project - Source of employment Ending of project - impact on income</p>
<p>W24: But I think the road will help in opening up for other transport modes to come such buses and taxis. That will reduce the distance we travel to other villages to get transport. I think it will also help in bringing more public transport to take us to government offices, which are in most cases, located in urban areas. We need to apply for ID documents and birth certificates for ourselves and children.</p>	<p>Reduction of travel distance, supply of transport facilities, need for visiting government services inaccessible - available in urban areas, (impact on time)</p>
<p>W25: It can also help us to transport our goods easy to the market place in Straidhart. Even if one pushes a wheelbarrow, it will be easier that on a rough surface with all the forest surrounding the place. One can even organize with taxi drivers to collect my veggies at home and drop them for me at the market.</p>	<p>New road -access to markets Positive expectations - ease travel and transport</p>
<p>W26: The government will bring doctors and nurses to the village maybe once per week for check ups because the road is there than before.</p>	<p>New road - access to health facilities, services - positive expectations</p>
<p>M: <i>Beside temporary employment that you gained from the project, What else improved after the project?</i></p>	
<p>W27: The problem with this road is that it was built at the time when there was no much rain. The road is not bringing any new motor vehicles as we thought. There is still no taxi, no bus services, we still depend on donkey carts, wheelbarrows and bicycles, for those who have them. As for most of us we still travel and transport our goods for long distances on foot.</p>	<p>Concern about transport facilities and services - aggravating condition - rain Concern about long distance travel and transport; and no benefits yet Use of IMTs - no benefits yet</p>
<p>W28: Our concern is those men who own carts have increased our distance of collecting firewood. We walk even further than before to collect firewood. We also walk long distances for things like furniture, clothes and farming implements.</p>	<p>Concern about distance to facilities in providing household necessities Long distance walking - household necessities,</p>

	agricultural implements
M: <i>As women, do you play any role in the community?</i>	
W29: We play the most important role in the community. Remember most of our spouse are not here. We have to see to it that there is water for all of us, We have even organized a place where we can worship together.	Community role - organizing water availability, place of worship
W30: There is no church building in this village, but we are responsible for clearing the trees and constructing a shelter of about 2m using mud-bricks. We do it ourselves. The collection of water, soil and sand for manufacturing bricks is done by us.	Community role - organizing of church building
W31: Those are not the only things we do in the church. We also hold prayer meetings for the elderly and the sick. We visit them in their homes, within this village as well as the neighbouring villages such as Afton, Sraidhart and Sane. We actually walk to these villages.	Community role - visiting elderly, sick Internally and outside the village - walking (Spiritual role)
W32: We have also established a society in which we contribute R5 if any community member has lost a loved one. The society is not helping in burials only, but also during celebrations we bring our big pots, plates and all the necessary utensils that are required to make the occasion a success.	Community role - women's club, funerals, celebrations Contributions made - money, utensils
W33: We also attend meetings at the schools to see to it that the school is running properly and check those parents who are not paying building funds. The fund is paid by every parent who has a child. Otherwise your children will not be admitted in the school.	Community role - school meetings, proper running of schools, e.g. school fund, building fund (Impact on admission of children)
W34: It is very difficult to survive in this village, but we usually organize ourselves and plant in our small gardens. We plant vegetables such as beans, maize, chillies, tomatoes, cabbages, spinach and even beet-root for selling purposes.	Income-generating activity - community garden - vegetables Sense of Empowerment
M: <i>What should be done to solve your problems?</i>	
W35: The first thing that must happen is to improve the road. If this road can be improved more public transport will be attracted.	Road improvement - more public transport
W36: Government should give us buses just like in other villages. Life will be better even if there is no employment; we can easily look for employment elsewhere and commute from our homes to work daily.	Road improvement - more public transport, better provision of transport facilities, e.g. buses Employment opportunities elsewhere
W37: Some of us are prepared to work as domestic	Need for proper transport

workers in townships such as Makhado. That can only happen if there is proper transport daily.	Need for employment opportunities
W38: We can produce more vegetables if they can improve transport and water supply	Opportunity for agricultural expansion - more market More production
W39: Right now there is no public transport; we depend on walking, which takes a lot of time. If we can have good roads, one will travel very fast to go to town for stocking the goods that I am selling and even come back on time to sell before long break. Otherwise one spend the whole day in town and lose that day. Which means there will not be any income that day when you go for stocking.	No public transport - impact on walking, opportunities to make more income threatened Expectations from good roads - ease trade Poor roads - deprived of making income
W40: If this road can be improved, more cheap public transport will come to this village and exploitation by van owners will stop.	Improved roads - cheap public transport More income, no exploitation by vans
W41: If projects like this one comes to the village, they should not give men better jobs than us. I can also push a wheelbarrow just like many men, even use the stamping equipment. We all need money just like men.	Concern about gender bias; deprivation of job opportunities; equality with men
W42: I can also drive a cart just like any other man with the help of my children.	Concern about gender bias
M: <i>Tell me, do you tell your girl children not to push wheelbarrows and carry water jars on their heads? Do you also tell your boy children push wheelbarrows and not carry water jars on their heads?</i>	
W43: No. It happens automatically. Boys are always with their fathers, especially when coming to the type of job they are suppose to do. They drive carts with their dads, while girls are always at home with us helping.	Concern about gender roles - boys with fathers Girls with mothers
W44: In my case I usually instruct my boys to help the girls fetch water. What counts to me is more water collected by a joint venture. The advantage with boys is they can push close to four jars of 25l on one wheelbarrow while my daughter carries one jar on her head. This makes life better for all of us.	Gender consideration - boys helping girls
M: <i>What you are saying is, it does not matter who uses the wheelbarrow, as long as there can be water or wood at home is fine?</i>	
W45: Exactly. My girls get tired too.	Gender sensitive

IMPORTANT ISSUES EMERGING:

- Road upgrading project - temporary employment (positive impact on household income)
- Gender bias in the project - impact on women's income
- Positive issues about project - labour-based, use of local labourers
- Project yielded no benefits yet - concern about weight of infrastructure provision
- Gender sensitivity in projects

ANNEXURE 2: THEMES AND CATEGORIES

2 (a) RURAL WOMEN'S ROLES

THEME NO. 1	CATEGORIES AND SUBCATEGORIES OF RURAL WOMEN'S ROLES
Roles of rural women	<p>Household role</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Productive role <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Income generating activities, ▪ production of subsistence income and capital, ▪ engage in formal employment. <p>Reproductive role</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Provision of household necessities(water fuel-wood, food), ▪ child care-givers, ▪ caring for the sick and aged, ▪ escorting elderly to pension pay-points, ▪ escorting children to school. <p>Community role</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Social obligations <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Management and maintenance of community infrastructure (water, schools, place of worship, clinics, roads), ▪ visiting the sick, ▪ Visiting the elderly internally and externally, ▪ attending school meetings, ▪ attending funerals and celebrations, ▪ engage in community farming, ▪ building houses, ▪ natural resource management (forestation, soil protection, water conservation).
	➤ Each of these sets of activities involves travel and transport

2(b) RURAL WOMEN'S USE OF TRANSPORT

THEME NO. 2	CATEGORIES AND SUB-CATEGORIES
Rural women's use of transport	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Transport to meet subsistence needs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Water collection ◆ Food production ◆ Fuel-wood collection ➤ Transport for economic purposes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Agricultural activities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - purchasing agricultural inputs - taking produce to the markets - going to the farm ◆ Non-agricultural work <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - seeking work - visiting credit institutions - travel to work ◆ Transport for trading ◆ Provision of services ◆ General commerce ➤ Transport for social purposes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Visit to friends and relatives ◆ Church visits ◆ Visits to government offices ◆ Shopping ◆ Maintaining social networks ◆ Hospital visits ◆ Travel to community meetings ◆ Getting to the sites for natural resource management ➤ Transport for development of human capital <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Transport to educational centres ◆ Transport to health centres ◆ Transport to meetings ◆ Visiting technical assistance institutions ◆ Attending training meetings

2(c) TRANSPORT CONSTRAINTS AND THE IMPACT

THEME NO. 3 & 4 <input type="checkbox"/> Impact of transport on rural women	CATEGORIES			
Constrains	Impact			
	<i>On community</i>	<i>On employed women</i>	<i>On unemployed women</i>	<i>On self-employed women</i>
Lack of good transport services	Time wasted in getting to facilities and services	Time constraints	Jobs inaccessible	Limited market and lower sale prices
Poor access to educational and health facilities	Low optimization of human assets	Lack of capacity	Poor capacity and self-esteem	Lack of skills
Lack of access to clean water	Poor health	"	"	"
No cheap transport	Long distance walking	Reduced benefits from wages	Limited affordability	No profit from sales
Lack of access to employment			Household and community roles difficult	
Gender bias transport system	Household and community roles impossible or difficult	"	"	"
Heavy work schedule		Poor attendance of meetings	"	"
Lack of transport services	Lack of information	Community and household roles difficult	Jobs inaccessible	Limited market and access to credit
Inadequate transport system	Constrained ability to use services to fulfill roles	"	"	Limited access to technical assistance
Lack of access to formal sector			"	Restricted ability to marketable skills
Lack of employment	No educational improvement			

Time consuming tasks	Women's multiple roles hampered	No time for self development	Participation in decision-making roles reduced	"
Poor accessibility to infrastructure	"	"	"	Limited productive potential
Lack of schools	Poor education	Limited productive potential	No productive potential	Limited productive potential
Long distance travel to schools	Negative impact on social life		Negative impact on time	"
Poor quality of roads		Household and community roles difficult or impossible	"	Limited ability to expand
Rising transport costs	Negative impact on affordability	"	"	Raise costs of commodities
Poor location of resources			Household and community roles difficult or impossible	"
Sporadic transport services	Negative impact on time	"	"	"
Poor government delivery			Transport disadvantage	"
Lack of access to credit				Limited ability to expand
Limited access to technical assistance	Negative impact on the development of human capital	Limited ability to expand		Limited ability to expand
Policy focusing on roads rather than footpaths, footbridges, tracks				Difficult for small entrepreneurs to compete for road maintenance

2(d) OPPORTUNITIES DENIED

THEME NO. 5 □ Opportunities deprived to rural women	CATEGORIES OF OPPORTUNITIES DENIED		
Constrains	Employed women	Un-employed women	Self-employed women
Poor access to educational and health facilities	Opportunity to improve	Opportunity to labour and earn a living	"
Poor access to employment		Mobility deprivation	Opportunity deprivation
Lack of access to formal sector-employment		Opportunity deprivation	Deprived of marketable skills
Lack of transport		Information deprivation	"
Time consuming tasks	Deprived of self-development	"	- "
Poor accessibility to infrastructure		Deprived of productive potential	"
Lack of good transport services		Deprived of full utilization of potential	Deprived of economic expansion
Heavy work schedule	Deprived of participation in decision-making roles	"	"
Poor and no transport	"	Opportunity to change balance of power denied	"
Gender bias transport system		Opportunity to perform denied	"

2(e) RURAL WOMEN’S TRAVEL AND TRANSPORT NEEDS

<input type="checkbox"/> THEME NO. 6 <input type="checkbox"/> Rural women's travel and transport needs	CATEGORIES OF RURAL WOMEN’S TRAVEL AND TRANSPORT NEEDS		
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Practical needs with regard to travel and transport	Employed women	Unemployed women	Self-employed women
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Productive needs	Employment programmes	employment	market
		Accessible and cheap water	"
		Educational facilities	"
	Better wages	Accessible and cheap health facilities	"
	Reliable public transport	Transport facilities and services	"
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Reproductive needs		Shopping facilities	"
		"	Health care
	nurseries	"	"
		Energy source	"
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Strategic need with regard to travel and transport	Participation in decision-making	"	"
	Training at work	Capacity building	Training outside work
		Empowerment	"
		Changing attitude of women	
	Equal pay for equal job	Recognition By policy	"
		"	Access to credit
	Changing attitude by men	"	"

2(f) AN INTEGRATED APPROACH

THEME NO. 7	CATEGORIES AND SUBCATEGORIES OF AN INTEGRATED APPROACH
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> □ Need for integrated approach in transport planning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Cross-sectoral thinking ➤ Equal weight in infrastructure provision <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Building of roads ◆ Upgrading of paths ◆ Upgrading of tracks ➤ Appropriate modes of transport <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Use of donkey carts ◆ Use of wheelbarrows ◆ Use of tractors ◆ Use of bicycles ◆ Use of vans ➤ Improved location of facilities ➤ Mainstreaming gender and transport ➤ Mainstreaming livelihood issues

ANNEXURE 3(a): Baloi Tribal Authority

Private Bag X1106
Sovenga
0727
12/03/2000

Baloi Tribal Authority
Mamitwa
Tzaneen

To whom it may concern

This is to request for permission to hold focus group discussions with the women in Babanana village. The discussions are meant to help find out what women's needs are in travel and transport.

Participants are taking part in the discussions at their own will, nobody is compelled to join. Should any of the participants feel like withdrawing from the discussions she will be free to do so at any stage of our deliberations.

Thanking you in anticipation

Sabina Mahapa (Facilitator)

ANNEXURE 3(b): Participants

08/04/2000

Dear participant

In order to understand travel and transport needs of rural women in our province, Limpopo, we would like to hear your views on some of the issues relating to such needs in this discussion. No one is forced to participate; any of you taking part is doing it on her free will. Should any of you decide to withdraw from the discussion, she will be free to do so.

Thank you for your co-operation.

Sabina Mahapa