The educational journeys of female farm activists in the Western Cape, South Africa

by

Kara Grace Mackay

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Dedication

Writing up this thesis has been an act of love,

a service to community,

activism and

rebellion.

To the farm workers and farmwomen all over the world,

those who use their hands and hearts

to make the food we eat…

May we work to achieve freedom in your lifetime.

Acknowledgement

What an educational journey!

It has been a long, hard, interesting and life-changing ride, one that would not have been possible without the love and support of so many people.

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The final word goes to my cousin Remi, who as I write is fighting for his life. I can only imagine the journey that you are on and, therefore, know that I have no place to tell you what to do. I continue to send you love, healing and light. Open your sails, let the spirit fill you, and the winds will bring you through to the other side – may the spirit be victorious.

it is done…

all is well …

Abstract

This study documented the education process that engendered activism among six female farm activists, who lived and/or worked on commercial farms in the Western Cape, South Africa.

The study was located in an interpretative paradigm and a qualitative approach was followed. A collective case study design was employed and snowball sampling used to select six research participants who participated in the non-formal, popular education programme of a farm-based grassroots organisation, which the research called Female Farm Organisation (FFO). Ethnographic data in the form of interviews, participant observation and archival documents were used to provide a narrative account of each female farm activist's educational journey.

These educational journeys were biographical, and they provided the context in which the central phenomenon of the study could be explored. Educational journeys were framed as learning that took place across different educational sites over a person's lifetime (Jarvis, 2004); with the focus on FFO's non-formal, popular education. Freire's (2005) theory of praxis was used to assess critically the interaction of female farm activists with FFO's education programme. The content and method of the FFO programme were used to connect what and how the women learnt, with how the acquired education was used. The study specifically pinpoints the moments when female farm activists presumed their equality to those who possess power (Rancière, 1999), as their moments of activism.

A key finding of the study was that a four-tiered education process engendered activism. Farmwomen learnt to be activists, experienced learning while being activists, were role models and facilitators of activism for other women and were agents of knowledge, as FFO learnt from their members. Activism was manifested in the private and the public spaces. Women used their education to grow their self-confidence; put an end to abuse in their homes, or directly confront institutions of power. By placing the actions of these female farm activists at the centre of the research,

the study seeks to contribute to the body of literature that shows how ordinary people use education to contest the conditions of inequality that they experience.

Key terms: non-formal education, popular education, educational journey activism, presumption of equality, women on farms, farmwomen, farm workers, narrative approach, case study, Western Cape, South Africa.

Language Editor's Disclaimer

12 February 2019

To whom it may concern

This hereby certifies that I have edited the PhD thesis of Kara Mackay submitted to the University of Pretoria, South Africa.

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1. I copy-edited this PhD thesis. I focused on language, including grammar, tense, subject verb agreement, consistency, British English. I eliminated redundancy and repetition.

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3. I did not edit the References, nor did I check the cross- referencing between the text and References.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Research Study

"We walk in the light and

With our brothers and sisters, we stand and fight

With a drum, a song, this prayer, this change of time

This is the true reckoning

The human awakening

Together brothers and sisters

Idle no more."

(Ulali Project, 2014)

1.1 Introduction

For those who live and/or work on commercial farms[1] in South Africa, the education deficit of Apartheid and its creation of generational oppression, remain a reality. Basic issues such as literacy remain a challenge and many workers are without knowledge of their basic human and labour rights (Wegerif, Russell & Grundling, 2005). Through the nexus of the labour market, these unequal educational outcomes translate into unequal labour and economic opportunities (Taylor, van der Berg & Burger, 2011) reproducing the cycle of poverty and inequality among people who live and/or work on farms.

[1] The 2011 South African Census defines a farm area as "predominately large-scale, commercial farming regions" (cited in Visser & Ferrer, 2015, p. i). Wegerif, Russell & Grundling, (2005, p.iii) define a farm as "a piece of land used primarily for agricultural purposes, either currently or in recent years. Farms are generally within an area not demarcated as urban, but do not necessarily include all the land outside urban areas." Farm residents are all people that live on a farm or in a farm area. This can include farm workers and farm dwellers. A farm worker is "a person who works on a farm regularly, whether full-time, part-time or seasonally." A farm dweller is "any person, other than the owner, who is living on the farm" (Wegerif, et al., 2005, iii-iv). A farm dweller becomes a farm worker when they take up employment on a farm. A farm dweller therefore always lives on a farm but may not necessarily work for the farm. Women on farms or farmwomen refer to women that are either living and/or working on farms (Women on Farms Project, 2013). These are women that are connected to farms as farm workers or farm dwellers.

Farm workers, in turn, have experienced a reduction in employment opportunities, an increase in the casualisation of labour (Greenberg, 2010), continuing evictions (Wegerif et al., 2005) and inadequate housing conditions (Human Rights Watch [HRW], 2011). There is also substantial evidence that the government has failed to monitor and enforce the implementation of policies on farms, and this has produced a culture of non-compliance with policy and/or regulations (Greenberg, 2010; HRW, 2011). Women experience these social injustices more acutely as they bear the brunt of the casualisation of labour (Greenberg, 2010), are more vulnerable to evictions, unfair labour practices, discrimination and violence (HRW, 2011; Kheler, 2001; Shabodien, 2006). While these issues were well covered in the literature, the new angle of the research was to discover how education contributes to the responses of farm workers, particularly farmwomen, towards these conditions of inequality and continuing oppression.

Historically farms are characterised as unorganised or disorganised spaces, with low levels of civil society. This is due to a combination of factors. To begin with, farms are remote, geographically dispersed locations. This alone makes organising complicated. Atkinson (2007, p. 4) laments the lack of "opportunities for camaraderie" among farm workers across farms. Often farms are also the last places that the government and organisations reach.

In addition, the social inequality and economic power imbalances between farmer and farm worker have entrenched a feeling of "powerlessness" (Atkinson, 2007, p. 4). This powerlessness is also connected to the unskilled or low skilled nature of farm workers' competencies. Shabodien (2006) adds that the lack of basic education and high levels of illiteracy have resulted in a class of workers who do not know their basic human and labour rights. Wegerif et al. (2005) argue that this disempowers the workers and leaves them vulnerable to exploitation. The context on farms and the educational level of its workers do not, therefore, encourage social action or collective organising. Atkinson (2007) concludes that farm workers are therefore an invisible class of workers with a limited public profile.

One response that broke with these historic assumptions was the farm workers' strike in De Doorns during 2012 and 2013. Armed with the realisation that the minimum wage of R69 per day would only perpetuate oppression, farm workers responded by downing tools, disrupting table grape and wine production - which negatively affected the industry's local and international markets - and barricading the national road. Through their individual and collective actions, farm workers reasserted that they mattered. The issues of an invisible, marginalised and silent sector of South African society took centre stage and the full attention of the South African public was on the daily reality of farm workers' lives (Andrews, 2014; Kleinbooi, 2013). The De Doorns strike represented a moment when ordinary people responded to conditions of inequality and were able to insert themselves practically into economic life (Hart & Sharp, 2014).

It was a watershed moment in the agricultural sector. Activism became a tool in the hands of the dispossessed to challenge their status quo and forge a new reality. Randall (1993) makes the case that this level of organisation is necessary for effective development. He argues that the dispossessed must organise themselves into social movements that speak and act on their behalf. Greenberg (2010, p. 17-18) too argues that a "social force" is needed to connect the disparate unorganised interests of farm workers into a "broader front".

The significance of the De Doorns moment was the visible signs of activism within commercial agriculture. Research shows, however, that collective action of this magnitude requires the commitment of strong leadership and organisational bodies. Choudry (2007, p. 110) argues that for alternative ideas to have traction, "low-key, long-haul political education and community organising work" are necessary. Freire (2005, p. 148-149) too contends that oppressive circumstances can only be transformed through the creation of "critically conscious revolutionary organisation(s)". The educational goal of these organisations is to create critical thinking and active members.

My own experience also revealed that the creation of an activist is the result of an educational process. Since 2003 I have volunteered to work within

Imbawula Trust – a registered not-for-profit trust that works in the interest of hip-hop and street-art[2]. The vision of the trust is to: "create platforms for new and emerging street artists with socially conscious messages" (Imbawula Trust, 2004). My own transformation into activism was the consequence of a deliberate and systematic education process. It encompassed developing the ability to read reality critically and to imagine a new, different world. Discussion spaces, reading circles and late-night movies were all used to encourage a questioning mind-set, and to develop self-assertion. It unleashed powerful transformations within me that helped me to heal from past trauma, and grew my confidence. I also picked up hard skills such as workshop facilitation, project management and event organisation.

The research deliberated on: Who was doing this organisational and educational work on commercial farms? What were the organisational processes that created that particular moment at De Doorns? How did they create an activist-based consciousness on farms? What was their educational approach? What were the objectives and methods used? The focus of this research was therefore the education process[3] that engendered activism on commercial farms in the Western Cape, South Africa.

The remainder of this Chapter examines the De Doorns strike from a historical perspective. The chapter outlines the living and working conditions on farms under Apartheid. The policies for transformative change are outlined before the post-apartheid conditions are critiqued. The analysis concludes that those who work and/or live on farms continue to experience oppression and exploitation and that these conditions have given rise to farm worker activism, such as the De Doorns uprising. Next, the research questions to probe this central phenomenon are outlined, followed by the significance and the purpose of the study. Lastly, the chapter documents the layout of the remainder of the thesis.

[2] Street art is defined as any art that emerges organically from the streets and townships of working class and disadvantaged communities. It is further described as art that is locally produced and has a socially conscious message (Imbawula Trust, 2004).

[3] Process is defined as: "a series of actions or steps taken in order to achieve a particular end" (Oxford *living* dictionaries online, 2019).

1.2 Problem Statement

In October 2012, South Africa awoke to the farm worker's strike in De Doorns. In this small agricultural town, 180 km from Cape Town, farming during the export grape-harvesting season was brought to a standstill. With the memory of the Marikana miners and their call for a living wage of R12 500 still fresh in their minds, farm workers argued that the minimum legislated wage of R69 per day was not enough to live on and raise a family. Instead they demanded a minimum daily wage of R150 (Andrews, 2014; Kleinbooi, 2013).

What began as a simple wage dispute soon revealed deep tensions between farmers and farm workers on commercial farms in South Africa. As the vineyards of the Western Cape burnt, a deep-seated anger tied to the history of slavery, colonisation and Apartheid was brought to the fore. The strike spread to more than 25 farming communities in the Western Cape and became an expression of farm workers' frustration at their living and working conditions (Andrews, 2014; Kleinbooi, 2013). Zapiro, with his sharp cynicism, captures this sentiment in his cartoon below.

Figure 1: Cartoon drawn by Zapiro, The Times, 20 November 2012

Source: Vorster (2013)

Literature provides significant evidence to support Zapiro's insight. Despite the democratically elected government's progressive policies and legislature, living and working on commercial farms in South Africa remains a hard life.

Commercial farms in South Africa are historically governed by conditions of paternalism (Atkinson, 2007; HRW, 2011; Shabodien, 2006; Wegerif et al., 2005). Nolan (2007) uses the metaphor of the family to define paternalism. On farms the family represents the entire farming community, with the individual farm worker families as its smaller family members. Inside this family the farmer or "boer"[4] is the father and the workers are the children.

The boer (as father) is responsible for the care and guardianship of his workers (as children). In this configuration the boer has ultimate power and authority and rules every aspect of life on the farm. Workers are incentivised to either obtain his favour or avoid his punishment. Farms therefore are autonomous governing spaces, which have their own set of rules that their members must adhere to.

In addition to paternalism, racism also impacted on power relations on farms. The boer was the owner of the farm and he was usually white, Afrikaner and male. The management staff was also white and the farm workers were black[5]. In this context, the black farm workers were the property of the farm and were inherited as the farm was passed on from father to son (Shabodien, 2006).

This overt social inequality between farmer and farm worker created a "marginalised and super-exploitable" (Atkinson, 2007, p.8) class of workers who overwhelmingly depended on the farmer for their basic social and

[4] The use of the term" boer" needs some explanation. Strictly speaking the English translation for the Afrikaans term "boer" is "farmer." Given South Africa's Apartheid past, the word "boer," however, is associated with the racialised ideology and institutions that supported Apartheid. These would include economic subordination, social segregation, political hegemony, legislation and violence (Wolpe & Unterhalter, 1991; Hirson, 1979). The English term "farmer" does not carry the same connotations and therefore the study will employ the use of "boer" within the English text.

[5] black refers to all the racial groupings that were oppressed by Apartheid – Black, Coloured and Indian. White refers to the Apartheid-privileged population (Fiske and Ladd 2004, p. 4).

economic needs (South African Human Rights Council, 2003, cited in Sikhula Sonke, 2012). This "huge economic power imbalances" (Sikhula Sonke, 2012) entrenched in farm workers a feeling of "powerlessness, humiliation, indignity and vulnerability" (Devereux, Levendal & Yde, 2017, p.2).

The end of Apartheid, however, offered a glimmer of hope for a better quality of life for those living and working on commercial farms. As the country prepared for transition from Apartheid to democracy, South Africans anticipated the historic change with excitement (Bernstein, 2013). Structural, policy and legislative changes took place across all sectors of society.

In terms of land security, the newly elected government emphasised land reform, redistribution and improved land tenure as necessary to address poverty and rectify the historical oppression and dispossession of black South Africans (Bernstein, 2013). The target set was to transfer 30 percent of white-owned commercial land (24.6 million hectares) by 1999 (O'Laughlin, Bernstein, Cousins & Peters, 2013, p. 8).

The Extension of Security of Tenure Act of 1997 (ESTA) was intended to improve tenure for those living on farms (Greenberg, 2010). ESTA does not offer the farm resident land rights, but instead provides a set of procedures that farmers are to follow should they choose to evict a farm resident. Any eviction must also be accompanied with notice and a court order. There is also an obligation on the farmer and the farm worker to ensure that there is "suitable alternative accommodation, which may be defined as no less favourable than the occupier's previous situation" (Atkinson, 2007, p. 82). ESTA also created a protected class of farm residents who were entitled to stay on the farm until their deaths. They are people who have resided on the land for at least 10 years, or are over the age of 60 and can no longer work due to ill health, injury or disability. Should such a person die on the farm, their dependents have right of residence for 12 months after receiving a written notice (Atkinson, 2007; HRW, 2011).

In agriculture the paternalistic employment conditions were to be replaced with a formal and legal regulatory framework. The Sectorial Determination 13

(1997) regulates the basic conditions of employment. The Employment Equity Act (1998) outlaws discrimination on the basis of sex or race. The Constitution guarantees freedom of association, including the right to form, join and participate in a union (HRW, 2011). In 2003, the minimum wage for farm workers was introduced (Bernstein, 2013) and labour inspectors were responsible for ensuring that the employers complied with all regulations. Failure to do so would result in penalties against the employer (HRW, 2011).

These political shifts were, however, accompanied with the restructuring of the South African economy into an international competitive globalised market[6]. The post 1994 agricultural restructuring has meant the reduction in employment and a decrease in job security. Agriculture has come to rely on a decreasing core of permanent employees, supplemented by large numbers of seasonal or casual workers (Atkinson, 2007; Bernstein, 2013; Greenberg, 2010; O'Laughlin et al., 2013). Other cost recovery methods included the use of unregulated labour brokers, mechanisation of agricultural production processes, (Department of Agriculture and Land Affairs, 2001) worker evictions, (Greenberg, 2010) and the use of cheaper migrant farm labourers from countries such as Zimbabwe and Mozambique (O'Laughlin et al., 2013).

Farm workers remain among the most vulnerable members of the formal sector as they work long hours in harsh weather conditions and earn the lowest wages within the formal sector (HRW, 2011). In 2018 they were entitled to R16.25 per hour for a nine-hour workday, which translated into a weekly wage of R731.41 and a monthly salary of R3169.19 (Department of Labour, 2018). For the farm workers living on farms, it is widely reported that they live in substandard or uninhabitable housing as many farm workers are denied basic services such as water and basic sanitation (Kleinbooi, 2013).

[6] This policy adjustment is associated with the economic doctrine of neoliberalism. Lesufi (2002) describes neo-liberalism as a social, economic and political paradigm that advocates primarily for a market-driven economy with policy emphasis on trade liberalisation, labour market flexibility and financial deregulation. Castells (2003, cited in Thompson and Topscott, 2011, p. 15) view the globalised market as an economic system based on capital flows, multinational corporations, information and technology. In the public sector, government is encouraged to act with fiscal austerity or discipline, to privatise inefficient public enterprises and to implement cost recovery tactics (Desai, 2003; Lesufi, 2002).

There is also substantial evidence of non-compliance with legislation and policies and failure of the Department of Labour to monitor and enforce implementation of policies on farms. In their report, the HRW (2011, p. 78) concludes that on farms in the Western Cape the "government's laxity in enforcing basic protections has created a climate in which exploitative practices by employees remain widespread." Greenberg (2010) added that the conditions of employment on the farm continue to be regulated by landowners and not the state or law. This is due to the government's inadequate budgets, poor implementation systems, skills deficit and large number of vacancies.

Farm workers (and farm dwellers) continue to experience insecure land tenure and insecurity (Bernstein, 2013) and remain "vulnerable to eviction or displacement without due process, adequate compensation, or suitable alternative accommodations" (HRW, 2011, p. 50). The land reform target has not been met with only 7.2 percent (or 6.3 million hectares) redistributed by 2007 and the target date extended to 2025 (O'Laughlin et al., 2013). Wegerif, et al. (2005, p. 41) found that between 1984 and 2004 almost 1.7 million people were evicted from farms. Of those evicted, 60 percent had lived on the farm for more than 10 years. The use of illegal tactics such as cutting water, electricity, intimidation, harassment and the use of private security are also common practice (HRW, 2011). This illegal practice is known as a "constructive eviction" (Wegerif, et al., 2005, p. 41) where farm residents voluntarily leave the farm, as life on the farm is made unbearable.

For the farm worker families who have worked and lived on the same farm for generations, an eviction from a farm is not only the loss of income or a home, it also strips them of their identity and community structures and creates a disconnect to land to which they are ancestrally connected (HRW, 2011; Wegerif et al., 2005).

Wegerif et al. (2005, p. 7) conclude that "black people living on farms in South Africa remain amongst the most vulnerable people in society". And while all farm workers are vulnerable to exploitation, it is common knowledge that black women experience social injustice more acutely. Kehler (2001, p. 45)

argue that for as long as the intersection between class, race and gender determine access to resources; women will continue to bear the “brunt of the burden of poverty and inequality”. In particular, she singles out the African rural woman as being the most deprived in society.

On farms this prediction rings true. Greenberg (2010, p. 17) conclude that women on farms “have borne the brunt of the restructuring process” as they make up the overwhelming majority of the lower paid, less recognised and more insecure seasonal or casual workers (Bernstein, 2013; O’Laughlin et al., 2013). Women are also less likely to receive contracts and they experience pay discrimination. Pregnant women are discriminated against and are often denied employment, maternity leave or face dismissal (Kehler, 2001; HRW, 2011; Sikhula Sonke, 2012).

Of the 1.7 million farm evictees almost three quarters were women and half were children (Wegerif et al., 2005, p. 41). This is because women on farms are traditionally viewed as extensions of their male partners and often have no independent right to tenure or housing (HRW, 2011). Kehler (2001) argues that farmwomen are not entitled to be on farms, but are instead allowed, by their husbands or boers, to stay. This dependence makes women especially vulnerable to evictions, unfair labour practices, discrimination and violence.

Historical practices such as the *dop system* (where farm workers were partially compensated for their labour with alcohol) make alcohol abuse and domestic violence prevalent on farms. Physical and emotional abuses are common experiences for farmwomen in their relationships with their male partners. Women also have multiple burdens and are traditionally responsible for feeding the family (Shabodien, 2006).

It was a combination of these oppressive and exploitative conditions that ultimately created the climate for the De Doorns Uprising. On the issue of transformation, Marais (2011, cited in Bernstein, 2013, p. 43) concludes that the agricultural and economic policies since 1994 have “done little to ‘transform’ the circumstances of South Africa’s dispossessed majority, who remain enmeshed in the inheritances of racialised inequality.” O’Laughlin et

al. (2013, p. 8) argue that the durability of Apartheid can be seen in the continuing racialised patterns of “employment, residence, transport, shopping, music, worship, friendship, health care, education and voting”.

Farm workers across the Western Cape responded to the realisation that if something did not change radically, their children would continue to experience the oppression and exploitation to which they had been subjected. Across farming communities farm workers mobilised and responded with activism. Bettie Fortuin, one of the women leaders in the De Doorns strike, explained what had motivated her to join and lead the strike: “I said to my children if I die in this strike, I died for something – for your life to be better” (Meer, 2014, p. 52).

Through their individual and collective actions farm workers reasserted that they mattered. The issues of an invisible, marginalised and silent sector of South African society took centre stage and the full attention of the South African public was on the daily reality of farm workers’ lives. Activism became a tool in the hands of the dispossessed to challenge their status quo and forge a new reality. Workers closed down the national road leading into Cape Town, disrupted the national food supply and reduced the revenue and product of the international table grape and wine industry (Andrews, 2014; Kleinbooi, 2013). The De Doorns strike therefore represented a moment when ordinary people responded to conditions of inequality and were able to insert themselves practically into economic life (Hart & Sharp, 2014).

Figure 2: A protester barricades the national road (N1) just outside De Doorns during the 2012/2013 farm workers strike

Source: Wilderman (2015, p. 17)

What emerged were “new levels of consciousness” and a “new confidence” (Andrews, 2014, p. 3) as grassroots activism became a means for communities to respond to conditions of inequality in their quest for social justice. The De Doorns farm workers’ strike can therefore be seen as part of the “social force” or a “broader front” that Greenberg (2010, p. 17-18) argues is necessary to support the interests of farm workers.

Theory justifies this conclusion. Randall (1993) argues that effective development requires that people act for themselves. Through engaging in contentious issues, Ballard, Habib, Valodia and Zuern (2005) contend that social movements create mechanisms that hold social actors accountable and are therefore indispensable for a mature democracy.

The South African government has also responded to the demands of farm workers with new policies to protect them. In 2014 Land Reform Minister, Gugile Nkwinti, proposed implementation of the “Strengthening the Relative

Rights of People Working the Land" policy document. In it, government proposed that farms be divided into two portions of 50 percent each. The original owner would retain 50 percent, and the government would purchase half of the farm. The government's half would be redistributed to farm workers who had worked on the farm for a minimum of 10 years. The payment used to purchase the land would not be paid to the farmer. Instead it would be used to create a fund to ensure the managerial capacity and the productivity of the redistributed land (South African Press Association, 2014; Women on Farms Project, 2014).

Also, in 2014 Cyril Ramaphosa declared a moratorium on farm evictions and for all farm evictions to be stopped "effective immediately" (Lamprecht, 2014). Recently the African National Congress indicated that it wished to amend the Constitution of South Africa so that the conditions under which land could be expropriated without compensation be clearly outlined (Ramaphosa, 2018).

The De Doorns moment inspired the research and raised many questions. What lay beneath the surface of this big uprising? What was happening on the ground on commercial farms in the Western Cape? What were the organisational processes that created activism on farms and what type of education process supported this collective action? Why did people become activists? How did people become activists? How had the experience of activism transformed them? In addition, while the De Doorns strike represented a big national moment of resistance, what of the smaller moments of activism, that took place in people's daily lives on farms, away from the attention of the media or academia? Trade union representatives in organised struggle also received much attention but what of the ordinary farm workers, and in particular, what of the most oppressed groups on farms? How did women who lived and worked on farms respond to the inequalities that they faced?

It was the phenomenon of education and its relationship to activism that was the focus of the research. In order to explore the education process that engendered activism, the research documented the educational journeys of

six female farm activists who had either lived and/or worked on commercial farms in the Western Cape, South Africa.

1.3 Research Questions

To map the educational journeys of the female farm activists, the following research questions were proposed:

1. What are the experiences of female farm activists in and with formal education?
2. What are the experiences of female farm activists in non-formal education?
3. How did female farm activists use the education they acquired?

1.4 Scientific Significance

The scientific importance of this project is two-fold.

First, the project documents the educational realities of female farm activists (and that of their families) during the post-apartheid era. There is an urban education bias within the literature, as research on rural education is viewed as "marginalised bodies of knowledge in South Africa" (Nkambule, Balfour, Pillay & Moletsane, 2011, p. 341). Literature on rural education is limited, but literature on the education of those who live and work on commercial farms is even harder to come by. This project will therefore provide insight into educational realities of female farm activists (and that of their families) in the Western Cape, South Africa.

Second, the project outlines how education contributes to the emergence of activism on the commercial farms in Western Cape, South Africa. While farms have historically been characterised as spaces with low levels of civil society; the De Doorns farm worker's strike is evidence that conditions on commercial farms are changing; creating the conditions for the"broader front" that Greenberg (2010, p. 18) argues is necessary for farm workers to benefit from their labour and human rights. The study therefore

explores how the education female farm activists acquire contributes to activism on the commercial farms where they live and/or work.

1.5 Purpose of the Study

In line with the above scientific importance, the purpose of the project is two-fold:

(1) First, to explore and provide a documented account of the educational realities of female farm activists (and their families) in the post-apartheid educational landscape;

(2) Second, to outline how education contributes to the emergence of activism on the commercial farms in Western Cape, South Africa.

1.6 Layout of the Study

Chapter 1: Orientation

Chapter 1 begins with an understanding of the De Doorns strike from a historical perspective. The chapter looks at the living and working and educational conditions on farms. The analysis revealed that those who worked and/or lived on commercial farms continued to experience oppression and exploitation, and it was these conditions that gave rise to the De Doorns farm workers' strike. It is within this changing agricultural context that the central phenomenon of the study – the education process that engenders activism - is located. The chapter ends with the research questions, significance of the study, research objectives and the layout of the remainder of the study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter introduces the concept of an educational journey. The literature suggests that education and learning take place across an individual's lifetime and over different educational sites – formal, non-formal and informal. The first educational site explored is formal school education. The education

conditions on farms, policies for transformative change and critiques of the post-apartheid education conditions are provided. The research then focuses on the non-formal education sites that have activism as their intent. The work of Paulo Freire (2005) is reviewed to understand his text, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* – education theory aimed to understand and transform the conditions of oppression into freedom. To give meaning to the term activism, the study draws on the work of Rancière (1999), Stoecker (1995) and Scott (1989).

Chapter 3: Conceptual Framework

The conceptual frame of the study is based on Freirerian philosophy and will be applied to each female farm activist's educational journey. The conceptual framework included the praxis of each female farm activist – their reflection and action upon the structures that limit and dominate them. In addition, the programme content, as well as the ways in which the women learnt, were connected with how the acquired education was used. Specifically, Rancière's (1999) theory was employed to pinpoint the moments when female farm activists presumed their equality to those who possess power, as their moments of activism.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology and Research Design

This chapter communicates the methodological decisions made to capture the educational journeys of six female farm activists in South Africa. It unpacks the research paradigm, approach, design and methods. Before the research context is introduced, the factors that limit and delimit the study are explained. Then, the research sites – farms on which a grassroots organisation implementing non-formal, popular education among women who live and work on commercial farms in South Africa - are introduced. Next, the participants are described; the strategies for data collection, organising, analysis and write-up are explained. Lastly, the chapter details the ethical considerations and the strategies to ensure trustworthiness and credibility.

Chapter 5: Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations of the Study

This chapter presents synthesis and discussion of the study outcomes, conclusions and suggestions for further research. It begins by unpacking the education model of the grassroots organisation. Here the programme rationale, objectives and organisational structures are outlined. The implementation of the education programme is viewed from the perspective of its participants – the female farm activists. To trace the programme's practical application, the educational journeys of six female farm activists were documented. Within these journeys the biographical information provided the context for the research focus – to assess critically how the content of the education programmes, the method or approach used to educate, connects with the purpose and use of the acquired education. Thereafter the chapter presents a discussion on the main themes of the study. The chapter ends with conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

"The unfinished character of human beings and the transformational character of reality necessitate that education be an ongoing activity."

(Freire, 2005, p. 84)

2.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the concept of an educational journey. Research suggests that education and learning take place across an individual's lifetime and over different educational sites – formal, non-formal and informal. The provision of formal education on commercial farms in South Africa is unpacked before attempting to understand other educational sites, such as non-formal and informal education. The research concludes that the education that takes place in each site contributes to the person's individual biography – the person's lifetime of experiences – which in turn enhances their "knowledge, skills, attitudes, values, beliefs, emotions and other senses" to create the whole human being (Jarvis, 2004, p.106).

The focus of the study is on the non-formal education sites that have popular education as their intent. The work of Paulo Freire (2005) is reviewed to understand his seminal text *"Pedagogy of the Oppressed"* – education theory aimed to understand and transform the conditions of oppression into freedom. Freire's (2005) theory is deconstructed according to three layers – the underlying principles of praxis, the education methods it uses to teach, and the emotions and values that it creates.

Freire (2005) believes that through praxis – reflection and action – education can be directed to "transform the world" (Freire, 2005, p. 87). This type of action is located within the broader conversation of activism. To give meaning to this term, the study draws on the work of Rancière (1999), Stoecker (1995) and Scott (1989).

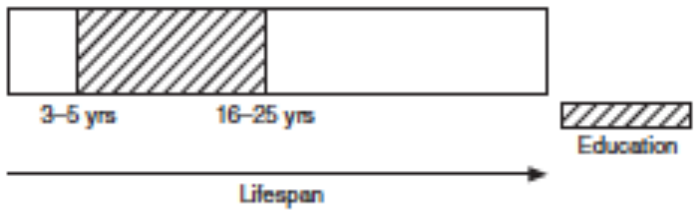
Rancière (1999, p. 30) argues that politics occurs when the oppressed act on the knowledge that there is "equality of any speaking being with any other speaking being". Using his theory, the study defines activism as the moments when female farm activists presume their equality to those who possess power, and in doing so; insist on their right to human dignity. This presumption of equality takes place in the organised spaces and across different levels – from the personal to the public (Stoecker, 1995). These presumptive acts also occur in hidden actions, a phenomenon that Scott (1989, p. 33) calls "everyday forms of resistance". Lastly, the literature is synthesised.

2.2 Educational Journeys - From the Front-end Model to Lifelong Learning

2.2.1 The front-end education model on commercial farms in South Africa

What is education, when and how does it take place? For most, education is perceived as formal, compulsory education offered by the state. This can best be understood using the figure below.

Figure 3: The front-end model of education



Source: Jarvis, 2004, p. 39

Jarvis (2004) refers to this as the front-end model of education. The assumption is that the education that takes place during an individual's formative years is sufficient for the rest of their lives. For this reason, the front-end model is also known as initial education and is synonymous with formal schooling. Combs and Ahmed (1974) describe formal schooling as "the highly institutionalised, chronologically graded and hierarchical 'education

system' spanning (a period from) lower primary school to the upper reaches of the university" (cited in Jarvis, 2004, p. 40). It can also refer to education that has been institutionalised in its structure and in its process – the teaching and learning method (Jarvis, 2004).

On commercial farms in South Africa, paternalistic social relations also extended to the provision of formal schooling. Education on farms was designed to meet the economic needs of the farm by creating a readily available and productive pool of farm labour. Schools on farms kept children occupied, while their parents worked. Farm children also supplemented farm labour during peak seasons. Farm schools also discouraged the migration of farm workers, as parents were less likely to migrate to the cities if their children were educated on the farm (HRW, 2004).

Even though farm schools were on private land, they were the responsibility of the state and were classified as "state-aided schools" (HRW, 2004, p. 5). The Department of Education supplied the teachers' salaries and accommodation, learning materials, furniture, and subsidised the school buildings and infrastructure. However, the farmer was in full control of school management and enrolment, and he had the power to select teachers (Atkinson, 2007; HRW, 2004). The White Paper 1995 (cited in HRW, 2004, p. 48) notes the farmers' powers in the provision of education on their farms:

> "The farmer may be one and the same time the owner and the governing body of the farm school, the employer of the workers whose children attend the school, and the source of instruction for child labour."

The financial burden on the farmer and the government's racial policies of educational inequality meant that the willingness and benevolent actions of the farmer were necessary to maintain an adequate level of education (Atkinson, 2007; HRW, 2004). If schools were provided, these schools tended to lack basic infrastructure and had multi-grade classes. Their teachers' salaries were lower than their urban counterparts; the distances to

schools from homes were often great and transport was unavailable, unreliable or inadequate (Atkinson, 2007).

This resulted in low educational attainment levels. In 1985, 36 percent of all rural learners between the ages of 6 and 14 years were not attending school. Enrolment was even lower for girls, who had the additional responsibility of caring for the home and members of the family (Robertson, 1988 cited in Atkinson, 2007, p. 229-230). By 1996 there was little improvement. The census data showed that 41 percent of all male workers had no education at all; 34 percent had little primary school education and the attainment of women was even lower (Simbi & Aliber, 2000 cited in Atkinson, 2007, p. 229). Atkinson (2007, p. 230) argues that the legacy of Apartheid farm education is an "illiterate farm labour force."

During the political transition, the South African government saw the equitable[7] distribution of quality[8] education as fundamental to overall societal transformation (Fiske & Ladd, 2004). This is because education holds a special place in society.

[7] Equity reflects value-based expressions of fairness and justice (Weber, 2002). In education, it is defined in relation to educational resources or outcomes (Hallinan, 1988). Equity in educational inputs places the policy focus on the fair distribution of the educational inputs and resources required to learn. Equity in this case, demands that equally situated learners, should each receive equal access to the educational resources required to learn. This approach argues for the equal per capita educational expenditure and is also known as horizontal equity (Berne & Stiefel, 1999). Equity in educational outcomes shifts the focus to each child's equal entitlement to access adequate education. Equal access acknowledges that students from low socioeconomic status households face greater educational needs to achieve any level of adequate education, and will therefore require differential support (Alexander, 1982). Low socioeconomic status students begin their education with lower prior knowledge, have parents with lower income and less education and are also less likely to have a complementary home environment (Fiske & Ladd, 2004). Equity within this framework will require that resources, support and funding be unequally distributed in favour of the most disadvantaged to overcome socioeconomic inequalities. It is commonly known as vertical equity; Alexander (1982, p. 212) calls it "positivism" and is the equity standard used in the study.

[8] In this study, 'quality' and 'basic' education were framed as adequate education. Fiske and Ladd (2004, p. 9) define adequate education as the "educational level needed for someone to participate fully in both the political and economic life of the country." Tikly and Barrett (2011, p. 3 & p. 9) frame quality (or adequate) education as the development of "key capabilities that individuals, communities and society in general have reason to value." These include the capability to be "economically productive, develop sustainable livelihoods, contribute to peaceful and democratic societies and enhance individual well-being".

Education is a basic socio-economic right that expands personal human freedom by developing the "cognitive, physical, emotional, critical and aesthetic powers" required to be fully human (Bowles, 1993, p. 37). Through the development of a common set of skills, values and knowledge, education fosters literacy, numeracy and critical reasoning. This, in turn, builds active citizenship, political tolerance and democratic participation (Labaree, 1997; Olssen, 1996).

Amartya Sen (1999, p. 74) in his groundbreaking book, *Development as Freedom,* argued that education should be used to develop "substantive freedoms – the capabilities - to choose a life one has reason to value". Sen views education as a capability, as it improves what a person can do or be. Because it offers the opportunity to choose different lifestyles or ways of living, Walker (2006) argues that education has redistributive power. Quality education to farm workers and their children was therefore necessary to transmute inherited inequalities and arrest the cycle of poverty and generational oppression.

Post-apartheid South African education policy paid homage to the importance of redress. Section 29(a) of the Constitution entitles every person to basic education and Section 9(2) makes provision for educational redress as it puts in place measures to "protect or advance persons, or categories of persons, (who are) disadvantaged by unfair discrimination" (Republic of South Africa, 1996, p. 7). White Paper 1 and White Paper 2 both affirmed that the equitable distribution of public funding is necessary for all students in South Africa to achieve high quality educational experiences (Department of Education, 1995; Department of Education, 1996a). Section 34(1) of South Africa Schools Act (SASA) (1996) states that public schools ought to be funded from public resources "on an equitable basis in order to ensure the proper exercise of the rights of *learners* to education and the redress of past inequalities" (Department of Education, 1996b, p. 36, author's own emphasis). The Amended Norms and Standards for School Funding (2006) and (2009) exempted the poorest 60 percent of schools from charging school fees. To

compensate for the loss of revenue, exempted schools are the recipients of the larger non-personnel funding (Nordstrum, 2012).

Despite a comprehensive approach to rebuilding a post-apartheid education system, a national strategy to facilitate transformation on farm schools was never developed (HRW, 2004). Education transformation instead relied on Sections within the SASA (1996). The SASA (1996) classified farm schools as public schools on private land. To align the rights of the farmer with the public interest of education, Section 14 stipulates that a contractual relationship exists between the landowner and the provincial department of education. Among other things the contractual agreement should stipulate the rental arrangement, approach to maintenance and shared responsibility for the water and electricity payments. While the private rights of the landowner are to be respected, no landowner may deny access to schools by interested parties and the management and governance of farm schools must be that of a normal functioning public school. Lastly, Section 58 provides measures to expropriate the land on which the school is built to serve the public educational interests of the learners (cited in HRW, 2004, p. 26-28).

The table below gives a sense of educational attainment on farms in the post-apartheid dispensation.

Figure 4: Educational levels of people living on farm areas by official employment status, 2011

Highest Level of Education	Official Employment Status		
	Employed (%)	**Unemployed (%)**	**Discouraged work-seekers (%)**
No schooling	11.6	8.7	10.6
Grade[9] 0	0.5	0.5	0.4
Grade 1	1.5	1.2	1.2
Grade 2	2.1	1.7	1.9
Grade 3/ABET1	3.1	2.4	2.7
Grade 4	4.2	3.6	4.2
Grade 5/ABET2	4.7	4.3	4.5
Grade 6	5.3	5.0	5.9
Grade 7/ABET3	8.4	8.0	8.8
Grade 8	8.7	9.5	9.5
Grade 9/ABET4	7.6	9.5	9.6
Grade 10	8.9	11.5	11.2
Grade 11	7.6	10.9	10.0
Grade 12	17.1	20.1	17.5
Total	**91.3**	**96.9**	**98**
All other post secondary qualifications	8.7	3.1	2
Total	100	100	100

Source: Visser & Ferrer, 2015, p. 11

[9] Grade and all other equivalents.

The table shows improvements in educational attainment, as well as causes for concern. The increase in educational attainment is visible as the highest level of educational qualification among all groups is a Grade 12 certificate. It is, however, worrying that 20 percent and 17.5 percent of all people who hold a matriculation certificate are unable to obtain employment. This could indicate that there is a problem with the quality of education, or else with the availability of work opportunities.

There are, however, still people living in farming areas who do not have any formal education (11.6 percent of the employed; 8.7 percent of the unemployed and 10.6 percent of the discouraged workers). A very small percentage has a post-secondary educational qualification. Only 0.4 per cent of the employed population, 0.1 per cent of the unemployed workers and 0.1 per cent of the discouraged worker-seekers hold a masters or a PhD degree (Visser & Ferrer, 2015, p. 11). From this table, Visser and Ferrer (2015, p. 10) conclude that the "economically active farm area population has a relatively low average level of formal education."

Within the post-apartheid context, farm schools also continue to be without basic infrastructure such as electricity, drinking water, sanitation, adequate learning materials and reliable transport systems (Atkinson, 2007; HRW, 2004). Research conducted by the HRW (2004) on 28 farm schools in the Free State, Limpopo and Mpumalanga showed a lack of basic infrastructure and adequate learning materials. Furthermore, the absence of safe and affordable transport contributed to irregular or non-attendance - leading to learners dropping out of school. On most farms schooling stopped at Grade 7, with learners leaving the farms to live in hostels or find accommodation in towns to complete their secondary education. Compared to their urban counterparts, rural learners were less likely to matriculate or obtain a post-school qualification (Gardiner, 2008).

A similar conclusion could be reached for adult farm workers. Literature showed that adult farm workers were still dealing with basic education issues such as literacy. A 2003 survey of 64 farm workers across nine research sites in the Free State and Northern Cape revealed that 31 percent of surveyed

workers had no schooling at all, 52 percent had some primary schooling and only 16 percent had a secondary qualification (Atkinson, 2007, p. 130-131). The lack of basic education, high levels of illiteracy and the geographic isolation on farms resulted in a class of workers who did not know their basic human and labour rights (Shabodien, 2006), contributing to a state of powerlessness (Atkinson, 2007). In their study, Wegerif et al., (2005) found that approximately 50 per cent of evicted farm dwellers were generally not aware of their rights as farm workers or dwellers; leaving them disempowered and vulnerable to exploitation. Furthermore, those workers who knew their rights lacked the resources and support to enact these rights.

Through the nexus of the education system and the labour market, these unequal educational opportunities translate into unequal labour and economic opportunities (Taylor et al., 2011). This, in turn, gives rise to wage and other differentials, eventually resulting in income and wealth inequalities (Leibbrant, Woolard, Finn & Argent, 2010). The HRW (2004, p. 7) concludes that insecure access to education and an inadequate learning environment has perpetuated the "social and economic legacy of the Apartheid era". Unequal access to quality education and low educational attainment on farms therefore continue to support the reproduction of poverty and inequality post-apartheid.

Reproduction theories are one possible approach to explain this phenomenon. Jarvis (2004, p. 59) makes the case that it is "widely recognised that … a great deal of formal education is culturally and socially reproductive." Wolpe (1991, in Randall, 1993, p. 48) argued that education is a "site of struggle" where different actors challenge one another for its meaning and purpose. The objective of education is therefore not neutral, but dependent on the material conditions of the wider political conjuncture at a given time.

In *Schooling and Capitalist America,* Bowles and Gintis (1976, in Bowles, 1993, p. 36) theorised that the relationship between capitalism and education is based on a "correspondence principle". The capitalist economy is vested in the rights of property with representatives of wealth controlling the production processes. This gives rise to class, race, gender and other associated

inequalities. The social relations necessary to uphold this undemocratic, hierarchical and unequal economy are authority, control, competition and external reward. These values are all developed and inculcated within the formal education system. As the social relations of education mimic (or correspond) to the social relations of capitalist production, the education system under capitalism prepares students to take up roles in an unequal economy, and becomes the main mechanism by which inequalities in the social structures are legitimised and reproduced.

Ilon (1994) bases her critique of the formal education system through the lens of neoliberal economic policies. She argues that neoliberalism has subjected education to market forces, a process that has come to be known as the "marketisation of education" (Deacon, Osman & Buchler, 2010, p. 104). Here education is subjected to market forces, privatised and located in the context of individual social advancement and social positioning (Labaree 1997). In the public sector, governments are encouraged to act with fiscal austerity or discipline and face pressure to lower taxes (Ilon, 1994).

Ilon (1994) argues that the commodification of education, the drive for balanced public debt and the pressure to be internationally competitive, erodes government motivation for public funding in education and reduces the funds available to all social welfare programmes. As public funds shrink, she expects the quality of public education to deteriorate and predicts the creation of a three-tiered, class-based education and occupational structure.

The elite class will respond to the deteriorating quality of public education by switching to high quality private schooling, providing them with a globally competitive education and access to well-paid employment in the international knowledge economy. They will make up most of the students in the first tier.

The members of the middle class, who will be unable to afford elite private schooling, will use their influence to demand quality public education at higher school fees. This class will constitute most of the second tier and they will work to service the national and local infrastructure (Ilon, 1994).

The third tier of education will consist of the failing public education system. Education in the third tier will deliver minimum skills such as basic literacy, numeracy, discipline and teach obedience. This will be the only option available to the poor, providing them with employment opportunities in the production of globally competitive industries, such as factories and farms. The work will be low-skilled, offering minimum wages with poor and precarious working conditions. These low returns to education will result in high dropout rates and unemployment (Ilon, 1994).

In response to these unequal educational realities, theorists revert to the argument of building a strong civil society and community, based on organisational structures. Sayed and Motala (2012, p. 685) believe that "transformation cannot rely explicitly on the good-natured intention of the state … (but) requires a strong and active civil society that can hold the state to account. For Vally (2007, p. 54), "real education transformation" in South Africa will "depend on the capacity of the poor and their supporters in different sectors to mobilise, coordinate their struggles and become a powerful social movement".

The political dimensions of formal education - its potential for social reproduction and stratification – called for an innovative reinterpretation of education (Jarvis, 2004). Based solely on the front-end model, a person's educational journey would cease when they have completed their formal institutionalised schooling. Today such a conclusion would not hold sway. By analysing the implications of globalisation on education, Jarvis (2004) makes a convincing case for viewing education as a life-long learning process.

2.2.2 Life-long learning and educational journeys

In his book, *Adult Education and Lifelong Learning*, Jarvis (2004) argues that in any society a "degree of stability and permanence" is required so that fundamental processes, such as language and behaviour, can be patterned (Jarvis, 2004, p. 15). Social change is, however, also desirable as it disrupts people's known environment and acts as a catalyst for learning. It is the *pace* of social change within a globalised world that he brings to our attention.

He argues that globalisation has ushered in a period of rapid and endemic social change. This period has seen the emergence of transnational economic actors who dominate global economics and through this, influence the social and cultural life of local cultures across the globe. On the one hand, these transnational actors have exerted a similar influence and have standardised cultural and societal life. One the other, improved technology has meant that people are now exposed to more subcultures than before. Individuals in a globalised world are therefore required to forge their identities in a paradoxical cultural environment, which is also constantly in flux.

As global forces impact upon our known world, he predicts that humans will experience with increasing frequency moments of "*disjuncture"* – when we become aware of the "gap between our biography (total experience) and our perception of the situation in which we are" (Jarvis, 2004, p.110, author's own emphasis). These are "problematic" moments because they force us to reflect upon our experiences to find new meaning (Jarvis, 2004, p. 107). He argues that this process – responding and adapting to the rapidly changing social environment – is the foundation of today's life-long learning.

Disjuncture can offer opportunities for enormous growth as we are forced to make new meaning of who we are, and our place in society. They can also be highly destabilising, as the loss of a single and stable subculture to shape our reality, can produce feelings of isolation, insecurity, alienation and a crisis of identity (Jarvis, 2004). Formal education, he argues, is therefore one form of education and it exists alongside other forms, such as non-formal and informal education.

Coombs and Ahmed 1974 (cited in Endresen, 2013, p. 29) defined non-formal education as "any organised, systematic, educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children." Conner (2018) has a similar interpretation and defines non-formal education as organised educational activities that are established outside the formal education system. For Aitchison (2007) non-formal education takes place

outside the formal education system, is not certified and is delivered in a non-formal or informal style.

Informal education, on the other hand, can be defined as everyday learning and self-directed learning. In the first case, knowledge is acquired from having had an experience in your everyday life. In the second, the individuals lead and direct their own learning outside an education institution (Jarvis, 2004). Conner (2018) also equates informal education with the knowledge, skills and attitudes that people acquire from their daily experiences. Sources of informal education include conversations, work experience or play.

Learning that occurs in an experience is called "instrumental" or "incidental learning." It is closely associated with informal education, as both occur in everyday experiences. Instrumental learning does, however, take place across all three educational sites (Jarvis, 2004).

We are now able to put forward a definition of educational journeys. Education is "any, planned series of incidents, having a humanistic basis, directed towards the participants' learning and understanding" (Jarvis, 2004, p. 65). Human learning in turn, is the "combination of processes whereby whole persons construct experiences of situations and transform them into knowledge, skills, attitudes, beliefs, values, emotions and the senses, and integrate the outcomes into their life biographies" (Jarvis, 2004, p. 111).[10]

The research argues that an educational journey encompasses the person's educational experiences, which takes place across the person's lifetime and over different educational sites, such as formal, non-formal and informal. Education is therefore not an end state but is, instead, a journey that someone embarks upon throughout the course of their lives. As long as people make sense of their experiences, they are learning, and their educational journey continues.

[10] Education is considered humanistic when it serves the basic learning needs of humanity and facilitates human development through the quest for critical reasoning. Learning too is humanistic as it evokes a meaning-making process, whereby the individuals seek to understand themselves and their place in society (Jarvis, 2004).

As envisioned here, an educational journey encompasses everything and all aspects of the person's life. This, however, is too large a scope for the study to undertake, and I return the focus to the study's central phenomenon – the education process that engenders activism. For the study, the experiences that take precedence are those that are connected to activism.

These experiences can be located in each of the educational sites, but particularly in non-formal education. This is because non-formal education lends itself to the creation of community-based spaces where education can be used to evoke discussion and action among a target group (Jarvis, 2004). It operates outside the formal system and is therefore accessible. At the same time, it requires that objectives and content be systematically thought through, providing a more structured learning environment than informal learning. Non-formal education has come to be associated with "popular" education that has social action and transformation as its purpose and intent.

2.3 Popular Education: Education for Liberation

Any conversation about the relationship between education and activism begins with Paulo Freire and his seminal text, "*Pedagogy of the Oppressed."*

Freire (2005, p. 57) defines oppression as any act that "prevents people from being more fully human." Through domination, the oppressed cease to be people, but are instead converted into objects that the oppressor prescribes to. This prescription transforms the consciousness of the oppressed as they now see themselves through the eyes of the oppressor as inferior, ignorant and powerless. As the oppressed internalise this image, it creates in them a duality. On the one hand they desire to be fully human, on the other they are fearful, as freedom requires that they disavow the oppressor within them.

Freire (2005, p. 72) argues that these oppressive conditions are sustained through the "banking concept of education." In this model a hierarchical structure exits between the teacher and students; the teacher is assumed to be knowledgeable and through narration deposits information with the students. It is a form of education that creates passive entities that are

expected to receive, memorise and repeat information. In this model, students are less likely to develop their critical consciousness and creativity, and are therefore easier to control and dominate over. This education model is therefore dehumanising and contributes to a false consciousness, one that the oppressed must struggle against. The objective of this struggle is liberation – the creation of a new person, one that is fully human - "neither oppressed nor oppressor" (Freire, 2005, p. 56). To achieve this, he advocates for transformative education based on the principles of praxis.

2.3.1 Praxis and critical consciousness

Liberation requires that one must first perceive and understand reality. To achieve this, a theory is needed and Freire (2005) proposes the theory of praxis – the parallel, interconnected and simultaneous processes of reflection and action, upon which dialogue is the core principle.

According to Freire (2005), the oppressed have been denied their right to speak. In creating a space for dialogue, the oppressed can reclaim their lost right and name the world that they live in. A word spoken, however, must be accompanied with both action and reflection. A word without action is an empty promise and is meaningless. On the other hand, for an action to be meaningful it needs to be reflected upon through dialogue. Action gives power to the word and through reflection, word makes meaning of action.

For those wishing to embark upon such an educational project, Freire (2005) has a few suggestions. He advocates building authentic organisations based on the values of cooperation, solidarity, unity and equality. He recommends horizontal community-based structures where the teacher/student relationship is replaced with the teacher-student and the students-teachers. In these organisations, the oppressed must lead their own struggle. The pedagogy of the oppressed "must be forged *with*, not *for*, the oppressed" (Freire, 2005, p. 48, author's own emphasis). Those in true solidarity with the oppressed must base their interactions on a deep commitment to continuous dialogue that gives rise to other emotional qualities such as love, trust, humility, courage, hope and faith.

A problem-solving approach should be used to determine the programme's content. Through this approach:

> people develop their power to perceive critically *the ways they exist* in the world *with which* and *in which* they find themselves; they come to see the world not as a static reality, but as a reality in process, in transformation (Freire 2005, p. 83, authors own emphasis).

The problem-solving approach begins with the experiences of the students-teachers and, through dialogue, the identification of people's limit-situations. These are the issues that people perceive to limit them and are also called generative themes. Because they are the issues that people want to talk about, they are also the content of a popular education programme. To solicit discussion that leads to the identification of their limits, Freire (2005) advocates the use of codes.

Codes are cognisable objects upon which the teacher-student and students-teachers reflect. They can take the form of photos, graphics, drama, testimonials, site visits, movies, posters, reading texts, newspapers or recorded interviews. With each code the intent is to simplify the dense, complex reality and represent it as a problem for analysis, discussion and reflection. The code is therefore the abstraction of the students-teachers' reality (Freire, 2005).

Once a code is presented, a decoding process begins with description. This allows the participant to break the code down into its component parts, before linking the parts together to create the whole. Through this analysis the participant first objectively analyses the code, before placing him or herself inside the code. Next, dialogue is directed to actions that will address these limit-situations (Freire, 2005).

To decide on the appropriate action, Freire (2005) invites us not to view a limit as an insurmountable obstacle, but instead as the place where new possibilities begin. How one feels about a limit-situation is based on one's perception. He therefore encourages the critical reflection of how people

perceive their limits in order to sponsor action. These actions need not be grand. What matters most is that the action reveals to the oppressed the vulnerability of the oppressor and therefore changes their perception of the limit. This allows for optimism, confidence and courage to develop. Freire (2005, p. 64) refers to this as the "moment of awakening." The oppressed realise that through their praxis they can transform the structures that dominate them. This, in turn, is an empowering experience that sponsors further reflection and action.

This entire process is known as conscientisation and it makes oppression the object of reflection. Through praxis the social order is revealed to be the result of human choice and limit-situations are unmasked as situations that are in constant flux. On the other side of a limit-situation will be a new set of limits to be critically understood and tackled with action and reflection.

The process of learning in activism is specifically considered in the next section.

2.3.2 Pedagogy of mobilisation

Praxis advocates that actions be critically reflected upon. This will reveal the significance, appropriateness and effectiveness of an action taken. Jarvis (2004) calls this action learning. Holst (2002) refers to it as the "pedagogy of mobilisation." He describes it as:

> the learning inherent in building and maintaining of a social movement and its organisations. Through participation in a social movement, people learn numerous skills and ways of thinking analytically and strategically as they struggle to understand their movement in motion (cited in Choudry, 2009, p. 8).

The pedagogy of mobilisation is the education and learning acquired while being an activist within a movement or organisation. The experience of activism is therefore an informal classroom that offers the space for additional

learning, in which new ideas, strategies and theories can emerge (Choudry, 2009).

Because of this reflective practice, Freire (2005) like Jarvis (2004) sees education as a life-long process. Human beings are "unfinished, uncompleted beings in and with a likewise unfinished reality" (Freire, 2005, p. 84). Just as education is an ongoing process, so too is the transformation that it creates. The pedagogy of the oppressed is therefore never complete, but always in the process of being created and recreated by people's actions and reflections.

These Freierian principles have been adapted and used throughout the world. One such example is that of the Training-for-Transformation (T-f-T) approach that is specifically designed to meet the unique challenges, needs and dreams that women experience. The study now turns to this approach.

2.3.3 Training-for-Transformation

Hope and Timmel (1996, p. 5) argue that women are the weavers of society's social fabric. They birth children, care for them, look after family members and by "listening and sharing, paying attention to people's needs (and) celebrating the great moments of their lives," they nurture relationships in families and communities. Much of this work, however, is under-valued; yet it is these unpaid productive economic activities that sustain the global economic system. These invisible contributions go to the heart of development, which they argue, must incorporate notions of humanity, liberation and transformation.

Akin to Freire (2005), T-f-T views "development as an awakening process" (Hope & Timmel, 1996, p. 27) where people "grow in confidence, act creatively, become more critical as they participate in transforming structures, and are themselves transformed in the process" (Hope & Timmel, 1996, p. 12).

The principles of Freire are applied to the unique realities that women experience. Central to this is the creation of women-only spaces and

organisations where women's generative themes and action are decided. Hope and Timmel (1996) describe generative themes as the moment when a room comes to life with emotion, everyone wants to speak and the energy generated creates commitment and action.

Codes, too, are poetically described:

> A good discussion is like a fire, which provides light, warmth and sense of community for all those present. Gradually every log starts to burn and contributes to the brightness and heat. The code is like the match that starts the fire burning" (Hope & Timmel, 1996, p. 77).

A few of the codes that they put forward are centering code, drama, testimonials, group discussions and the "but-why?" method. A brief explanation of each follows in the table below.

Figure 5: Training-for-Transformation Codes

Code	Description
Centering exercise	In this code, a calm environment is created. Students-teachers are encouraged to go within and introspect themselves. A meditative space is created through the use of calming music, silence, poetry or spiritual texts. This creates an affirming environment and a space to which all women contribute.
Testimonial	A person shares their story or experience with a group on a topic.
Group discussion	The total workshop is divided into groups, with each group asked to respond to a question or issue. Feedback from each group is provided to the total workshop.
Drama	This is a play that has been developed to depict a real-life situation. A good play relates to people's lived experiences as women are drawn to the characters. They feel "that could be me" (Hope & Timmel, 1996, p. 63) or that this is my life.
But-why? Method	This code is used when one would like to understand the structural causes of a problem. The code asks that people identify a problem, to which the teacher-student asks but-why does this happen? The student-teachers answer why and once again the question gets asked, but-why? This is done until the root of a problem is identified.

Source: Hope & Timmel, 1996

Using the theory of Freire (2005) and T-f-T (Hope & Timmel, 1996), education is used to transform the structures that create oppression and is therefore located in the broader conversation of activism. To give further meaning to the term activism, the study draws on the work of Rancière (1999), Stoecker (1995) and Scott (1983).

2.4 The Equality of Speaking Beings

By placing dialogue at the centre of the study, Freire's (2005) theory overlaps with Rancière (1999). For Freire (2005, p. 88):

> To exist humanly, is to *name* the world, to change it. Once named, the world in its turn reappears to the namers as a problem and requires of them a new *naming*. Human beings are not built in silence but in word, in work, in action-reflection" (authors own emphasis).

Those that speak, can plan, take risks and learn together. Through speech, people are able to engage in their collective destiny (Rancière, 1999).

In a society characterised by domination this right is not equally distributed. There are those who are entitled to speak, are visible and when they speak, their opinions are perceived as intelligence, logic and reason. Then there are those who have been excluded from this basic right. Their bodies are invisible, silent, nameless and their words are relegated to the sound of noise and are inconsequential. In his book, *"Disagreement,"* Rancière (1999) calls the excluded group, the "part of those who have no part" (Rancière, 1999 p. 11) or "the poor, the proletariat, the people" (Rancière, 1999 p. 39).

The distribution between those who have a say and those who do not, is closely controlled by what Rancière (1999, p. 28) calls the "police." May (2009) defines the police as "the broad administration of society, the hierarchy that governs its citizens in the name of their welfare" (cited in Brown and Wilson, 2013, p. 91).

According to Rancière (1999, p. 29) the purpose of the police is:

> First an order of bodies that defines the allocation of ways of doing, ways of being, and ways of saying, and sees that those bodies are assigned by name to a particular place and task; it is an order of the visible and the sayable that sees that a particular activity is visible another is not, that this speech is understood as discourse and another as noise.

The police therefore order, and the "the part of those who have no part" (Rancière, 1999, p. 11) must obey. But herein lies a contradiction. For every order given, the subservient must first understand the order, and secondly, must understand that they must obey the order. The two parties must therefore have similar abilities, capabilities and intelligence, leading Rancière (1999, p. 30) to conclude that there must a natural similarity between the parties. He proposes that this sameness is the "equality of any speaking being with any another speaking being."

The oppressed therefore share the same capabilities as those who deny them their right to speak. In the study the knowledge of this equality is referred to as the presumption of equality and using the theory of Rancière (1999) and Brown and Wilson (2013, p. 91) is "understood as a practice, as a way of acting *as if* one has always been equal to those possessing power" (author's own emphasis).

The presumption of equality may seem like a simple act, but to Rancière (1999) it is a radical reordering of the whole. Those who speak out of turn contradict the police's distribution of bodies and disrupt the natural order of domination. This disruption he defines as politics:

> Political activity is whatever shifts a body from the place assigned to it or changes a place's destination. It makes visible what had no business being seen and makes heard (and understood) a discourse where once there was only place for noise (Rancière, 1999, p. 30).

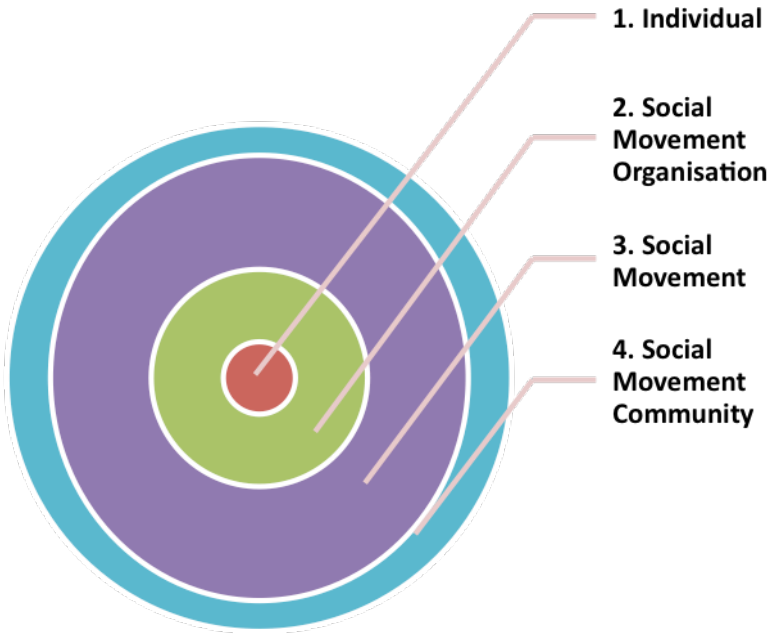
Through the principle of equality, politics therefore pushes up against the police order. Using these theorists, activism in this study is defined as the moments when female farm activists act as if they are equal to those who possess power and, in doing so, reclaim their humanity and dignity.

The study further argues that this presumption takes place over a continuum – from the organised political acts to the "every day acts of resistance." The development on this continuum is the last section of this chapter.

2.5 Activism as a Continuum: From Open Political Acts to Everyday Forms of Resistance

Randy Stoecker (1995) presents a useful model to analyse local social action. He argues that activism within a localised community takes place over four structural levels. These levels are the social movement community, social movement, social movement organisation and the individual. These four levels of social structure can be seen in the Figure below.

Figure 6: Stoecker's (1995) Model for Localised Social Movement



The broadest level of activism is the social movement community (marked 4). This represents the backstage of social action and includes both activists and

non-activists. The community space provides the informal networks, ritual, events, relationships, collective memory and identity upon which activists draw to develop formal networks such as social movements (Runciman, 2011; Stoecker, 1995).

The social movement level (marked 3) consists of both the informal and formal members of the movement. The informal members are the members who are not necessarily involved in the organisation but identify with and participate in the organisation's goals and activities. Informal members determine their own level of participation, making membership at this structural level unstable (Runciman, 2011; Stoecker, 1995).

Stoecker uses Tilly's (1984, cited in Stoecker 1995, p. 112-113) definition to describe social movements as:

> A sustained series of interactions between power holders and persons successfully claiming to speak on behalf of a constituency lacking formal representation, in the course of which those people make publicly visible demands for changes in the distribution or exercises of power, and back those demands with public demonstrations of support.

The social movement organisation (marked 2) represents the formal organisation. Membership in the organisation requires a higher level of commitment of time and resources, making these members a subset of the broader social movement. At this structural level membership is more stable and the organisational identity and objectives are more clearly defined (Runciman, 2011; Stoecker, 1995).

The individual is the final level of analysis (marked 1). Individuals make their choice to interact in and between levels (Runciman, 2011; Stoecker, 1995).

Ballard et al. (2005, p. 617) define social movements as "politically and/or socially directed collectives, often involving multiple organisations and networks, focused on changing one or more elements of the social, political and economic system within which they are located."

Escobar (1992) argues that what is new about these movements is that they consist of many different social actors, are non-party in nature and their localised struggles aim to establish conditions where people have more control over their daily lives.

Thompson and Tapscott (2011) use case study analysis to identify the common characteristics of social movements across India, Brazil and South Africa. They found that neoliberal economic policies generate unequal global development, resulting in massive inequalities and marginalisation most pronounced in the global South. This has decreased people's living standards, acting as a catalyst for social mobilisation. The discourse of socioeconomic rights is used to mobilise and the acts of resistance are diverse in geography, size, concern, institutional shape and tactics. Their actions tend to be localised, less organised with shallower ideological orientation. These social movements participate through the formal spaces created by government and through self-created or invented spaces.

Like many other authors in this field, Stoecker's (1995) theoretical focus is on the formally constituted forms of activism. Within the literature there is a distinct trend to analyse activism by focusing sharply on the formal organisation. James Scott (1989) argues that this has caused a lacuna in understanding the implications for activism of the seemingly ordinary actions of individuals as they go about their daily life. To better interpret the significance of these actions, he formulates the concept of "everyday forms of resistance"(Scott, 1989, p. 33).

There is a distinction between open political action and what Scott (1989, p. 33) calls "everyday forms of resistance". The former is defined as '"publicly organised political opposition" that poses a "declared threat to power holders" (Scott, 1989, p. 34). Everyday forms of resistance, however, are the quiet, informal, small scale and deliberately hidden actions that people make in their daily lives.

In moments when open defiance is impossible, has violent consequences or could be associated with a backlash, everyday forms of resistance are

people's first resort. They allow resistance to take place anonymously, without record or persecution. Examples would be the squatting on private or public property, pilfering the harvest, military desertion, slander and poaching. Despite their hidden nature, however, such acts could only take place within a "conspiracy of silence", implying a level of coordination that makes these everyday acts neither random nor individual (Scott, 1989, p. 52).

Another possible implication is the scope of the acts that are taking place silently. The everyday acts of resistance are associated with the hidden transcript and therefore take place off-stage. But what remains hidden and what comes to the fore, Scott (1989) argues, depends on society's structures of domination and control – power relations and the level of repression. Full revolt is when "the entire hidden transcript (is) spoken openly and acted openly" (Scott, 1989, p. 59). These explosions may seem sudden, but declarations of war "generally come only after a protracted struggle on different terrain" (Scott, 1989, p. 50). He argues that these everyday acts form the backstage for open political action.

Larmer (2010) supports this approach. In his analysis of social movements in Africa, he too deliberately avoids stark distinctions and definitions of social movements. He makes the case that social movements reflect the inequalities and hierarchies of the context in which they are embedded. Movements are most likely to consist of unequal actors that differ according to their class, gender, level of education, influence and ethnicity. He argues that social movements are the spaces in an unequal society where political differences are articulated. Within these "messy, ideologically confused (and) inherently contradictory" movements he encourages researchers to focus on the multiple forms of resistance that Africans make in their daily lives (Larmer, 2010 p. 260).

What follows below is a summary of the reviewed literature.

2.6 Synthesis of the Literature

Bowles (1993), Ilon (1994), Jarvis (2005) and Freire (2005) all agree that education is more than just formal accredited schooling. Furthermore, without basic infrastructure such as electricity, drinking water, sanitation, adequate learning materials and reliable transport systems, formal education is destined to reproduce the "social and economic legacy of the Apartheid era" (HRW, 2004, p. 7).

Jarvis (2005) convincingly argues that, as long as people use their experiences to make meaning, they are learning. We are all lifelong learners and our education takes place across many sites and during our entire lifespan. Our educational journeys are therefore intertwined with our biographies, as these contain the sum total of our experiences.

Both Jarvis (2005) and Freire (2005) identify changing social structures as the source of life-long learning. For Freire (2005) the transformation of society will mirror changes in human consciousness. Through praxis, Freire (2005) makes the case that education is conscientisation – the development of critical consciousness to unmask and respond to the causes of societal inequalities and oppression. He locates education in the context of humanisation and liberation, a process that is underpinned by the authentic dialogue – the ability to listen, hear and to act in service of oppressed people.

It is this emphasis on dialogue that connects Freire (2005) to Rancière (1999). Rancière (1999) argues that all human beings have similar capabilities to reason and create logic. In this study, this concept is called the presumption of equality. When one acts upon this presumption, there is the assumption of equality to those who possess power (Brown & Wilson, 2013).

Rancière (1999, p. 16) also acknowledges that while one might consider speaking to be a small act, it "gnaws away at the natural order" of domination. For Freire (2005), action is powerful when it is directed at changing the perception of oppression among the oppressed. These small acts tie in with Scott's (1989) notion of the everyday acts of resistance.

Scott (1989) argues that behind organised forms of resistance, are the small, hidden, silent acts in which people engage in their everyday lives. These acts, too, may look insignificant, but cumulatively they add up and create the context upon which open political action is possible. For him, activism takes place over a continuum from the everyday hidden acts to the open political action.

Scott (1989) locates publicly organised political acts as part of the organised forms of resistance. Freire (2005) supports the creation of authentic organisations that are horizontal in nature and are centered on the principle of equality. Stoecker (1995) deepens our understanding of organisation by locating local community organising across four levels – individual, social movement, social movement organisation and community. The individual activist moves within and contributes to these different levels.

The next chapter draws on the work of the above academics to define the key concepts that will frame the data analysis.

Chapter 3: Conceptual Framework

"Whoever is nameless cannot speak."

(Rancière, 1999, p. 23)

3.1 Introduction

To explore the central phenomenon of the study, theory on education and civil society had to be brought together. The study first operationalises the term "education" in the context of an "educational journey" before understanding what is meant by "activism." Then, the argument, that education is connected to activism through Freire's (2005) theory of "praxis," is advanced and unpacked.

The concepts put forward here are drawn from the reviewed literature. For the sake of clarity and convenience, they will be repeated before the linkages between the key concepts of the study – "education", "activism" and "praxis" are made and shown with the use of a diagram. This diagram serves as the study's conceptual framework.

3.2 Key Concepts of the Study

The research defines "education" within an "educational journey."

3.2.1 Educational journeys

Education is "any, planned series of incidents, having a humanistic basis, directed towards the participants' learning and understanding" (Jarvis, 2004, p. 65). Human learning, in turn, is the "combination of processes whereby whole persons construct experiences of situations and transform them into knowledge, skills, attitudes, beliefs, values, emotions and the senses, and integrate the outcomes into their life biographies" (Jarvis, 2004, p. 111).

I subscribe to Jarvis's (2004) belief that, as long as human beings are adapting to and impacting upon structural changes in society, they are

learning. Thus, in this study, it is argued that an educational journey encompasses the person's educational experiences, which take place across the person's lifetime and over different educational sites, such as formal, non-formal and informal. Provided people make sense of their experiences, they are learning, and their educational journey continues.

Since the focus of the study's central phenomenon is the education process that engenders activism, the study will focus on the experiences connected to activism. These experiences are located across educational sites, but particularly within non-formal education. Coombs and Ahmed 1974 (cited in Endresen, 2013, p. 29) define non-formal education as "any organised, systematic, educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children." The research focuses on the non-formal education sites that have activism as their intent.

This term, "activism" is defined next.

3.2.2 Activism

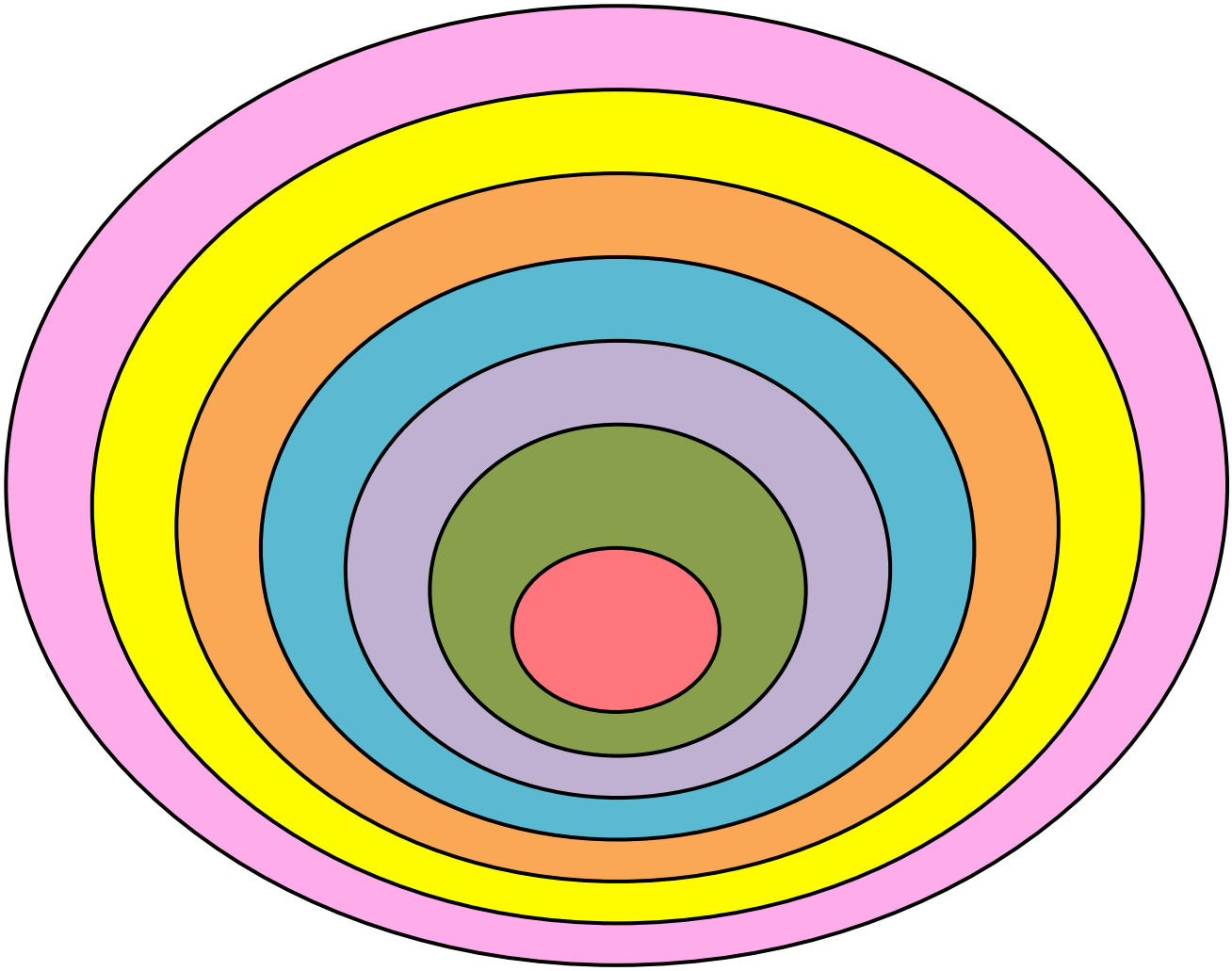
Rancière's (1999) presumption of equality and definition of politics gives meaning to activism. Activism is defined as the moments when female farm activists act as if they are equal to those who possess power, and in doing so, reclaim their humanity and dignity.

When these female farm activists presume their equality, they gnaw or chip away at domination, and in doing so, radically reconfigure the entire distribution of speaking bodies. Their presumptive acts push up against the police, defined as the institutions of society that regulate the order of domination. Politics is therefore any action that disrupts the police order of domination, making visible what is meant to be unseen, or making meaning and logic from speech that is supposed to be considered noise or inconsequential (Rancière, 1999). The study further adds that this presumption of equality takes place over a continuum from the hidden to organised acts; from the personal to the public acts of resistance. To build

this continuum Stoecker's (1995) model of localised community-based organising is brought together with Scott's (1989) notion of everyday forms of resistance.

Stoecker (1995) argues that activism within a localised community takes place over four structural levels and can be seen in Figure 6. To incorporate the data obtained through fieldwork, the study adapted Stoecker's (1995) model to include three additional structural layers. First, family is added as a separate structural level as the fieldwork reveals that the family unit is an important arena to understand the motivation and actions of individual activists. Second, the contextual analysis is deliberately expanded from the local to include the national and international dimensions. Context refers to geographic, socioeconomic, political, cultural and historical situation of the country (Choules, 2007). The national level incorporates the state and its relationship to its citizens. The international arena includes the global political economy agenda that plays out in the national environment (Larmer, 2010; Thompson & Topscott, 2011). The figure below represents the addition of family, national and international context to the model.

Figure 7: Adaptation of Stoecker's (1995) Model to Include Family, National and International Context



Key to Figure:

Structural Level 1	Individual
Structural Level 2	Family
Structural Level 3	Social Movement Organisation
Structural Level 4	Social Movement
Structural Level 5	Social Movement Community
Structural Level 6	National
Structural Level 7	International

Activism takes place across these seven structural levels [SL]. The personal forms of activism are those that transform the individual [SL1] and the family [SL2].

The organised forms of activism take place in the remaining structural levels. The local context is defined collectively as the social movement organisation [SL3], social movement [SL4] and social movement community [SL5]. Actions that have an impact on the national area are located in the SL6 and the international in SL7. Public acts of activism occur across SL3 to SL7

To complete the continuum, Scott's (1989) everyday forms of resistance are included. These are the silent actions in which people quietly engage in their everyday lives. As these acts are deliberately hidden, no separate structural level is included in Figure 7. Lastly, the study proposes that it is Freire's (2005) praxis that connects education to activism.

3.2.3 Praxis

Consistent with Freire (2005), it is argued in this study that the aim of education is conscientisation – to reflect and understand oppression in order to transform it. Education seeks to create a new person – one that is free to create, construct, wonder, enquire and explore.

To create this new being, the theory of praxis is employed – "*reflection* and *action* directed at the structures to be transformed" (Freire, 2005, p. 126, author's own emphasis). At the centre of this teaching and learning process is a deep commitment to dialogue. The education programme starts with the assumption that all present come to the space with a rich knowledge of experiences and are here to teach and learn from one another. In this dialogue people come together to discuss the issues that are perceived to limit them – their limit-situations or generative themes, and are the content of the education programmes.

Once a generative theme is found, it is unpacked critically, using the problem-solving approach and codes. Hope and Timmel (1996, p. 77) invite us to see

codes as “the match that starts the fire burning.” People looking into the code should be able to see themselves and relate to the code, yet at the same time there should be enough distance to view the coded situation objectively.

From the decoding process comes action. Freire (2005) does not specify a type or the scale of the action. Instead he advocates that actions should create a “moment of awakening” (Freire, 2005, p. 64) – when the vulnerability of the oppressor is revealed to the oppressed. Through their praxis the oppressed direct their actions at the structures that dominate them and, in doing so, transform their realties and are themselves transformed.

All actions taken must be critically evaluated to determine their appropriateness and effectiveness. Holst (2002, cited in Choudry, 2009) refers to it as the pedagogy of mobilisation and is defined as the informal education and learning acquired while being an activist.

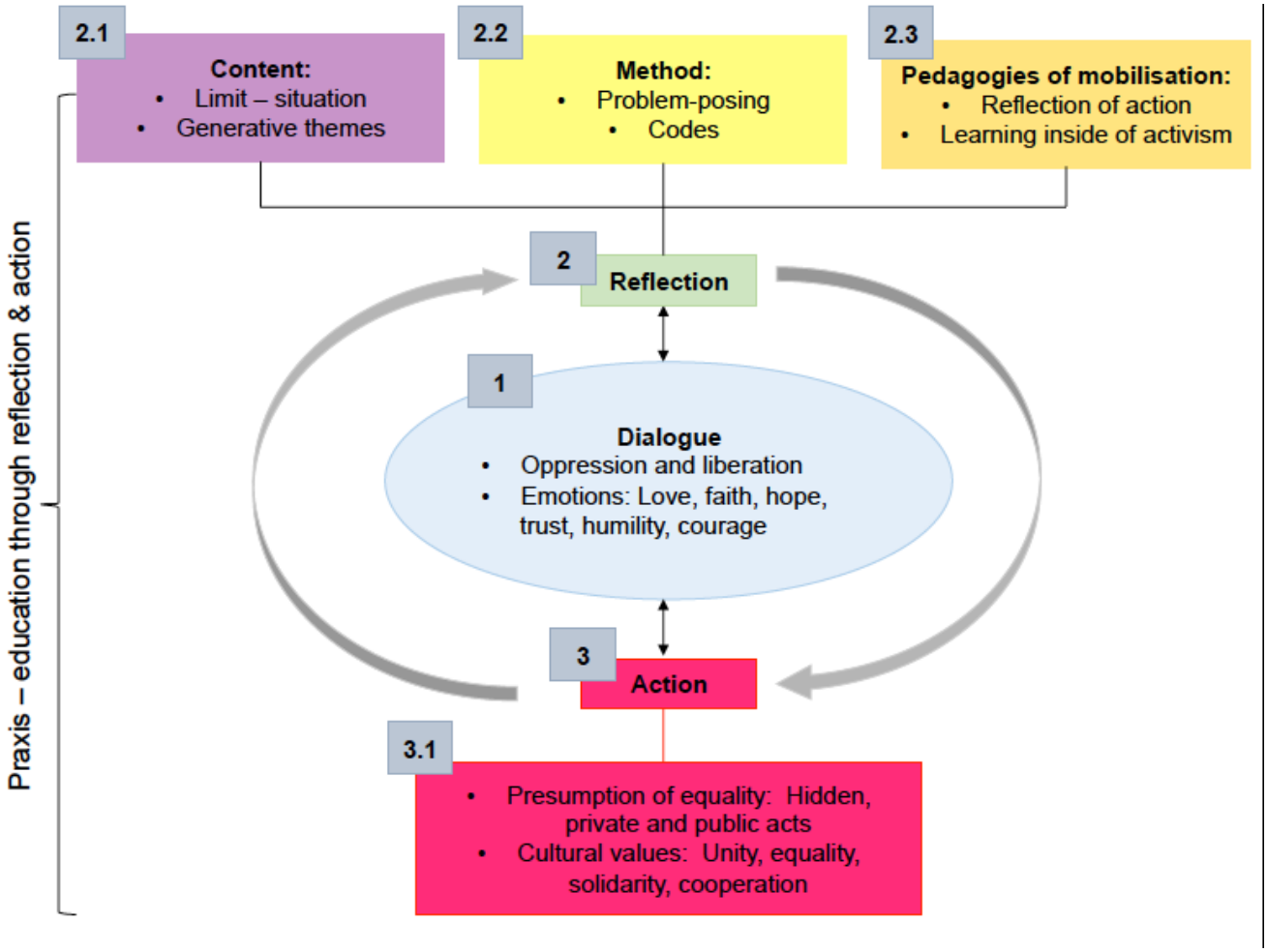
The study will now use the concepts educational journey, activism and praxis to create the conceptual framework.

3.3 The Conceptual Framework

The researcher was intrigued by the De Doorns farm workers’ strike and deliberated on the education process that supported an activist-based consciousness on commercial farms in the Western Cape, South Africa.

Using Freire (2005), the study employs the theory of praxis to understand the education process that engenders activism. The figure below represents a graphic depiction of this relationship.

Figure 8: Study's Conceptual Framework



At the centre of this education process is dialogue among equals in a horizontal structure. Oppression and its opposite, liberation, are the objects of reflection in the education programme. The commitment to dialogue creates emotional qualities such as love, hope, faith, trust, humility and courage [Box 1]. Dialogue gives way to reflection as people reflect upon the conditions of oppression. The discussion is directed to the issues that people perceive to limit them or generative themes. These generative themes drive content of the education programme [Box 2.1].

Once a generative theme has been identified it is unpacked through problem-posing methods such as codes. People's limits are presented back to them

as problems to solve. This is the method or approach used to educate [Box 2.2].

The effectiveness of a code is only complete when action has been decided upon. The action must come from the oppressed themselves, and is directed at their identified limit-situations or the structures that dominate them [Box 3].

Rancière's (1999) politics fits this characteristic. When the oppressed presume their equality to those who possess power, they disrupt the police order of domination. Activism takes place on a continuum from the everyday acts of resistance to the personal and public actions. Because this education project advocates a new human being, it is also a cultural project based on values of unity, equality, solidarity and cooperation [Box 3.1].

Lastly, the actions of the activists are reflected upon to determine appropriateness and effectiveness through the pedagogies of mobilisation. People make meaning of what they have done and informally learn from their experiences [Box 2.3]. This can induce further and improved action on the identified generative theme [Box 3], or alternatively it could sponsor the identification of new generative themes [Box 2.1].

3.4 Summary

The conceptual frame of the study is based on Freirerian philosophy and guides the analysis of each female farm activist's educational journey. It will also be used to highlight programme content and methodology and reveal the praxis of each female farm activist – their reflection and action upon the structures that limit and dominate them. The conceptual framework was also useful in pinpointing the moments when female farm activists assumed themselves to be equal to those who have power. The next chapter will document the methodological decisions that were made to obtain and analyse the data.

Chapter 4: Methodology

"The whole is more than the sum of its parts"

(Nisbet & Watt, 1984, cited in Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007, p. 253)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter communicates the methodological decisions made to capture the educational journeys of female farm activists in South Africa. It unpacks the research paradigms, approach, design and methods. Before the research context is introduced, the factors that have limited and delimited the study are explained. Next, the participants are described; the strategies for data collection, organising, analysis and write-up are outlined. Lastly, the chapter details the ethical considerations and the strategies used to ensure the trustworthiness and credibility of the study's findings.

4.2 Research Paradigm and Approach

The research assumes that every individual is an active sense maker that constructs her reality from her individual consciousness, personal experiences and social interactions. There is no single truth, but instead multiple meanings can be made from plural realities (Herman, 2013). The research is framed within an interpretive paradigm and a qualitative approach is followed to acquire an in-depth understanding of the study's central phenomenon. A collaborative approach has been used to understand the views, experiences and meanings that participants hold (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, cited in Creswell, 2002).

In line with these ontological and epistemological assumptions, I too am a subjective creator. Like Bruner (1993, cited in Creswell, 2002) I acknowledge that as a researcher, I am historically and politically embedded in the research context and that sense-making is plural in nature. I therefore see myself as inseparable from the research context and bring to it my own values, assumptions and biases.

My positionality in this study is that that I am an educated, middle-class English-speaking, urban-based black woman. My bias in the study is that I am an advocate for the educational needs of women and youth who live and/or work on commercial farms. I have also worked mainly in consensus driven, horizontal, volunteer-based activist organisations.

Creswell (2002) advises that the qualitative researcher acknowledge that these biases and past experiences may influence data analysis and interpretation, and that strategies be employed to keep researcher bias at bay. I thus took great care to reflect upon my bias throughout the research process – from data collection to analysis and write up - to ensure that the voices of the participants were heard and that the findings that emerged from the data were credible. The strategies used are detailed throughout this Chapter but are specifically addressed in Section 4.15 and 4.16.

4.3 Research Design

The research design provides the "procedures for collecting, analysing and reporting research" (Creswell, 2002, p. 649). Collective case study design was used to explore the educational journeys of female farm activists in South Africa.

Creswell (2002, p. 485) describes case study design as an "in-depth exploration of a bounded system." The intention is to provide a comprehensive understanding of a specific phenomenon using multiple forms of data with different actors, collected over an appropriate length of time. The case study design emphasises the research context and is limited to a specific geographic location, grounding the analysis within the historical, geopolitical, social, cultural and economic context (Creswell, 2002).

The bounded system or the central phenomenon of the study is the education process that has engendered activism among six female farm activists who have lived/and or worked on commercial farms in the Western Cape. Each of these activists have participated in the non-formal educational programme of a grassroots organisation, that the study has called Female Farm

Organisation (FFO).[11] The study documents the educational journeys of the activists to assess critically their interaction with FFO's non-formal education programme. The content and method of the programme were used to connect what and how the women learnt, with how the acquired education was used. Each educational journey represents one case within a collective case study (Cohen et al., 2007).

The geographic focus is limited to farming communities in the Western Cape, South Africa. Ethnographic data in the form of interviews, observational descriptive field notes, programme materials, reports, reflective notes, photographs and film footage have been collected over six months. The time spent in the field ensured that the data collected was deeply embedded in the broader socio-economic environment (Cohen et al., 2007; Creswell, 2002).

4.4 Research Questions

The following research questions guided the study:

1. What are the experiences of female farm activists in and with formal education?
2. What are the experiences of female farm activists in non-formal education?
3. How did female farm activists use the education they acquired?

4.5 Selection of the Research Site

The research site provided the organisational context for the six female farm activists. Three selection criteria were used. First was the decision to locate the research in an activist-based organisation or process that had grassroots or a local community-based focus. Secondly, the education activities of this organisation had to be directed to a historically disadvantaged South African community.

[11] This is a pseudonym.

Lastly, I wanted to locate my case studies specifically within a rural farm context. This was in response to the De Doorns Uprising and the unique challenges farm communities face in accessing their right to basic education (HRW, 2004).

At the start of the fieldwork, however, I was not sure if the research participants would be activists of school-going age, adult women or a combination of both. An exploratory phase was therefore necessary to find a research site that could best meet these criteria and offer the richest data. I set up meetings with key stakeholders in the field. In each of these meetings I asked the following questions:

1. What was the organisation currently doing?
2. What was it like working with farming communities?
3. What challenges were they experiencing?
4. What projects did they have that involve the youth, schooling and formal education?

During the exploratory phase I spoke to the following people and organisations:

- Director of Exploratory Research Site 1
- Director of Exploratory Research Site 2
- General Secretary of Exploratory Research Site 3
- Founding member of Exploratory Research Site 4 and
- News journalist at Exploratory Research Site 5

The table that summarises each meeting is provided within the Appendix. The summary of the exploratory phase follows.

Within each organisation, the education of rural women was important. Education had the long-term objective of creating agency, fostering self-organisation and building activism. The common educational content was: knowledge of rights and policy, legal training, leadership skills and small-scale farming.

Most of the projects had an adult focus and few projects were geared specifically for school-going youth and learners. Exploratory Research Site 2 had no dedicated project and Exploratory Research Site 3 addressed educational outcomes indirectly through the participation of their shop stewards. The specific youth forums of Exploratory Research Site 4 were no longer operational. Only Exploratory Research Site 1 had an active project dedicated to the youth.

After the exploratory phase I made two key decisions. The first was to locate the study within a formally constituted grassroots organisation because it offered a more stable environment in which to collect data. Second was the selection of Exploratory Research Site 1 or Female Farm Organisation as my research site. This organisation offered an intergenerational dimension that the others lacked.

4.6 Research Site – Female Farm Organisation (FFO)

To gain access to FFO I negotiated with the Director. Her conditions for access to the research site were the following:

Non-evaluation of FFO's Work: One of the caveats was that I was not there to evaluate the work of FFO. She singled out the Young Women's Programme, explaining that FFO were not specialists in the field of youth development, but were instead responding to the immediate needs as mothers who felt that their *"daughters needed something".* I entered the programme in the sixth month of a three-year funding cycle. FFO was therefore still developing the programme by *"feeling their way*" and they would be *"very uncomfortable if I was there to critique their work"* (C. Solomon, personal conversation, September 2, 2014).

Mutually Beneficial Research: The research should benefit FFO and the female farm activists with whom they worked. To ensure reciprocity, the research had to be participatory by committing time to working within the organisation. The creation of new knowledge must be an empowering experience and to that end the Director recommended that a popular form

written in Afrikaans be made available. She also wanted the final research report to deepen their understanding of popular education techniques.

Participation before interviews: Based on the time-consuming nature of interviews, FFO only granted individual interviews after the interviewee had worked in the organisation.

Feedback the findings to the participants: The Director asked that the findings of the research be presented as feedback to the organisation and all participants.

The FFO Board Members approved my request to conduct research. I entered the organisation as a research intern and began the fieldwork. While conducting fieldwork in FFO, important insights that impacted upon the sample selection of the research participants were made. These limitations and delimitations are now explained.

4.7 Limitations and Delimitations

Limitations are the external factors that affect the research process that are outside of the researcher's control. Delimitations refer to the researcher's personal choices of what to include and exclude within the study (Herman, 2013).

At the beginning of the fieldwork, I knew that I wanted to explore the contribution of education to activism. I was, however, not sure if the research participants would be activists of school-going age, adult women or a combination. FFO worked with both sets of participants, giving me the broadest option for sample selection. When I began my fieldwork, I chose to work in the Young Women's Programme. This would give me direct access to the youth and the opportunity excited me. I soon came to realise, however, that FFO's programmes were not neatly packaged or compartmentalised and that staff members were shifted between programme areas, depending on the priorities of the organisation. Although I was located within a youth

programme, I moved across programme areas and developed relationships with the adult women.

As I shifted across programme areas the director's caution that the Young Women's Programme was still in the developmental phase became clear. This programme was in its sixth month of implementation, but the adult education programmes were well established. After 18 years of implementation, the adult education programme was more crafted. The women in these programmes participated in FFO's activist-based non-formal education and were tackling issues such as evictions and labour rights violations. Locating the study with the adult women meant that I would be able to analyse FFO's education programmes, as well as trace how female farm activists implemented the activist-based education they received. The same, however, was not true for the youth programme. The young women were at the beginning phase of their activist-based education.

The data were therefore richer in the adult programme. I allowed the experience on the ground to shape my study and the central phenomenon (Creswell, 2002). The study therefore foregrounds adult education and documents the education process that engenders activism among female farm activists. Women's experiences in and with formal education are also considered as part of their educational journey.

The sampling procedure to identify the research participants is explained next.

4.8 Selection of Research Participants

The sampling of the interviewees began after gaining access to the research site and participants. This was for three reasons. Firstly, it was a condition of access to the research site; secondly, it allowed me to become familiar with the work of FFO and lastly, I was able to build a rapport with the female farm activists.

Snowball sampling was used to identify data-rich participants who could offer insight into FFO's education processes. This method of sample selection

relies on the recommendation of individuals who are more familiar with the context and topic (Creswell, 2002). I began the selection process by asking the head of each programme area to make a recommendation, based on who they felt most benefited from the programme's education. Their recommendations were then weighed up against my experiences and participants were chosen. Six individual interviews, one pair interview and one group interview with five[12] participants[13], were conducted during the research. Twelve female farm activists participated across all interviews.

Three staff members were also interviewed. They were the Director of FFO, Programme Officer of the Young Women's Programme and Programme Manager of Land and Housing and Labour. The Director spoke to the overall context and vision of the FFO. The coordinator of the youth programme talked specifically about her experiences with the youth. The third staff member gave insight into the changing labour and housing conditions on farms. In total fifteen women were interviewed – two were staff members and 13 were women who had worked and/or lived on farms.

After data collection, I reviewed the total dataset against the needs of the research project.

The first criterion to develop the participant's educational journeys was that they had to have lived and/or worked on commercial farms. This criterion excluded two of the staff members, as they were not farm workers and had never lived on farms. These interviews were instead to triangulate data, write up on the organisational structure and educational model of FFO. This left me with 13 potential participants.

The big division among these participants was the form in which the data was collected. As mentioned above I used unstructured one-on-one interviews for

[12] Initially there were six participants in the group interview, but one interviewee left the farm to work elsewhere and contact was lost. She was removed from the sample.

[13] I considered these interviews to be group interviews and not focus groups, as the research needs predominated the interview. Free discussion in the group interview was encouraged, while I guided the group discussion to needs of the research (Cohen, et al. 2007; Taber, 2013).

six participants and the remaining seven were spread across a pair interview and one group interview. I opted for the pair and group interviews over individual interviews because the group dynamic was intense, vibrant and I wanted to acknowledge that.

These groups were well established in FFO. The first group was a women's cooperative that was testing this economic model to support food security and produce high-end mushrooms for commercial markets. The second group was a two-person team dealing with the pending eviction from their farm. In both cases the training and the work done was collective and the data was richer within the team than individually. If I had singled out any one participant it would also have created disharmony within the group. Watts and Ebbutt (1987, cited in Cohen et al., 2007, p. 373) substantiate my instincts as they argue in favour of a group interview when "a group of people have been working together for some time or common purpose, or where it is seen as important that everyone concerned is aware of what others in the group are saying." In both situations I met and requested research permission from the group or pair for an interview.

The interviews illuminated the dynamics of the group and of working in a team. The depth of the interview, however, was on issues (such as the cooperative model and the pending evictions), but not on the individual women per se. The women's backgrounds were introduced, but it lacked the biographical and educational depth that I was able to acquire through the one-on-one interviews. This is consistent with the arguments of Watts and Ebbut (1987, cited in Cohen et al., 2007) who make the case that personal information does not easily surface in the dynamics of a group.

After data collection I realised that I had two sets of data – the individual interviews and interviews conducted via the group or pair. For the study, which was the documentation of the women's educational journeys, the richness was in the individual interviews. I used these individual interviews, my participant experience and the archival data to write up the educational journey.

The individual interviews also included the one critical case – Programme Officer of the youth programme. Out of the 13 participants she was the only one who had completed Grade 12 and had obtained a tertiary qualification. She had partaken in FFO's education programmes, while was completing her secondary schooling, and went from being a participant to taking up a staff position at FFO. The sample of six participants, therefore, included the typical but also the critical case (Cohen, et al., 2007).

I was satisfied with the richness of the interview data collected and I chose to work with the individual interviews for this project. A detailed analysis of the six selected participants is provided in the next section.

4.9 Research Participants

All women are black historically disadvantaged South African females. One is under the age of 30 and the remaining participants are between the ages of 35 and 65 years. All women have lived and worked on farms, except for one participant who has worked, but never lived on a farm. Except for the critical case mentioned above, all the women dropped out or were taken out of school before they would complete Grade 12. The table below provides an overview of the research participants.

Figure 9: Research Participant Description Table

Participant	Age	Is she a mother?	No of children and/or grandchildren[14]	Highest Formal Educational Level	FFO Programmes	Year joined FFO
Activist 1	52	Yes	Six children and four grandchildren	Grade 5	Labour Programme	2007
Activist 2	43	Yes	Three children	Grade 9. Has a secretarial diploma	Labour Programme	Did not say.
Activist 3	58	Yes	Four children, eight grandchildren & two great grandchildren	Grade 1	Women's Health and Empowerment Programme	2010
Activist 4	38	Yes	Five children and considers her sister's child her grandchild.	Grade 8	Land and Housing Programme	2006
Activist 5	61	Yes	Four children and seven grandchildren	Grade 9	Food gardens Land and Housing Labour Women's Health and Empowerment Programme	2010
Activist 6	24	No	None	Tertiary Qualification in Agriculture and Business Development	Programme Officer of the Young Women Programme	2006

[14] No of children includes biological children, adopted children and children that have passed.

4.10 Research Sites on Farms and Off-Farm Areas in the Western Cape

Five of the interviews took place at the homes of the female farm activists and one at the offices of FFO. All research sites were in the Cape Winelands District, Western Cape (see map below). In total the research took place over six research sites: one farm, four off-farm towns and one town.

Figure 10: Map of the Districts in the Western Cape Province, South Africa

Source: Yes Media (2019)

The table below shows the type of location of each research site[15]. A brief description of each area follows.

[15] The research site refers to the specific location of the interview (such as the home of the female farm activist) as well as the town in which the interview took place.

Figure 11: Research Sites according to Type of Location

Research Site	Type of Location
Research Site 1	Off-Farm Area 1
Research Site 2	Off-Farm Area 2
Research Site 3	Farm 1
Research Site 4	Off-Farm Area 3
Research Site 5	Off-Farm Area 4
Research Site 6	Town 1 – FFO Offices

Research Site 1: Off farm 1, Activist 1

This town is an agricultural town from where you can taxi to places as far as Lesotho, indicating the size of the migrant farm labour component that come to and leave Research Site 1. In this fertile valley there is a concentration of table grape farms that produces grapes and wine for export. It is also the site of the farm worker uprising in 2012/2013. Here we meet Activist 1 who is a leader of that strike. She lives in the multi-racial post-apartheid part of Research Site 1, where she has received two one-bedroom Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) homes[16] that are next to each other. Behind one of these homes is her prized food garden.

Research Site 2: Off farm 2, Activist 2

Research Site 2 was once a small, off-farm town where RDP homes were built after Apartheid. It is approximately 50 kilometers (km hereinafter) from Cape Town and is surrounded by wine farms. It has since mushroomed into a mixed-race, peri-urban, post-apartheid space. The location of the town lends itself to often being the recipient of evicted farm residents. There is also a growing African migrant farm worker community that has come to settle here

[16] The Reconstruction and Development Programme was the first economic policy after Apartheid. It advocated an expansionary monetary and fiscal framework to meet the basic needs of the Apartheid-improvised majority. To that end the government invested in the expansion of social services. One example was the building of low-income houses (African National Congress, 1994). In South Africa these houses are commonly called RDP houses.

after the completed harvest season. Activist 2 was born in Cape Town, but she came to Research Site 2 newly married, with her in-laws. She received her own one-bedroom RDP home and lives there with her husband and two children. There is a mobile housing unit, which accommodates two people, on her property. Due to the high population density of this community, unemployment, poverty, violence and crime are high.

Research Site 3: Farm 1, Activist 3

Activist 3 lives with her husband, son and granddaughter in a one-bedroom farmhouse. Despite the fact that she and her husband both worked for this farm, the housing contract is in his name only. Her right to live on the farm is based on her husband's entitlement. He, in turn, may live here until his death as he was injured while working on the farm. Dutch settlers established this farm in 1840. Their approximately 700 hectares (ha hereinafter) of vineyards lie on a fertile flood plain alongside an important Western Cape river. The farm produces award-wining red and white wines. It is also a Fairtrade certified farm (Merwida, 2018). Products that carry this label must comply with certain Fairtrade standards that include improved living and working conditions for farm residents and workers. Fairtrade also supports infrastructure development, such as crèches or community centres on farms (Devereux, Levendal & Yde, 2017).

Research Site 4: Off farm Area 3, Activist 4

After Activist 4 was evicted from her home on a farm in 2006, she eventually came to live in a shack or "hokkie", made of corrugated iron in a squatter camp or "plakkerskamp" in Research Site 4. Since then she has made this house her home. The original shack provided by the municipality is now the sitting and television room. She has extended her home to include a kitchen, flush toilet and a large back area that is subdivided and accommodates eight people – three adults, three children and two babies. Her hometown is approximately 90 km from Cape Town and its economy centres on serving the wine and grape farming industry.

Research Site 5: Off farm 4, Activist 5

Activist 5 came to live in Research Site 5 after she could no longer endure her husband's cheating. She heard of the RDP houses that were being built in the area. After her successful application, she moved into her one-bedroom RDP home in 1998. Her home is surrounded by three mountain ranges and is between a watershed of two large rivers in the Western Cape. It is approximately 90 km from Cape Town and is known for producing fruit such peaches, apricots, and pears. She has extended her house to accommodate the 5 adults and 4 children who live with her. At the back there is a sizeable plot of land that she uses for her food garden.

Research Site 6: Town 1 - FFO Offices, Activist 6

This is an Afrikaans, black women's space. It is the base of all FFO's operations and a place where the staff and farmwomen come to meet, plan and laugh together. It was originally a Catholic chapel that was converted into an office. All offices in the building are open-plan and can be found in different nooks and crannies in the former chapel. The walls are filled with women's art, flipcharts and calendar plans. There is a large training room where the meetings and "check-in" sessions take place. The best feature of this space is the big, shady tree in a green, lush garden. Under this tree is a picnic table where the staff meet for their monthly fish and chips sessions. There are also other offices on this site and student accommodation behind them. These offices are in a large urban town that services smaller rural towns and surrounding farms. It is 50 km from Cape Town.

4.11 Data Collection

Data were collected extensively by conducting fieldwork and sourcing documents. The beacons of the fieldwork process were the exploratory phase, participant observation in the organisation, interviews, a member-checking process and the collection of archival documents for analysis. The figure below represents the research instruments used to collect the data.

Figure 12: Details of the Data Collection Phase

Data Collection Phase	Research Instruments
Exploratory Phase	• One-on-One Meetings
Participant observation data	• Observational write-up • Reflective descriptive notes • Fieldwork descriptive notes • Audio clips • Photographs • Video Footage
Interviews	• Unstructured one-on-one interviews • A pair interview • Group interview • Member-checking interviews
Archival Information	• Founding documents: Constitution, NPO Registration • Organisational documents: vision, mission, structure • Programme materials • Annual reports • Mid-year and end of year reflections • Media articles

The key beacons will now be explained in greater detail.

4.11.1 Exploratory phase

The data collection began with an exploratory stage. During this stage, I introduced myself to the relevant organisations, mapped out the sector and collected on-the-ground information to select the most appropriate research site. I had five meetings and selected FFO as my research site.

4.11.2 Participant observation

Participant observation allows the researcher to gather first-hand information on the actual behaviour of research participants in their natural environment (Creswell, 2002). This research method was used to observe the events of FFO, behaviour of the research participants and their relationships to one another and to external individuals.

I entered the organisation as a research intern, which entailed my taking on the role of participant observer. I was actively involved as a full-time staff member and went to the office daily for five months. While I was primarily located within the Young Women's Programme, I worked across all programme areas and was actively involved in the implementation of all events and activities at FFO. To allow for data collection, analysis and the write up of the research findings, I came to the office part-time in 2015 and attended the events and activities that were relevant to my study.

My descriptive field notes during this period were recorded via an observation write-up form and my reflective journal. The observational write-up form allowed me to make sense of the space, activities taking place, people present and my own internal reflections and thoughts (Refer to Appendix). Although extremely thorough, I noticed that writing up observational data in this highly formal manner was burdensome as the research internship at FFO was a full-time commitment. To prevent the loss of valuable information I used my reflective journal.

A reflective journal is a private document that records the researcher's personal experiences. As I took on the role of participant observer, I experienced FFO's education programmes first hand. I used the reflective journal to record my own "personal thoughts, … insights, hunches, or broad ideas or themes" (Creswell, 2002, p. 648) that emerged during the fieldwork. The reflective journal allowed me to write what came to mind in any form imaginable. Bullets, doodles and pictures were used to jot down my realisations, reflections and intuitions. The journal also allowed me to make sense of any internal contradictions to remain unbiased. Audio-visual materials were captured and the use of photographs, audios and video footage provided another layer of text to the observational data. Through my participation I was able to develop trust and familiarity with the staff and female farm activists (Cohen et al., 2007). This stood me in good stead for the interview component of the fieldwork.

4.11.3 Interview process

The time working across programme areas provided me with the tools to identify information-rich participants. Snowball sampling was used to identify female farm activists who could offer a wealth of information on FFO and their education processes.

To set up an interview I had an exploratory meeting with each participant where I explained the purpose of the research and asked permission to conduct the interview. Six unstructured one-on-one interviews, one pair interview and one group interview were conducted. The interviews adhered to the ethical standards of the University of Pretoria's Research Ethics Committee (See Section 4.12).

An interview form was developed to lead the interview (Refer to the Appendix). The interview did not adopt a formal approach because that would have made the participants nervous/ill at ease. Instead a collaborative approach was adopted and the interview was viewed as a conversation. There were four topics for the interview. First the interviewees detailed their history and how they came to FFO. Next the focus was on their role within FFO and an evaluation of the education programmes they were involved in. The discussion then centred on the youth on farms and the issues that they faced. Lastly, there was a conversation about the De Doorns farm workers' strike. By broaching this topic, I was able to assess indirectly the living conditions of farm workers and their expectations for the future. To allow the women to be comfortable, I would let them speak freely on a topic, yet at the same time, I would direct the conversation to the four focus areas.

All but two interviews were conducted in Afrikaans, as this was the mother tongue of the participants. An Afrikaans mother-tongue speaker, who is a fully bilingual communication specialist, translated the transcripts. She was able to objectively convey colloquial, emotively charged nuances expressed in the narrative of the respondents.

4.11.4 Archival document analysis

Lastly, the relevant archival documents were collected from FFO for perusal. Based on the research question, participant observation and interviews, a document 'wish list' was created. The archival documents supported the descriptive analysis of the organisation and the analytical analysis of its education practices. I combed the FFO's server to obtain the relevant guiding organisational documents, reports, programme material minutes, reflections and media, which included commercial media, community media, newsletters, Internet and social media presence.

The fieldwork allowed me to construct the context; capture the participant's personal experiences of the education programmes; record the benefit of the education programmes and document the existing challenges experienced.

4.11.5 Challenges encountered during data collection

When I undertook my research internship, FFO was short-staffed and was recruiting for programme manager positions in the Health and Labour Programme. Since these positions were vacant, there was spill-over on the existing staff and interns. The work programme consisted of long days, late nights, and driving great distances. At the height of the work, the FFO team was working, on average, a six-day week of ten hours a day. The benefit of this demanding schedule was that it provided me with a wealth of experience and data for analysis. I had to, however, view the participant observation period as a fulltime job, limiting other parallel PhD processes.

Like FFO, life on farms has its own rhythm and the work took on its own pace. There are no quick visits on farms, as the women look forward to visits and provide feedback at length and at a leisurely pace. The work took place when the time was right and not when I thought it should take place. The women also had busy training schedules with FFO and the interviews had to be arranged in their downtime.

The time in the field therefore took longer than I had expected. I soon learnt patience was needed for me to achieve my outcomes. This approach paid off, as my relationship with the women grew and I was later able to direct the purpose of the visits to my research objectives. Implementation was slower, but at a steady pace.

There were, benefits to the extended time in the field. As a member of staff commented on the research approach:

> *"What I liked is the fact that you are not like many students that are complete outsiders. They are just with us for a short time. So you kind of, in some ways, you became part of us but of course you still retained your distance."*

Once set up, most of the interviews took place on farms and on off-farm communities across the Western Cape. The reward was seeing a new side of the province that I had lived in all my life. The process was, however, physically and emotionally demanding. The distances covered were huge and sometimes required either staying overnight in some areas or getting an additional driver. Driving long distances put a strain on my body and I required a recovery period.

Emotionally I was also out of my comfort zone. Here my positionality came into play. I am a middle-class, educated, English-speaking, urban-based woman. As a member of this group, I saw my entry onto farms as a spiritual return to an ancestral home. This is because farms are deeply embedded in the history of slavery and colonisation, and as a member of the indigenous population in South Africa, farms represent the place of ancestral birth.

Relative to farmwomen, I am both the same and different. I am a woman and a person of colour, but with a different social class. Although I am middle-class, my maternal grandfather was a farm worker. Also poverty is never far from you if you are a black South African; as members of my family and friends live in poverty, one often straddles both worlds.

I remember an incident where the social distance between a participant and myself was revealed. We were taking a coffee break after an interview, sitting in her TV room, which doubles as a bedroom for two family members. She explained that the first time she saw me was during a protest march with a film camera in my hand. She thought I was a White European woman. It was only when she heard me speak Afrikaans that she realised that I was from South Africa. Even so, she said, *"Jy kan sien, jy is iemand wat iets het" [One can see, you are a person of means].*

Upon hearing this, I was truly shocked, as I did not know that the social distance between us was that great. I combed my experiences for a response and came to rely on the practices that I had developed as an activist, having crossed socio-economic barriers before. If you are new to the context, there is great humility and wisdom in being silent. I therefore kept quiet and internalised the comment. The only way to bridge this distance was to let my actions, and not my words, reveal my intent. After this comment, I approached subsequent meetings with greater sensitivity, honesty and generosity.

I continued to put in the time to build relationships, through FFO, but also in my own personal capacity. Right at the end of the research, during a member-checking interview, a comment made by one of the participants validated my approach. She said what she liked about me was that I visited and stayed in her home.

Sharing spaces in farmhomes makes the theorectical concrete. The substandard quality of housing on farms makes running hot water, a flushing toilet or a private room a luxury. I had to adjust to the new physical and cultural circumstances on farms. I shared small spaces with many people in very basic infrastructure, under constant pressure. I did not have any incentives for participation, but I brought food along to minimise the pressure that I placed on the home. I also contributed to the cost of electricity when I slept over.

The study also took place under emotionally charged circumstances. In one case the woman interviewed was facing eviction. She spoke of her daily battle against eviction and how this caused her to contemplate suicide. In another interview, a mother spoke of her daughter's drug abuse in the home. Through the interview, the mother concluded that the turning point in her daughter's behaviour was their eviction from their farmhome.

These challenging circumstances meant that the questions had to be broached with the utmost sensitivity. The interviews unhinged deep-seated unaddressed issues. To honour the women's contributions I too had to be open and honest, and I shared personal details that I never intended to. The women told me that they enjoyed our sessions as they could just talk and reflect upon their lives.

From these sessions I had to debrief and take the necessary time to make emotional sense of each interview. In order to debrief, I also dealt with the depth of the problems on farms and whether a study of this nature would make a difference to the quality of the women's lives. The answer came from the women themselves when I asked what they hoped to gain from the study. The request from most women was that I share the difficulties that they experience on the farms with others and the broader society. They wanted the study to educate the public about what life is like for them on farms.

4.12 Ethical Considerations

I applied for ethical clearance with the University of Pretoria, Faculty of Education Research Ethics Committee. I respected the individuals and property associated with the research site, I considered myself a guest and minimised the disturbance of my presence. To respect the research participants, I subscribed to the principles of informed consent, voluntary participation, safety in participation and the right to benefit (Creswell, 2002).

4.12.1 Informed consent

Before conducting an interview, the participants knew the purpose of the project, time required for the interview, potential impact of the study on their lives, how the results would be used and the availability of the information after the project was completed (Creswell, 2002).

4.12.2 Voluntary participation

To ensure that participation was voluntary, the consent form was explained to the participants before the research was conducted (Refer to Appendix). The participants were informed that their participation in the project was voluntary and that they had the right to refuse to participate in the study and could withdraw at any time. This information was on the consent form. I did not use incentives for participation. The nature of the project did not place any limitation on the participant's freedom.

4.12.3 Safety in participation and right to benefit

The study benefitted the participants in three ways. Firstly, my role as an active participant allowed me to volunteer my time and skills in the grassroots organisation. Secondly, questions posed in the study created the space for participant reflection. Lastly, the study offered an objective perspective on the work of FFO. By exploring what works and what can be done better, the findings offer insights for FFO and other similar grassroots organisations.

There were no known risks/ and or discomforts associated with the research. There were, however, potential vulnerabilities associated with their participation in the project. These are explained for each participant in the table below.

Figure 13: Vulnerability status of each participant

Participant	Vulnerability Status
Staff of FFO	None
Female farm activists in FFO	There is the possibility that leadership may vicitimise activists, or that the participants can be ostracised by their peers.

I minimised the above-mentioned vulnerabilities by ensuring that the data obtained from the participants was used solely for research. Any information shared between participants and me was kept private and confidential. In the write up, all identities of the participants were kept anonymous. I used pseudonyms instead of participants' proper names. I also engaged critically with the descriptors used in the report to avoid identification.

In the pair and the group interview, it was difficult to ensure confidentiality as the discussion took place in a group. I therefore appealed to these participants to treat all responses in the session as confidential. To maintain confidentiality while member-checking the pair interview and the group interview, the individual contribution of each participant was extracted and presented to the participant for one-on-one member-checking interviews. In addition, I debriefed with my supervisor, colleagues and through a reflectivity journal. I did not commit any acts of deception or betrayal during the research and in the write up.

After the completion of the study, I undertook to provide FFO with information about the availability and practical relevance of the research report. I shared my contact details with the participants.

4.13 Data Organising, Storage and Archive

Once the data was collected, it was systematically organised and archived. Data was organised according to its three sources: interviews, participant observation data and archival information.

A qualitative database was created to gather, file and archive all texts, which included words, pictures, audio and video. The word database comprised of the interview transcripts and the field notes captured through the reflective journal and the observational protocol. Two independent hard drives were used to store all data. One hard drive contained the raw information and the other was used for back up. All files were password protected and only the supervisor and I knew these passwords.

The data will be stored according to the policy of the University of Pretoria, Faculty of Education Research Ethics Committee. It will be stored in hard and electronic format for the minimum period of 15 years.

4.14 Data Analysis

Once the collected data was organised, the process of "distilling how things work and naming the essential features and theme"' (Creswell, 2002, p. 643) could begin. The process of data analysis was iterative as there was a constant back and forth between the project's focus, findings, the literature and conceptual framework. The process began with the preliminary exploration of the data.

4.14.1 Preliminary Exploration of the Data

After the participant observation phase, I organised and archived the data. I summarised this data by writing participant observation progress reports. To ready the transcripts for the member-checking process, I listened to each audio recording to ensure that the paper version accurately reflected what female farm activists had said during the interviews.

Throughout this process I made notes and looked for similarities and differences between the research participant's responses. FFO's archival data were reorganised according to the needs of the project, saved and backed up.

The preliminary scanning of these data sets allowed me to make sense of my experiences in the field and gain an overview of the data collected. I then sat down and free wrote what the data and my experiences were telling me. FFO uses this writing approach in its education programmes, as it frees one's mind to write without judgment. By using the free-writing (or typing) technique I was able to use FFO's education methods in my own study. This was a technique that I frequently used, especially when the data felt overwhelming.

The initial free writing process produced the first round of findings. This I called the Synopsis Findings. These findings were spread across four thematic areas: context, organisational form, education practices, and civil society. They were general and high level in nature.

The Synopsis Findings became the basis for a weeklong workshop with my supervisor in the Western Cape in 2017. Together we reviewed the entire process and shifted the project from its initial conception to post-fieldwork phase. The data revealed how the education programme of one grassroots organisation was used to build activism among women who lived and/or worked on commercial farms in the Western Cape, South Africa. We used this to refocus and realign the study.

After collectively reviewing the transcripts, we decided to use the narrative approach to present the collected data. Each female farm activist's story would therefore be written up in the form of an educational journey.

4.14.2 Women's Stories as an Approach to Data Presentation and Analysis

The narrative approach emphasises the telling and retelling of stories. Through stories the researcher is able to use "a natural part of life" to document the individual's experiences, knowledge, reflection and voice in a social and cultural context (Creswell, 2002, p. 531). In addition, narrative provides a platform for voices that have been marginalised. This not only validates seemingly unimportant stories, it also provides a space where participants feel listened to and can process events in their lives (Creswell, 2002).

For this study, six female farm activists' life stories were written up. Ethnographic data in the form of interviews, participant observation and archival documents were used to document each female farm activist's education journey. Women's biography included information on their history, upbringing, family life, formal education, work history, interaction with FFO's non-formal education programme and any other significant moments or turning points in their lives (Cohen et al, 2007; Creswell, 2002). The plot points that were used to tell each story are illustrated in the following table.

Figure 14: Plot points used to frame each woman's story

Personal background	Personal formal educational journey	Education of family
• Personal history • Home and family life • Life on farms • Relationship with the boer • Turning point/s or critical moment/s in their lives	• Highest level of formal education • Experiences in formal schooling	• Formal education of the children in their care • Experiences with formal education
Work history & economy	**FFO and non-formal education:**	**Activism**
• Labour market history • Wages and conditions of employment • Relationship between work and education **Economics of the household** • Sources of income • Expenditure • Household financial strategy • Household versus education expenditure	• When FFO entered their lives • Content of programmes • Method of programmes • Purpose of programmes • Skills and knowledge developed • Educational aspirations	• Moments when women use their education to presume their equality with those who possess power • Motivation for activism • Strategies and tactics used • Challenges and benefits of activism

Once the women's educational journeys were written, they were analysed to extract the central phenomenon.

There were three levels of data analysis. In the first level of analysis the full data set was used to construct the female farm activist's **chronological educational journey.** These educational journeys were written in chronological order, from the female farm activist's birth to their interaction with FFO, ending with the moment when the research was conducted. The intent of these stories was to reduce the scope of the data.

The second level of data analysis was the thematic coding and rewriting of each chronological educational journey. This reduced dataset was coded according to the conceptual framework. After the coding process, the educational journeys were rewritten with the conceptual framework in mind. The study first asked: When did these female farm activists presume their equality to those who possess power? Once these moments were extrapolated, the study then looked at the role of the different educational sites, with the focus on non-formal education, in creating this moment of presumption. Using this approach, the study was able to connect the content and method of FFO's educational programme with how female farm activists used the acquired education. These stories are represented as the **educational journeys** in Chapter 5.

In the final level of analysis, the six educational journeys were scrutinised to determine the common themes (and differences) that emerged in each story. The stories were combed for recurring themes and this became the main findings of the research. These findings were organised according to the research questions, after which, conclusions were drawn and recommendations offered.

4.15 Trustworthiness

To ensure trustworthiness of qualitative research, criteria such as credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability have to be met (Cohen, et al., 2007; Shenton, 2004). These criteria serve as substitutes for positivist notions of validity and reliability. Below, I outline the strategies that were employed to satisfy each criterion.

4.15.1 Credibility

In order to present a credible picture of the phenomenon under study, I spent a considerable amount of time collecting data; I used multiple methods and sources to achieve triangulation and provided participants the opportunity to verify their interview responses through member-checking.

Meeting with gatekeepers ahead of the actual fieldwork and working as a research intern whilst collecting data, provided me with opportunities to gain an "insider's" view of the work of FFO and access to information-rich participants. I had to be cognisant of the fact that I was a 'guest' of the participants and their participation a gift. I therefore worked hard to gain their trust and build rapport. Sleeping over in some of the participants' homes also provided me with insight into their journeys, thereby enabling me to paint a believable picture of their lives.

Triangulation is one of the commonly used strategies that qualitative researchers employ to address credibility (Shenton, 2004). It is the development of themes, findings and descriptions, using evidence from different data sources and research methods. The data can then be considered credible as it is drawn from multiple sources of data or research participants (Creswell, 2002). In this study research themes were developed using the responses of different research participants and different sources of data (interviews, participant observation and archival information). All pertinent evidence was also included in the write-up to create a multi-dimensional and nuanced understanding of each theme. I avoided the selective use of data.

Lincoln and Guba (1985, cited in Cohen et al., 2007, p. 136) noted that member checking serves "to assess intentionality, to correct factual errors, to offer respondents the opportunity to add further information, or to put information on record". In this study, each interview transcript was taken back to the research participant to check its accuracy. The research participants were asked to read the transcript and confirm that the transcripts were an accurate reflection of what they had said, if there was anything that they would like to remove from the record and if there was anything they wanted to add.

As the transcripts were lengthy, the member-checking process for each transcript required at least two meetings. First the transcripts were handed over and the above process explained. Then another meeting was set up to individually discuss the accuracy of each transcript.

The importance of the member-checking process was two-fold. Firstly, it reiterated the importance of informed consent and confidentiality to the research participants. As the findings of the study could potentially affect other dimensions of their lives, the participants were asked to confirm that they were comfortable with the information provided. Secondly, the additional time allowed for the conversation to continue. This enhanced the depth and the quality of participants' responses. Participants noted that this was the first time that an interviewer returned the data to them and that they appreciated the approach. The participants referred to the transcripts as "their book" or "manuscript" containing their life story.

The researcher undertook to present the research findings to participants upon completion of the project. The final report will be made available to the research participants.

4.15.2 Confirmability

Shenton (2004) advised that qualitative researchers show evidence that research findings emerged from the data and that it does not serve to confirm their own preconceived notions. This criterion was met through documentation of the educational journeys of female farm activists and using direct quotations as supporting evidence for research findings. All data was considered and the research report was a truthful account of the investigation and the findings.

4.15.3 Dependability

All research processes and steps were documented. This means that the researcher constructs an audit trail — explaining in detail all methodological decisions and activities that have taken place in the field. This study provided sufficient details of the research processes. A future researcher therefore should have no problem repeating the study.

4.15.4 Transferability

Transferability refers to the possibility that the research findings can be applicable in a different setting. Researchers suggest that readers be provided the opportunity to decide whether the findings of a study apply to a setting that may be similar to the one in which the study was conducted (Cohen et al., 2007; Creswell, 2002; Shenton, 2004). To allow for transferability, I provided extensive description of the research context and the phenomenon under study. Any decision to apply the findings of this study to another setting rests with the reader.

4.16 Data Write Up

From 2016 to 2018 there was a parallel process of data analysis and data write-up until submission. The narrative report was written to communicate the findings, themes and conclusions of the study.

To avoid bias, I avoided the use of leading questions when conducting interviews. While listening to the transcripts, I made critical notes of my interview approach to improve my technique. This study taught me that the best kind of interview is one where the interviewee is free to speak with minimal interference. I used a reflectivity journal, as well as discussions with peers and my supervisor, to reflect critically on my bias. I remained open to information that would confirm or disagree with the assumptions that I held. I was also cognisant that I have been part of horizontal activist structures and did not compare these with other structures.

In the data write up I attempted to bring the voice of the participants to the fore and was careful to avoid the selective use of the data. As is the nature of qualitative research, however, I acknowledge that the findings and interpretations made by the study are only one of many perspectives.

4.17 Summary

This chapter communicated the methodological decisions to document the educational journeys of female farm activists. A collective case study design was selected and a narrative approach used to present the data. Each story is an ethnographic account of the women's biographies. The next chapter, Chapter 5 presents these case studies and their thematic analysis.

Chapter 5: Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations of the Study

"It is noh mistri
Wi mekkin histri
It is noh mistri
Wi winnin victri"

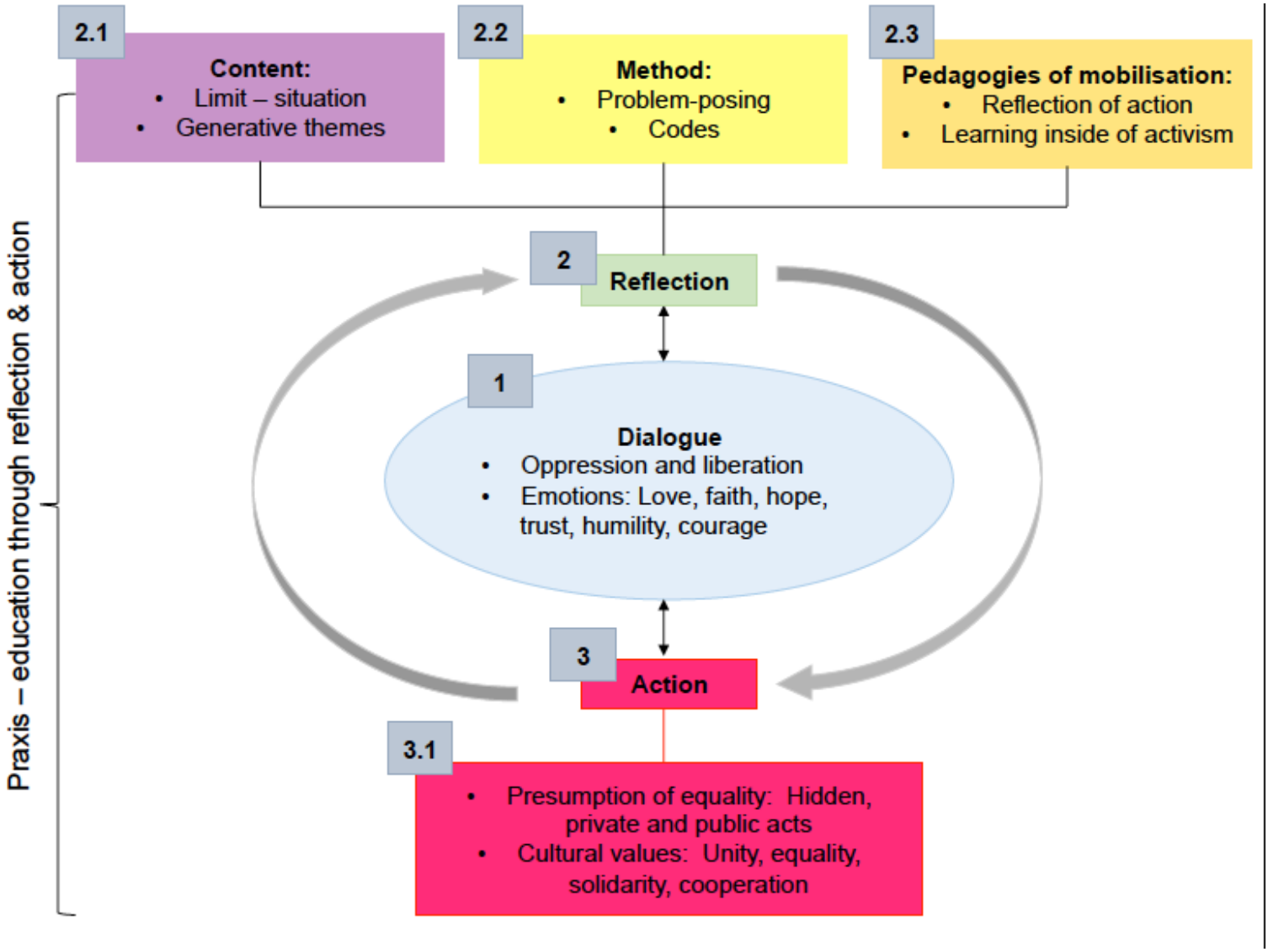
(Johnson, 1983, track 4)

5.1 Introduction

The educational model of FFO is presented in this section. Here, the structure, rationale, objectives, content, methods, strategies and tactics FFO uses to educate female farm activists are explained. Once the reader is familiar with the FFO's education programme, the research focuses on the female farm activists' educational journeys. The conceptual lens was used to write each female farm activist's story, allowing the central phenomenon to emerge.

The full details of the conceptual framework are included in Chapter 3 and a summary is included here for the reader's convenience.

Figure 15: Study's Conceptual Framework



The conceptual frame of the study is based on Freirerian philosophy and was applied to each female farm activist's educational journey. The theory of praxis is an educational model, based on dialogue, and advocates a horizontal relationship between the students-teacher and teacher-students [Box 1]. Since the object of reflection is oppression, the content of the programme is what people perceive to limit them [Box 2.1]. The method that is used to educate are codes that present the limit-situation as a problem to be critically engaged [Box 2.2].

The education process is only complete when action that is directed to the structures of domination has been collectively decided upon and enacted [Box 3]. In action is further reflection, known as the pedagogies of mobilisation [Box 2.3].

Actions directed at transformation are located within the discourse of activism. In this study, these are the moments when female farm activists presume their equality to those who posses power. These actions take place across a continuum, indicating a level of formality – from the hidden acts to the private and public acts.

Using this lens, the emphasis is on understanding transformation – how the female farm activists used the non-formal, popular education they received from FFO to transform themselves, and their world around them.

The study now turns to understanding non-formal education as offered by FFO.

5.2 Educational Model of Female Farm Organisation

FFO is an organisational vehicle that responds to the marginalisation and vulnerability that women on farms experience when living and/or working on commercial farms in the Western and Northern Cape. They work mainly with women and their daughters.

A Board of Directors, which consists of the of the director of the organisation, an academic, two members of government and two female farm activists, determines FFO's strategic direction. There is a central management team within FFO that is responsible for administration and finance. A programme manager and a coordinating officer, who in turn report to the central management team, manage the programme areas.

The programmes run across four thematic areas. These are:

1. Labour
2. Land and Housing
3. Cooperative and Food Gardens
4. Women's Health and Empowerment (WHEP) and the Young Women's Programme (YWP)[17]

At FFO, these education programmes engender the formation of women's groups on a farm and across farms. FFO's education programme therefore supports the formation of autonomous farm-level organisations to address farm-level inequalities.

This is not a coincidence. As the director of FFO explains, working on farms begins with a group:

> *"Generally speaking, farmwomen live very isolated lives on their farms … so women need to have the opportunity to be in groups; grouping structures, whatever, that bring women with a common interest together. So it could be labour, land; it could be health; it could be young women support groups; it could be cooperatives, etc. and these groups really have different functions. On the one hand, they are a resource to other farm workers on their farms - so they might have information; they share information etc; they are like a resource agent on the farm; On the other hand, it is also about women just providing support to each other, whether it is about practical kind of support, you know … borrowing food from each other, that kind of thing, or on a deeper level, where it is like I come to you and I say, this is what the farmer did to me and then the other women would say, I think we can do ABC about this. So it is also about getting a collective*

[17] This was the structure of the organisation at the time of the fieldwork. It has changed slightly since then. The Cooperative and Food Garden Programme has been disbanded. There is no longer a single focus on the cooperative model and education on food gardening now takes place in the Labour Programme. I decided, however, to write it up within this original structure, as this was how I experienced the education and work of FFO. The rationale for each programme, its educational content and organisational structure is provided in Appendix.

consciousness, a collective action behind doing something to change things; and on a very practical level, it is about women just realising that their experience is not unique to them, but you know, it means that if I am getting beaten, it is not just because me [I am] a bad woman; it is something that you, Kara, might also be experiencing and the reason that it is happening to us; it is linked to other structural things the way gender relations work in our society, and so on."

Each of FFO's programme areas has independent content and specific objectives; there are, however, common threads that run through each programme area. Education in FFO is located within the discourse of empowerment, capacity-building and agency for the individual activists. In a one-on-one interview, the Director of the FFO explains:

"We believe that everyone has agency, but for various structural and historical reasons their (women on farms) agency is trapped; is suppressed, etc. So [FFO] almost serves as a trigger to unlock the agency that women have and then to also help nurture their self-confidence, self-esteem, which has also been dampened and destroyed, very often by generations of gender and racial oppression."

To "unlock this agency", FFO uses the pedagogy of popular education. The programme manager of Land and Housing elaborates:

"The women that we work with need to understand more about feminism, they need to understand the political context in which they find themselves. So we try, so it is not purely rights basis, rights space, it is also trying to bring in contextual. And once people understand that it is actually wrong the way that the system operates here in my small farming community, then that anger comes out because for generations the women will tell you but I thought it was right; I can't question the farmer because my parents didn't; their parents before that and they thought it must be just like that … So the rights with the context brings a more broader understanding of why they are suffering and then … but you don't have to suffer, so what are you going to do

about it? Continuously asking the question, what, why, what, why is it so, what are you going to do about it and placing the onus on them to decide, even if it is just starting to question; ask the farmer, but the act says so, why don't we get that? Small little things to more broader systemic things."

The Training-for-Transformation (T-f-T) approach is mentioned specificially. As noted in Chapter 2, Friereian education philosophy is adapted to the unique challenges, needs and dreams of women. What the Director enjoys about the T-f-T approach is that it:

"Lends itself very obviously to working with groups of women; adult women with varying levels of literacy, different levels of background and sometimes very low levels of organisation or participation in organisations. I think that with T-f-T, what is valuable, is the feedback that we get from women is that it presupposes that everyone comes with information and knowledge and ***experience*** *and, I think, very importantly … and it starts from that perspective and builds on what people have."*

In addition to staff members, female farm activists are also trained to use the techniques of T-f-T to facilitate discussions on the farms or within their communities. The programme manager of Land and Housing provides details:

"So it is also to develop that critical thinking and I think our methodology of the Training-for-Transformation training methodology also helps a lot; it helps a lot. So to get women to … and because the women also … they have been through part of the training themselves, a week-long training. So they also know that they can use some of these codes and then start their own conversation or discussion, if they don't know what to do. There is always the codes that you can use, just to get the discussion going."

According to the Director, education in FFO takes place across the following four distinct and inter-related levels:

Level 1: Factual Content Knowledge

Here the focus is factual content knowledge that provides women with the knowledge of their basic rights across all programme areas. The content focuses on understanding key legislation, policy, laws and the recourse mechanisms available. Women are also taught practical skills such as small-scale agriculture and farming.

Level 2: Psycho-social Skills

The participant is encouraged to develop psycho-social skills such as confidence, leadership and self-esteem. This provides women with the voice to insist confidently upon their rights.

Level 3: Alternative Consciousness

The third level is the establishment of alternative realties and consciousness, which teach the women to engage critically with their known environment. Feminism is the political lens used to make sense of the socio-economic and gender inequalities that women face. Women receive training on patriarchy and the structural manifestations that this system creates.

Level 4: Campaigns

All levels culminate to provide women with the tools to organise and mobilise around a particular issue, through the development of independent campaigns. One campaign consists of a broad set of tactics, strategies and activities.

The activities that I have taken part in or have witnessed during participant observation period are listed below:

- **Workshops:** These are training spaces where the women came together in a group to learn specific content. Women also use this space to share

their experiences publicly, reflect on their processes and to decide collectively about plans and strategies.

- **Protest action:** These are protest marches, sit-ins, pickets or flash dances and they range from legal, to activities without permission.
- **Arts:** Techniques such as poster making, use of clay, body mapping are used to facilitate discussion. The most frequent tool used was drama. Roleplaying in drama creates a safe space for deep reflection and for discussion of taboo topics to emerge.
- **Testimonial sessions:** In these sessions the women are provided with a microphone and are asked to share their experiences and opinions on a topic. This too is a very popular technique, as women enjoy the feeling of their voice and stories being amplified.
- **Community dialogue:** Communities are invited to share their problems and collectively determine an action plan.
- **Information sessions and pamphleteering:** A pamphlet is either provided or self-created for dissemination. These can be in small, personal groups on the farms, during a protest march, or at busy sites such as shopping malls.
- **Casework:** Staff members and female farm activists work together to respond to rights violations. On a case-by-case basis, female farm activists advocate for women when negotiating with the farmer or different arms of government. Through casework women became community-based resource agents and the benefits of training spread to community and broader society.
- **Media and social media:** Advertisements are used to further educate FFO members and the public. Media articles disseminate the work of FFO to a broader sector of society. Film and video are also used to spread messages created.
- **Independent research and statistical analysis:** Farm communities raise their issues in FFO spaces. FFO then conducts independent research to deepen understanding of specific issues. This is weighed against literature and is used to make policy recommendations and lobbying.

- **Lobbying and advocacy:** Here FFO participates in government's formal participatory channels to infuse policy, legislature and government institutions with the needs and opinions of women on farms. These included making submissions to policymaking bodies, providing input at a public meeting or participating in a multi-stakeholder session. FFO also engages directly with government officials by setting up one-on-one meetings. Farmwomen are always included in the lobbying team and their narratives are central in this process.
- **Networking and social movement building:** Through the networking of programme groups across farms, FFO establishes an informal social movement of women-based groups. Networks and alliances created by the formal NGO connect FFO to the regional and international context.

The next section presents the women's educational journeys or stories.

5.3 Female Farm Activists' Educational Journeys

This section presents the thematic summaries of the female farm activists' educational journeys. As mentioned, a collective case study research design was employed. Six smaller cases make up one case.

The first case study is Activist 1, who was a leader in the farm workers' strike of 2012/2013. As a woman she not only had to presume her equality to institutions of power, but also amongst her male coworkers. Her case study is presented first, as it is the richest of the six. Her experience gives us hidden glimpses into the strike and the activity that took place "off-stage" (Scott, 1989, p. 59). Through her participation in the strike, her actions impacted upon the national and international context.

The second and the third case studies should be read together. Although these women were active caseworkers in their own right, their greatest transformation was personal. Both these stories reveal how the codes in T-f-T can be used to heal from past trauma, grow their self-confidence and improve the quality of family life.

The fourth and fifth cases demonstrate the power of casework. These women advocate for farm workers when negotiating with the boer and different arms of government. Through their action, their education transcends the personal, and impacts upon their local reality.

We end the educational journeys with hope. The last activist in the collective case study breaks the mould. She has been involved in FFO since 2006, beginning as a participant, but is now the programme manager of the youth programme. She is deeply reflective, demonstrating the power of the pedagogies of mobilisation for learning. Her experience enabled her to develop a theory on farm-level activism. Her four phases of activism are her response to how education engenders activism on commercial farms in South Africa.

The six thematic summaries now follow.

5.3.1 Educational Journey of Activist 1

It is 4am in the summer of 2012. Activist 1 takes a deep breath, exhales, and as loudly as she can, blows her whistle. She is a woman in her early 50s who looks younger than her years, but all the same, the wrinkles on her face are deeply etched into her tanned skin. Forty years of hard labour on farms have burnt her skin a deep olive and although she has become physically strong, the years have also taken their toll on her body. One of her knees is damaged from farm work and she has had an operation on one hand – the result of years of washing laundry by hand. As always, she is colourfully and immaculately dressed, with her trademark head wrap creatively put together. Her brown skin, strong physique and head wrap gives her a regal air.

We find her in Research Site 1, a small agricultural town that is a pivotal node for export table grape and wine production in the Western Cape, South Africa. It is not uncommon for her to be awake at this time of the morning. To beat the blazing sun, farm work starts early. Ordinarily she would be readying herself for a day of labour – either in the vineyards or in a packing factory.

This harvest season, however, everything is different as the farm workers of Research Site 1 have collectively decided to embark on strike action.

Activist 1 stands at the centre of the strike, at its place of origin, blowing her whistle to signal to her fellow workers that she is up and ready for another day of action. One by one she begins to hear whistles reply. They start out slowly and gradually mount into a cacophony. From these responses she knows that her *compañeros* stand in solidarity with her, and that another day of rebellion has begun.

Her journey to activism began in the Northern Cape Province, where she was born. Activist 1 was the fifth of 16 children. At the age of two her family moved to Research Site 1. Her father was imprisoned when she was in Grade 5, leaving her mother and her with the financial responsibility of sustaining the family. She left school to help her mother in the kitchen, and later began her career as a farm worker working in the vineyards. At the age of 15 her mother "rented" her out as a domestic servant to the boer's sister in a town near Cape Town. She was lonely, the work was hard, and she never saw her wages as they were paid directly to her mother.

When she turned 17, she packed up and returned to the farm. At the age of 20, she lost her first child who was only 11 months old. After this, she again left the farm to work as a domestic worker in Cape Town. Her new employer moved to Namibia and she relocated with her. There she met and married her husband and started her family.

It was in Namibia that Activist 1 began to see herself as an activist. During that country's first democratic election in 1990 she assisted in recruitment and canvassing votes for Namibia's liberation party.

Her involvement in Namibian politics prepared her for her political contribution in South Africa's first democratic election in 1994. When she returned to South Africa, she joined the liberation party and began spreading the message about the vote on farms. She moved back to the Cape Winelands District, where she and her husband found work on a farm.

Life on this farm was relatively comfortable as her husband was permanently employed and a foreman. She also worked with him on the same farm. There was a crèche and a school and they lived in a three-bedroom house. When her brother and his wife died, leaving behind two children, she took up the responsibility of raising their children. She went to ask the boer for permission to let the children live with her and his answer changed her whole life. He said:

> *"Sy plaas is nie 'n crèche nie en dit het gemaak dat ek toe nou trek weer van daai plaas af."*
>
> *["His farm is not a crèche and because of this, I had no other choice but to leave the farm."]*

The family moved out to live in a squatter camp in Research Site 1. She and her husband had to start again as seasonal workers and her family had to get used to a home without running water and electricity. There she stayed until she received two RDP homes next to each other in Research Site 1.

She learnt of FFO in 2000 but in 2007 she became seriously involved. She was asked to invite women to a workshop and remained with the organisation ever since. What she appreciates most about FFO's education programme is its multi-faceted approach, as the women are trained about their rights across programme areas. She calls these collective rights *"vroue regte" ["women's rights"].* She advocates for farm workers – women and men – and has achieved important victories such as stopping evictions, addressing labour rights violations, or simply helping women to end their abuse in violent marriages. She derives confidence in the knowledge that she can always call the FFO staff for research, advice or backup.

The work she does on farms is not without consequence as she is often singled out as a "trouble-maker":

"Hulle [die boere] hou nie daarvan jy moet slim wees en jy moet jou regte ken nie. Nou net as jy jou mond oopmaak, dan sê hulle jy is 'n opsteker. So op plase self, en ek het swaar gekry op plase, omdat my mond nie kan toe wees nie … maar ek gee nie om nie want ek ken my regte."

["They (the boere) do not like you to be clever and know your rights. When you open your mouth, they call you an instigator. So I suffered hardships on the farms because I refused to keep quiet … but I don't care because I know my rights."]

Her continuous training and extensive community casework on farms have prepared her for the most heightened expression of her activism – her participation in the farm workers' strike of 2012/2013. As a leader inside the strike, she provides the narrative from a grassroots level.

When Activist 1 talks of the strike, her face lights up, she shifts her weight in her chair; straightens her spine and becomes noticeably excited. She owns the strike. She calls it "our strike, us farm workers."

Frustrated with the wage rate and the quality of life, and spurred on by the striking Marikana mineworkers, farm workers too believed that they deserved more. The idea of a strike was birthed when farm workers working on a farm in Research Site 1 had independently negotiated an unprecedented wage rate of R150 per day. This new wage rate sent ripples throughout Research Site 1:

"Toe ek nou dit hoor, toe sê ons, nee Heer, ons sukkel mos hoeka met die R69 … Ons sukkel dan hoeka. Ons wil R150 hê"

["When I heard that, we said 'Lord, for a long time we have struggled with the R69…' We who have been struggling in any case, also wanted R150."]

Activist 1 and other workers then planned a farm workers' strike. There were no structures, no forums, just farm workers coming together to share their problems, plan and provide strategic leadership.

At the centre of this organisation was a group of FFO women called "The Big Five", of which Activist 1 was a member. In addition to the women, two men were also included in this group. Together they held meetings, discussed issues and sent out mass text messages:

The workers had a list of 10 demands, which included an end to:

- Assaults of farm workers by boers;
- Farm evictions of farm dwellers (especially older farm dwellers);
- Rent payment for children over the age of 18, living with their families, but not working on the farms;
- Rent payments for farm homes and
- High electricity costs.

The full-blown strike began with the arrest of teenagers who took part in a protest march at the end of October 2012. The teenagers were set to appear before the court, and on the day of their appearance, the workers downed tools and instead congregated in front of the court to demand their immediate release.

When the police arrived at the scene, they wanted to speak to the farm workers' leaders. The crowd said that they were all leaders, but the police randomly selected people whom they recognised. This group became the farm workers' strike committee, of which Activist 1 was part. The police-elected males on the committee dominated the proceedings and she had to fight for her voice to be heard:

"Toe voel hulle dit is hulle ding; toe wil die manne oorvat. FFO staff, hulle en so aan het vir ons gepush en gesê julle laat nie die manne die ding vat nie, want julle het die ding begin."

["Then they felt that it was their thing; the men wanted to take over (dominate). FFO staff pushed us and told us, 'Don't you allow the men to take over the issue, because you started this."]

The divergent demands of the strike were being facilitated through a commission and there were different parties around the same table – organised labour, farmer associations, different arms of government and the farm workers' strike committee. In these forums, Activist 1 again experienced attempts to stifle her voice. In one session, the farmers' association refused to accept the farm workers' demands, as they were handwritten. In another session she remembered a comment made by the farmer's associations:

"Toe sit ons daar, sit en gesels ons om die tafel. Toe sê die boere hulle kan nie met sulke low class mense praat nie. Dit was hulle einste woorde. Hulle kan nie met sulke low class mense praat nie. Hulle wil met die provinsie se mense en daai goeters praat. Toe is ons wat die werkers is, te low class om mee te praat."

["We then sat and talked around the table. Then the boers said that they could not talk to such low-class people. Those were their exact words. They wanted to speak to provincial people. We, the workers, were too low-class to talk to them."]

The insistence of the farmers' associations consult only with provincial and national structures had huge implications for the strike. As farm workers' structures were typically local in nature, the strike committee was by default excluded and organised labour, in the form of unions, then represented the interests of the farm workers. The venues also shifted from Cape Town to

Johannesburg, some 1400 kilometers away, and the members of the strike committee could not afford the airfares to attend these meetings. She pinpointed this as the moment when the farm workers lost access to the negotiations. The final agreed wage rate of R105/day was not made in consultation with the workers and was accepted by union representatives on their behalf. Because of their lack of resources and money, the farm workers, who had begun the strike, became passive observers to the final negotiations.

The irony was that she and many other farm workers had made great sacrifices during the strike. They sacrificed their wages and went hungry during this period. Police used rubber bullets and live ammunition on protesters and three people were killed. Some strikers sustained permanent injuries. Women's homes were searched and ransacked and Activist 1 was on the run during the strike period. There were times when the leaders of the strike would go to bed having eaten nothing but ice lollies for the day.

Although a 52 per cent increase in their wages was a victory, Activist 1 remains disappointed in the final outcomes of the strike. In addition, farm workers face new challenges in the aftermath of the strike. The boers have responded by restructuring their cost structures. They now pay per hour and not per day, lunch breaks are deducted from their wages and deductions such as rent, water and electricity are made from salaries. There has also been a reduction in benefits such as transport to and from farms, or financial contributions for doctors' services. The use of private security and electric gates has also reduced access to farms.

It is this disillusionment and suffering after the strike that makes the farm workers wary of being part of another strike. Her deep disappointment and anger are directed at government and unions alike:

> *"Die regering is ook teen ons. Almal is nou teen die mens wat swaar … die vulnerable, ons wat nou regtig die swaarste kry. Almal wat het, is teen ons gekant; boere en die dingese, hulle staan hand aan hand met mekaar. Ons het niemand met wie ons hand aan hand staan nie. Die*

regering is nie vir ons nie. Dit is die ding, hulle is nie vir ons, vir die armste van die arm mense nie."

[The government also works against us. Everybody is against those who suffer the most and who are the most vulnerable. Everybody is against us – they work hand in hand with the boers. The government is not on our side; that is what it is – they do not work in the interests of the poorest of the poor.]

Going forward, she recommends that government abandon the "no work, no pay" principle as it is unsustainable for the worker and leads to great hunger. She personally paid for her involvement, as she was put on the "blacklist" by all boers in Research Site 1 and was unable to find work. It was only in 2015 that she managed to find employment and through a labour broker. Despite these disappointments, she is heartened by the rise of new women activists on farms across Research Site 1. These women are not afraid to speak up against the boer and can handle cases independently. She knows that this has something to do with the example that she and other older activists, have set. For the youth, she has the following message:

*"Die jeug moet betrokke raak, dat hulle **wiser, wyser** raak, **wyser** raak sodat hulle kan weet, maar dit is nie nodig dat ek gebuk gaan onder 'n man nie. Ek kan vir myself opstaan, ek kan 'n president word.*

*["The youth has to become involved, so that they can become **wiser; wise** so that they realise they don't have to be oppressed by a man; they can stand up for themselves; become a president.*

For her own children, she desires that they further their education. The children that she raised and the ones that she adopted (six in total) have completed secondary schooling, but she believes that without a higher education, finding work will become impossible. Currently her son is working

on a farm but plans to study engineering. One of her daughters would like to study nursing or social work.

Activist 1 recognises the importance of opportunities as well as the necessary transport for the youth from farms to succeed. An opportunity without transport, she argues, is meaningless. This realisation made her act decisively in her own daughter's transport dilemma. Her daughter attended a college outside Research Site 1. In addition to university fees of R12 000 per year or R1 000 per month, she was also paying R380 for transport. This was unaffordable and she hatched a plan.

She noticed that there was a bus service for children to different schools in and out of Research Site 1 and she decided that the same service should be provided for college students. She contacted the organiser of the school transport service to enlist his support to transport the college students. At the same time, she asked her daughter to collect the phone numbers of each of the transport-paying parents. She contacted each individually to find out if they too were struggling with the payment and if they would support her transport plan. After receiving a mandate from the parents, she set up a meeting with the rector of the college and the representative of the Western Cape Education Department to put forward her case and proposal. With all the stakeholders in place, the college agreed to support the students with transport and buses for college students in Research Site 1.

"Daai is 'n groot victory wat ek gemaak het en ek is baie trots daarop."

["That was a great victory and I am proud of it."]

These victories are what keep her motivated. To continue this work she needs financial support to cover her airtime costs and to pay for petrol and other transport costs.

5.3.2 Educational Journey of Activist 2

It is a hot afternoon and the sun is blazing down on us. A group of FFO women are picketing outside of the gates of Parliament, insisting that government implements its own "MORATORIUM ON FARM WORKERS' EVICTIONS."

We arrive at Parliament at about 12noon and are waiting for government officials to accept our memorandum. Instead they keep us waiting for over two hours. After the second hour in the sun, everyone is hot and hungry. The women become disgruntled and I hear shouts from the crowd, "Spring oor die hek! Spring oor die hek!" *["Jump over the gate!"]* They are calling on the demonstrators to jump over the entry gates of Parliament.

At that moment I scan the location to determine the level of security. When we arrived there earlier, there were four police vans on the outskirts of the march, but even they had already left. On the other side of the fence there are at least four police officers and private security. Also present at the march are members of the press. My hunch is that all the women are making the same calculations, trying to assess the repercussions of such an action.

Approximately 20 minutes after the first call has been made to scale the fence, the government officials come to receive the memorandum. It seems that the officials think they will receive the memorandum and make a hasty retreat. Instead FFO has a microphone and gives it to some very angry women, who want to share what is on their minds. Before the memorandum is handed over, Activist 2 takes the microphone and addresses the government officials:

> *"Julle gesigte wys nie eens of julle omgee vir die vroue wat hier staan nie want jy staan nou hier, maar without emotions. Jy toon niksie, maar toe sien ek hoe loop hulle (lag). Maar dit frustreer 'n mens om te dink ons moet nou nog so swaar kry, en nou nog so ly en vir hulle is dit net fine because hulle worry nie. Hulle koskaste is vol, hulle bankrekeninge het geld in, hulle kinders gaan slaap nie koud en honger nie, hulle*

kinders kry education, high education, ons moet maar vir die cheapste skool gaan, want ons kan nie skoolfooie betaal nie.

[*"Your faces do not even show that you care about the women who are standing here because you are standing here without emotions (you are indifferent)." You do not show anything. But I saw how they walked away. (She laughs) But it disturbs one when you think how we have to suffer hardships and for them it is just fine because they don't worry; their cupboards are full, their bank accounts have money in them, their children do not go to bed hungry or cold; their children get education – quality education – but we have to choose the cheapest schools because we cannot afford school fees."]*

Activist 2 is in her early 40s and a mother of three children. She has hazel eyes, fiery eyes that are a distinguishing feature. She sizes everybody up with her piercing gaze, fierce eyes set against a dark skin and long golden-brown braids. She carries a little extra weight, but her height makes up for the excess that is spread proportionately across her frame.

When it comes to the education of her children, she uses her voice to insist that they have more opportunities than she has had. Her eldest son was fatally stabbed in rivalry between two groups of boys one evening. Violence of this nature is common in Research Site 2, which is known for school dropouts, substance abuse, teenage pregnancy, violence, poverty and theft. Her youngest son attends a primary school that is fee-free. All her children have attended this school and she is happy with the quality of education. She has, however, noticed that since his brother's death, her youngest has started to act differently and she is being called to school to talk about his behaviour. But the school is within walking distance and she handles issues as they arise. It is her daughter's schooling situation that is difficult.

There is no high school in Research Site 2, which means that her daughter had to travel via train to attend a high school 20 km away. This proved to be unsafe and via the ward committee meetings, the parents advocated for, and were awarded a school bus. This helps, but it does not deal with the

fundamental problem. When learners from Research Site 2 attend high schools in other areas, they endure bullying, taunting and for the women – sexual harassment. The parents of Research Site 2 want a high school in the area and are waiting for the Department of Education to respond to their demands. The distance also means that her daughter cannot partake in extramural activities and she is not able to participate in her daughter's education. Despite this, she is adamant that her children will complete Grade 12.

Her conviction comes from her own personal experience. Activist 2's story is a little different from the other activists. She was raised in the southern suburbs of the Cape Flats of Cape Town, not on a farm. In Grade 10 she dropped out of high school, citing peer pressure. After that, she attended a college where she qualified as a secretary. Her first job was to help with the administration in her parents' firm. She also worked in the textile industry and as a factory worker. In one of her jobs she packaged chicken and in another she made baby shoes.

She met her husband at a young age. They moved to live in Research Site 2, where they were awarded a one-roomed RDP house and have lived there ever since. Originally her husband wanted her to be a stay-at-home mum, but when their second child was born, they both knew that one income was insufficient. She did what everybody else did in Research Site 2:

> *"Toe beginne ek op die druiwe lorries opklim en so aan - seisoen werk gaan werk."*
>
> *["Then I started getting onto the grape lorries to do seasonal work."]*

When she came into contact with FFO she was a young mother of two children and was silently enduring violent abuse in her marriage and home. At the time she describes herself as extremely shy, soft-spoken and insecure.

A member of staff came to Research Site 2 to introduce all programmes of FFO. She was naturally drawn to the discussion on domestic violence. Her first impression of FFO was:

> *"Die is 'n goeie ding vir my want kyk nou daai tyd ken jy mos nie nou jou regte nie, jy aanvaar net dinge is soos dit is. Soos byvoorbeeld nou as jou man jou klap, is maar reg; jy kan niks doen nie. Jy kan nie 'n saak maak nie; jy moet nou net aanvaar jou man klap jou."*

> *["To me this is a good thing, because before you did not know your rights; you accepted things as they were. For example, if your husband smacked you, you accepted it. You would not lay a charge; you just accepted that your husband could smack you."]*

She enjoyed the content of FFO and enjoyed attending and learning from the workshops, but she had a dilemma – how could she participate given her insecurities? Fortunately for her the full workshops broke into smaller groups where she felt more comfortable. As time passed, she grew bolder and she presented the group's feedback to the bigger workshop group.

Sometimes the group would present their feedback with a drama, a song or a dance. She never wanted to act, but her group encouraged her to perform – even if it was just one sentence. This was her first experience as an actor and to her surprise, she enjoyed it. The staff of FFO also recognised her talent and encouraged her.

Drama offered her the space to talk about the abuse in her marriage. It became easier to act than to talk:

> *"Sometimes kan 'n mens nie rerig sê nie, maar nou as jy act, dan act jy sommer daai wat in jou lewe plaasvind."*

["Sometimes a person can't really talk, but when you act, you express that which is happening in real life."]

Activist 2 opened up and talked to people about what was happening in her home. As part of the workshops, Activist 2 was encouraged to write about her feelings in a journal. At the time she feared her husband and instead of communicating with him directly, she would leave her journal in places where she knew he would find and read it. This journal initiated the conversation between them and their relationship gradually improved to the point where she now describes their marriage as *"normal"* (Women on Farms Project, 2016, p. 9). She is now an equal partner in the marriage and her husband supports her by looking after their children and managing the house when she is away at workshops.

Activist 2 also gravitated towards the labour programme.

At the beginning of her seasonal working career, she describes herself as ignorant and having no knowledge of her rights. This made her very vulnerable to labour rights violations. Seasonal work, she says, is not easy. It is unstable as there is no guarantee that the same farm will employ you the following year. The wage rates also differ on farms and the practice of setting high targets with punitive consequences is commonplace. Activist 2 has always received the minimum wage, but notes that this is not the case for all farm workers. She also prefers to work in a packing factory, as she is allergic to the pesticides used in the vineyards.

Her education in FFO has made her knowledgeable about labour rights, especially the rights of seasonal workers. She credits the workshops for equipping her with the knowledge to know when something is wrong and the courage to stand up for her rights. She shares her knowledge with her community and with the other workers on the farms. When people come to her for advice, she listens attentively to the details to determine which labour law is being broken. Before making a case, she advises people to confirm the accuracy of their information. Once confirmed, she recommends that the worker first speak to the boer. In her experience, most cases can be resolved

through communication. Only if nothing comes of it, she recommends laying a formal complaint with the Department of Labour. She also suggests that you regularly enquire and track the progress of the case.

She has used her knowledge to handle many cases on farms. The one that she is most proud of is the rebellion that she led at a packing factory where she worked. At that factory there were two issues. The first was that the workers were working overtime, but they were not being paid for their overtime. She had negotiated with the boer to get the time back, and when he did not adhere to his word, she flat-out refused to work overtime for the remainder of the season. When asked why she was not working overtime, she said:

> *"Maar meneer betaal nie vir my overtime nie, so hoekom moet ek overtime werk? (Lag).*
>
> *["But, Sir, you don't pay me overtime, so why must I work overtime?" (Activist 2 laughs at the memory).]"*

On the same farm, the boer had to pay their weekly wages at an agreed time on Fridays. She needed the wages to get home from the farm. By late afternoon, no one had been paid and the permanent workers informed her, that the boer had a habit of not paying on Fridays and making them wait until the Monday. She then led a group of 60 workers – 20 permanent and 40 casual workers to his home. They sat on the front porch refusing to move until they were paid their wages. He eventually sent his lackey to make the payment.

She is proud of her work but acknowledges that as a seasonal worker it is easier for her to organise, as she is not dependent on the boer for a roof over her head.

As we talk about the work of FFO, I am reminded of the day of the picket. I enquire:

"Sal jy dit gedoen het? Sal jy oor die hek gespring?"

["Would you have done it? Would you have jumped over the gate?"]

She didn't hesitate when she replied:

"Ek sal oorgespring het, ja. As dit beteken my kind se toekoms gaan beter wees die tyd wanneer sy my ouderdom kom of hy my ouderdom kom, sou ek oor daai hek gespring het, ja.

["I would have jumped, yes. If that would have resulted in a better future for my child when she/he reaches my age, yes, I would have jumped over that gate."]

5.3.3 Educational Journey of Activist 3

I am sitting in Activist 3's kitchen. She is almost 60, a mother of four children, eight grandchildren and 2 great-grandchildren. Her complexion is dark brown and she has black curly hair. She is of medium height and overweight for her frame. She has arthritis in one knee and she has been diagnosed with high blood pressure.

She has many small scars on her face, signifying that she has endured many hardships. She looks tough, but there is also a tender smile and evidence of a heart that she wears on her sleeve. She is the lifeblood of the workshops, as she keeps us all in stitches.

Today she is not her usual jovial self and I sense that something is wrong. She is somber and pensive. She tells the children to leave, as adults have to talk. She sits down and begins to tell me a story that she has never told anyone before.

Activist 3's mother was from a rural town in the Western Cape and her father was a seasonal farm worker from the Eastern Cape. He moved between farms, doing paintwork and on one of his jobs he met and then married her mother and they settled down in her mother's hometown. Together they had six children and she was the last-born. At the age of three her parents separated. The older children stayed with her father and she and her youngest brother moved with their mother to a farm in the Cape Winelands District.

Her older brothers resented their mother for leaving them. When the family was reunited, her brothers were already young men and she was still a child. This reunion had a dark side to it:

> *"Een dag toe kom (my broer) by die huis, nou is my ma-hulle nie daar nie. Nou smiddae na skool nou moet ek die huis mos nou skoonmaak en ek moet skottlegoed was en kyk vir dun hout en vir water moet in is, die emmers moet vol is, vuur moet brand, sodat my ma net kan kom en kos maak.*
>
> *Toe kom die broer van my daar en hy sê vir my, waar's ma-hulle, en ek sê maar nee mamma-hulle werk. En dan, ek kyk hom so, en hy's maar… ag, hy krap daar rond in die huis en ek worry mos nou nie, want ek vat mos so dis ons broer; en verder sê hy vir my ek moet die deur toemaak, en ek dink toe, wat is jou plan nou?*
>
> *En hy vra vir my, het ek al gelieg, en ek sê vir hom, maar ek het nog nooit gelieg in my lewe nie. Ek sê ek lieg nie, want ek leer by my ma en by my juffrou, leer ek, 'n mens wat lieg is nie 'n goeie mens nie.*
>
> *En hy het daar 'n kombers oopgegooi en hy wil met my seks gehad het, maar hy het dit toe nie gedoen nie, maar hy het dit buite gedoen, buitekant my boude.*
>
> *En hy sê vir my, wat hy klaar is, sê hy vir my, maar ek moet die hoop gemors skoonmaak. Maar dis 'n hoop gemors, wit goed wat daar lê.*

En in daardie tyd wat ek daardie goed vat en skoonmaak, toe raak ek wreed. Toe verander my hele lewe. Toe voel ek nou nie meer soos 'n kind nie, toe voel ek soos iemand wat nou groot is …"

["One day my brother came home; my mother (and other guardians) were not at home. In the afternoon it was my task (responsibilty) to clean the house, wash the dishes, fetch firewood, see to it that the buckets are filled with water and make the fire so that my mother could just come and cook the food.

Then my brother arrived and he asked where my mother (and other guardians) were. I told him they were at work. But I looked at him and he scratched around in the house, but I did not suspect anything, because he was our brother. Then he told me to close the door and I wondered, 'what is your intention now'?

He asked me if I had ever lied. I told him I had never lied in my life because I had learnt from my mother and my teacher that a liar is not a good person.

And he spread a blanket and he wanted to have sex with me. He did not penetrate me, but ejaculated against my thighs.

And when he had finished, he told me to clean up the mess. But it was a heap of white mess and while I was cleaning up that mess, I became hard (vicious). My whole life changed then.

As she speaks, I think to myself, "She did it!" She has taken the first step to her healing – she has loosened her tongue and found the courage to speak about her greatest fear and secret. As she spits the words out, I know that it will get easier from this moment onwards. She is forever changed.

After the abuse, everything was different and her life took a different path.

"Toe voel ek nou nie meer soos 'n kind nie, toe voel ek soos iemand wat nou groot is … Ek (het) maniere gekry wat ek niks meer lus was vir skool gaan nie, ek het nie meer gelag, gespeel saam met kinders nie, dit was 'n gewete wat my gevreet het."

["I did not feel like a child anymore. I felt like a grown-up … I became tired of school, I was averse to school; I did not laugh anymore, stopped playing with other children. My conscience was eating away at me."]

She had no one to talk to about the abuse and would lash out at anyone, especially males. On her last day of school she almost killed a boy who was teasing her. She was expelled from school and went to work in the boer's kitchen. She befriended the daughter of the boer, and it was her charge that taught her how to read, but not write. Working in the boer's kitchen was hard and oppressive work and she left to become a domestic worker in Cape Town. This too did not agree with her, but when she returned to the farm, the boer chased her away.

She moved to squat with relatives in a town and this was a violent period in her life. She became a gangster, spent time in jail, mothered two young children and was in abusive relationships. Her life stablised somewhat when she met the father of her last two children, who became her husband. He was a permanent farm worker and she moved into his house with him – the same house that she now lives in. On the farm she was a seasonal worker, but was quickly promoted to forewoman. The farmer also left her with the keys to the farm to run it in his absence.

Her husband was also abusive, and they were were both alcoholics. He would cheat on her and hit her. She would then leave the house to live with her mother or relatives. This was their cycle of life until her daughter was kidnapped. After two months they found and brought her daughter back to

her – dirty and malnourished. As she washed her child, she knew that something in her life had to change.

It wasn't, however, until the "potato peel" incident that she found the courage to make these changes. She remembers the day with accuracy. She was lying on her bed on a Saturday morning when she overheard her children talking whilst making food. The children were discussing what to eat for lunch. Her daughter was reassuring her brother that the food would taste good. Overhearing the conversation, she called her daughter to the room so that she could see what they were planning. The two children came into the room, a little scared, and showed their mother the potato peels that they had retrieved from the rubbish dump. The daughter planned to wash these peels, add a bit of spice to them to make them edible. At this, Activist 3 broke down and cried:

> *Ek sê, Here, hoekom moet my kind, my kinders dit doen (Sy huil). En dit is deur my dat my kinders nou moet aartappel skille eet. Ek sê Here help my want ek kan nie meer nie. Ek wil nie meer so lewe nie en ek het net gehuil in daai kooi…"*

> *["I told God, 'No, no, I have experienced hardships in my life, but I have never picked up food from the rubbish dump; never taken peels, washed them, cooked them to eat. I asked why my child, my children, had to do this. It is my fault that my children have to eat peels. I asked God to help me because I could not take it anymore. I did not want to live like that anymore, and I just cried in that bed."]*

That day she made a decision to stop drinking alcohol. She went to her friend, and asked for advice. She left with a bag full of food and a plan. When Activist 3 received her next wages, she declared:

> *"Vandag betaal ek nie smokkelaars nie! Vandag gaan ek kos koop vir my kinders."*

["Today I am not paying the (liquor) dealers! Today I am going to buy food for my children."]

This was approximately 20 years ago, when her daughter was at primary school. She has since stopped drinking altogether.

In 2010, her friend that helped her, died of HIV/Aids and this is where she first came into contact with FFO. At her friend's funeral there was a group of women who were all wearing blue T-shirts. They extended an invitation to her to a workshop and she went, out respect for her friend. At FFO she felt like she was part of a family. From the first day, the women showed her love and this was the reason that she kept going to the workshops.

Activist 3 describes FFO's education as *"gesonde kos" ["healthy food"].* Her training is across all programmes, but she was drawn to the health programme. She is knowledgeable about women's health and reproductive rights, gender-based violence, alcohol and drug abuse. She is also trained to be an emergency first aid responder and knows the basics of paramedics. She is most proud of her improved communication skills. She has learnt be civil in her communication with her husband, children, friends, boers and the nurses at her local clinic.

Besides the content of the programme, Activist 3 also appreciates the way in which FFO conducts workshops. In particular, she singles out the centering exercise. During one centering exercise the women took turns to wash each other's hands. During this exercise she closed her eyes, and slipped into another stream of consciousness:

"Ons (vat) mekaar se hande; toe vat ons mekaar se hande en ons was mekaar se hande; ons was mekaar se hande en jy is op jou eie gedagte. En jy voel so … dit lyk jy vat aan 'n … dit is 'n ou klein, sagte dingetjie. Dit lyk jy vat aan… jy is so vêr. Later dink jy dit is die liewe Jesus se hande; Die engel, Jesus se hande, wat jy so vat. Of wat so oor jou hande gaan; wat vir jou sê die hande wil ek hê moet net goed

doen; die hande wil ek hê moet nie verkeerde dinge doen nie. Jy voel so … Hey mense, ek het nog nooit so gevoel nie!"

["We held one another's hands and we washed one another's hands, and you were immersed in your own thoughts. And you feel as if you are touching a little soft thing. You are so far way that you think you're touching Jesus' loving hands; the angel … Jesus' hands that you touch; or hands that stroke your hands and tell you, I want these hands to do only good. These hands must not do wrong things. You feel as if … Hey people, I have never felt that way!"]

She is an active campaigner against abuse of women on farms. When she wears her FFO T-shirt, she knows that her dress code is doing all the hard work for her. One particular vocal T-shirt says:

"EK BESLUIT OOR MY LYF. JY MAG MY NIE: SLAAN NIE, VLOEK NIE, SKOP NIE, VERKRAG NIE, VERNEDER NIE, DREIG NIE."

["I MAKE DECISIONS ABOUT MY BODY. YOU HAVE NO RIGHT TO HIT ME; SWEAR AT ME; KICK ME; RAPE ME; HUMILIATE ME; THREATEN ME"]

Given the high levels of domestic abuse on farms, her activism puts her in direct conflict with a violent and patriarchal context. It is a brave act, as she must pierce the division between the public and the private space.

Dressed in her T-shirt, she approaches the abusers to inform them that their abuse is not acceptable. She also counsels women in abusive relationships, and reminds them that they have options – they can lay charges against the abusers with the police, or alternatively, just leave the home when the violence gets too much. Either way, they do not deserve this treatment and she is willing to support the victims.

One of her most courageous acts was intervening in the abuse and drug use, taking place in her daughter and son-in-law's home. This is the same daughter who was kidnapped as a child. They live two houses down the street in a drug den where the husband sells and uses a drug called crystal methamphetamine, more commonly known in South Africa as "tik". One evening, her daughter approached her and said that she could no longer endure the abuse and that she was scared of her husband when he was high on "tik". Could her mother please help her?

Activist 3 was relieved. She had wanted to resolve this issue a long time before, but her daughter kept telling her not to intervene. She went to the police to report the "tik nes". They responded by raiding the home and this put an abrupt end to the drug activity in this home. There was fall-out, however, and she had to endure the aftermath:

> *"Hulle het geskel, hulle het my gevloek; ek het nie my gesteur daaraan nie. Langsaan net so, op my gevloek, geskel, maar ek het gesê dit is my werk. Ek is geleer daarvoor,* ***dit is my werk; ek doen dit."***

> *["They verbally abused me, they swore at me, but I ignored it. Next-door neighbours abused me, swore at me, but I just said, it's* ***my work/job. I was trained for this, I am just doing my work."]***

Despite this intervention, her daughter remains in this marriage and continues to abuse alcohol. The irony that her daughter is now the one abusing alcohol, is not lost on her. Her daughter's home situation impacts upon her credibility to do her work on the farm. When she approaches members of the farm community about domestic violence matters, she is often told to mind her own businessn – referring to her daughter's marital situation. She wants to hold a community meeting so that they can reach farm-level consensus on how to respond to domestic violence. In this way, she would not be alone in implementing the response and would have the backing of the entire farm.

As an activist her greatest challenge is resources – the airtime to make the calls and invite people to the workshops. Petrol and transport are needed to conduct casework on farms that are a great distance away. She believes that FFO needs more staff and transport to access all the areas and farms. She is particularly concerned that the youth programme is not operating in Research Site 3. The lack of opportunities means that the youth have taken to drinking with adults. She worries that if there is no immediate intervention, another generation of youth will be lost to substance abuse.

One of her grandchildren lives with her and she is responsible for her schooling. The child attends a primary school that is off the farm and uses the school bus. Activist 3 is happy with the quality of school, but raises three problems. The first is that the children must walk from the farm to the bus shelter. This is a problem in winter when it rains. The second is that the bus shelter does not have a roof, again leaving the learners vulnerable to the weather. She has approached the local councilor about this issue and has been told that it can create a safety problem with people sleeping in the shelter or using the shelter for drugs. She is not satisfied with the answer and is determined to get a proper shelter for the bus stop.

The third issue is unique to the farm. This farm is Fairtrade certified and has a homework centre. Her grandchild, however, has been excluded from doing her homework in the centre because Activist 3 and her husband no longer work for the farm. She acknowledges the importance of Fairtrade, but says that the benefits are exclusive and are steadily decreasing. For example, Fairtrade helps pay for the school fees and uniforms, but beneficiaries no longer receive stationery. Activist 3 is suspicious of the decreasing benefits and questions if all the funds that are received from Fairtrade actually reach the farm workers. She says the farm is not compliant with the Fairtrade conditions and she wants to lay a formal complaint.

Her challenge to write this complaint is her low level of literacy. It also makes it difficult for her to help her grandchild with her homework. When she does not understand her grandchild's question, she turns to the neighbour for advice and implements her advice word-for-word. Her level of literacy also

reduces her effectiveness in the Health Programme, which requires activists to provide written feedback. These forms intimidate her and she prefers to communicate orally instead.

These challenges, however, will not prevent her from doing the work, as there is still much to be done:

> *"Die boere is nog rassisties … As jy 'n kombuismeid is, jy het jou eie bord, jy het jou eie lepel; dit staan hier by die zink, nog altyd. Nog altyd, en as jy 'n plaaswerker is, jy is maar net 'n hotnot en klaar. Nog altyd"*

> *["The boers are still racist. If you are a kitchen maid, you have a separate plate, your own spoon and it is placed at the sink. This still happens. Today still, if you are a farm labourer, you are just a hottentot, and that's that."]*

5.3.4 Educational Journey of Activist 4

I am at FFO offices where large groups of female farm activists are gathered. We are all here to commemorate Women's Day with a protest march to a Municipality and the Department of Rural Department. Here a memorandum, that highlights the impact of insecure land tenure and violence against women on farms, is to be handed over.

To emphasise the issue, women apply make-up to their faces to look bruised, battered and bloody. Taxis full of women stream in to drop them off at the offices; women greet and hug one another warmly and catch up at the coffee station. Another group carefully scrutinises the message of each poster and debates which messages they will be marching with.

In this sea of activity, Activist 4 manages to stand out. She is a short woman in her late 30s. She has a beautiful combination of brown skin, golden brown eyes and blonde hair. Her face is not painted. Instead she is wearing blue

farm workers' overalls and a pair of safety boots. In this uniform she looks most comfortable – as if it is a second skin.

When we reach the municipality, she separates herself from the crowd and walks up the steps with the memorandum in her hand. She reads the memorandum with so much anger in her voice, that I am shocked. As the government official signs the memorandum, she gets the crowd to chant, *"Sign! Sign! Sign!"* She also emphasises that they have two weeks to respond and the crowd start up again, *"Twee weke! Twee weke! Twee weke!" ["Two weeks!"]*

Activist 4 is a member of the Land and Housing Programme. Through this education programme she is knowledgeable on the ESTA law – what conditions must be met for an eviction to be legal and what procedures can be considered illegal. She uses the law to protect the interests of the farm worker and credits FFO for helping her know her rights as a farm worker.

After her training at FFO, her entire perspective has shifted. She realised that most of the evictions in Research Site 4 had been illegal, as they had been carried out without a court order and had been verbal instructions from the boer. Alternatively there were constructive evictions. In some cases, the farm workers left the farm voluntarily because they could no longer endure the victimisation from the boer. She realised that Research Site 4 faced a crisis and that the scale of the evictions from nearby farms have already created a sprawling informal settlement where former farm residents now live with very basic social services in houses, known as "hokkies" made of corrugated iron.

Armed with her knowledge and new perspective, she too up many eviction cases, where she acted as a mediator, negotiator and a facilitator. Her training at FFO has taught her to communicate calmly and negotiate with the boer. Her years of experience have educated her to listen carefully to what is being said. She therefore starts by trying to get to the root of the problem and to resolve it through communication. If all else fails, she swallows her pride and pleads:

“Jy (moet) maar op jou knieë gaan om ‘n boer te smeek om iets te doen; moet jy maar basies jou trots in jou sak steek en dit gaan doen.

[“Even if you have to go on your knees to beg the boer for leniency; you have to put your pride in your pocket and do it.”]

This work requires strong diplomatic skills, as she works with the municipality, sheriff of the court, the police, Department of Rural Development, the boer and the farm worker family. She is also the team leader of a group of women, who regularly come to her for strategic guidance and advice on evictions. Her home is an advice centre where members of the community know they can get information. Alternatively she goes to people where they are. She works independently, within a team and knows that she can call on FFO for backup.

In one case she managed to return a family to their farm home, as the eviction was illegal. In another, she was able to delay the eviction procedure. Had she not consulted with the farmer, the women and their children would have been evicted in the heart of winter. Her casework has also included finding land for people recently evicted or insisting that the boer provide the evictees with building materials so that they can build their new homes.

A lack of funds for airtime and petrol constrain their work. During the day she is able to contact the FFO office to help with an eviction crisis but if an eviction occurs during the evening, she needs airtime. Activist 4 relies on the police to help her with transport. When they are not able to assist her, she uses her own car, provided that there is enough petrol. This is not always the case and this frustrates her.

Her journey to activism began at the lowest point in her life. She and her five-member family had just been evicted from their farm home. Having no alternative accommodation, their only option was to move into the changing rooms of a sports club. Her family (and another family evicted from the same

farm on the same day) moved to live in the changing rooms with broken, and dirty toilets:

> *"Ons moet nou maar op die sportveld op die toilets gaan bly. Ek het skoonmaak goed gevra daar by munisipaliteit se mense, daai toilets skoongemaak, … Ek het maar die swart sakke oor die toilet pot, die stukkende toilet potte en dat ons maar net daarin kan woon.*

> *["We had to go and live in the toilets on the sports fields. I asked people from the municipality for detergents to clean the toilets. I covered the toilet pots with black bags, the broken toilet pots, so that we could live there."]*

This was the year she met FFO. It had heard about the eviction through the media and had come to support the two families. Activist 4, however, was deeply suspicious of their intent and she was certainly not about to trust these strangers. As the staff of FFO chatted with her mother, she left the meeting, disinterested.

Given the trauma of the eviction, it is easy to understand Activist's 4's position. But this was not the first time Activist 4 had lost her farm home.

When Activist 4 was still a young child, her grandfather was imprisoned and because of this, her entire family – her mother, grandmother and four younger siblings lost their farm home. The family had to split up and Activist 4 was put in foster care. She moved to a rural town away from their mother and siblings. Her mother thought that this would provide Activist 4 with a better life, but in her foster home she felt alienated and excluded. She likens the experience to being a servant – she did all the house chores and was never entitled to free time. Her mother could not support her financially, so she took on part-time work as a cashier at a grocer store. She used this income to buy necessities and sent money back home to her mother on the farm.

She was incredibly lonely and had no one to talk to about the pain she felt. She carried this resentment inside of her and this affected all elements of her life, including her schooling. The other children at school teased her and called her a "*plaas hotnot" [farm hottentot].* She was disruptive at school and in Grade 9 she decided to drop out and return to her mother on the farm. She had enjoyed the freedom that her wages at the grocery store had given her, and upon her return, she began her farm-working career.

Shortly afterwards she met the father of her first two children. He was a permanent worker and therefore qualified for a farmhouse. They moved in together and began their married life – he as a permanent worker, and she as a seasonal worker on the same farm. Despite her casual status, she was an important part of the farm management. She worked in a human resource capacity and the boer trusted her to run the farm in his absence.

On the surface, things looked good, but her husband was abusive. He would cheat on her, disappear for days and when he returned, he would physically abuse her. She, in turn, would leave for her mother's house and return when things died down. This cyclical violence continued until the day her son was involved in a near-fatal car accident. After visiting him in the hospital, she told herself:

> *"Ek kan nie nou meer nie"*
>
> *["I cannot do this any longer"]*

She packed up her belongings and left with her daughter, after 12 years on that farm.

She took refuge in her mother's home – the same farm that she had visited when she was a young girl in foster care. She came to the boer asking for employment, but he refused and instead suggested that she marry a man from the farm, entitling her to live on the farm. With the abusive relationship still fresh in her mind, she thought:

"Nou wat help dit ek vat 'n man wat ek nie ken nie, ook nie voor lief is nie. Jy kan mos die so 'n man vat nie."

[What sense is there in taking/getting into a relationship with a man I do not know, also do not love."]

She eventually received work as a season worker on other farms. During that time she had to juggle her work responsibilities with her son's care, as he was recovering in hospital from the accident. She believed that her farm dweller status and her mother's HIV positive status were the reasons that they were evicted from the farm, forcing them to live in the toilets.

So when FFO came, the family's monthly income was R360, which came from two child support grants. With this she had to feed her family, look after her sick mother and injured son. At this point in her life she describes herself as shy, withdrawn, deeply suspicious and fearful. The staff of FFO had to put in a lot of work, but eventually she began participating in the Land and Housing Programme.

Communicating through women-only groups, Activist 4 learnt to trust again. In the Land and Housing Programme, there was a space where women, who had experienced an eviction, could share their experiences with one another. At first she just listened, but her love of sharing was greater than her fear of public speaking and she began to share her story within that space. Immediately afterwards she felt relief. She realised that she had carried the weight of the eviction inside of her and that it had resulted in resentment. Her participation in the women's space slowly built her confidence until she was ready to invite a friend with her to the workshop. She, her mother and the friend would come back after each workshop and eagerly discuss what they had learnt.

Her life has settled down since the eviction. They received a plot of land and on it a "hokkie" that the municipality built. Her mother passed away in 2010.

Since then she has made this house her home, where she lives with her new husband, sister, three children and two babies. She works as a cleaner at the holiday resort and has a demanding work schedule. This makes full-time activism impossible, but she still acts in an advisory capacity, providing guidance and strategic advice to the other members of FFO. Apart from time, petrol and airtime to conduct the casework are her biggest constraints. She desires to be computer literate so that she can apply for employment within government structures. She has noticed that when it comes to the evictions on farms, there are many vacant positions in government and with her training and experience, she is confident that she can fill a postion successfully. The computer literacy and administrative skills will complete her Curriculum Vitae (CV).

Another challenge she faces is to sustain her eight-person household on her single salary of R 2 500 (on average), three child support grants and one disability grant. She manages, however, to pay the R4 200 per annum school and transport fees for her son's special needs education. To her relief, her other two children are attending a fee-free school that is within walking distance from their home and she is content with their education. It is only her daughter's situation that concerns her.

When they were evicted from the farm, her daughter had to endure bullying and teasing. This teasing made her vulnerable to peer pressure and she became disruptive and started bunking school. The situation was aggravated becuase the only high school in Research Site 4 was unaffordable to her. Her daughter was therefore commuting to high school via a school bus. Because of her work commitment and her daughter's use of the school bus, Activist 4 could not properly supervise her daughter's education. She dropped out of school in Grade 9 and began using "tik".

> *"Waar my kinders die swaarste gekry het, dit is daai knou by die uitsetting. Dit is daai seer het die kinders ook gekry want die kinders van ons en daai meisie hier langsaan se kinders, se sustertjies, hulle was geguy op skool. Elke dag het hulle teruggekom dan was hulle, dan sê hulle maar die kinders het vir hulle so geguy en so gesê; julle*

bly in toilets; julle bly nie in 'n huis nie, sulke goed. Nou dit is die goeters wat die kinders afkraak. Nou ons as ouers weet nie die seer wat daai kind mee loop nie. Nou doen die kind die goeters om, om by vrinne in te wil kom. Dit is waaroor die hele ding gaan."

["What hurt my children most was the eviction. It is hurt that they, our children and the girl next door's children, suffered. They were teased (belittled) at school. Every day when they returned (from school), they reported that they were taunted by the other children who said, 'You live in toilets; you don't live in a real house.' Those were remarks that destroyed them. We, as parents, had no idea of the hurt the child had to endure."]

Her daughter lives with her boyfriend in a known drug den. When she returns to her mother's home, she brings with her an uneasy tension.

5.3.5 Educational Journey of Activist 5

Activist 5 is in her early 60s, light brown of complexion with brown eyes. She wears her shoulder length hair in a long bob that she straightens and keeps fresh with the most interesting hair colour. She is a tall woman with a large frame. She is overweight and is burdened by the extra weight she carries. She dresses comfortably and most times you will see her in one of her FFO T-shirts.

She is a mother of 4 children and shares her 2-bedroom home in Research Site 5 with her partner, two children, her son-in-law and four grandchildren. To make room for her family, she has extended her kitchen and built a second bedroom. In her backyard behind the kitchen is her prized food garden.

When she was a young child, living on a farm, she had a little lamb:

"Ek het groot geword op 'n plaas … en ons het baie swaar groot geword. Ons was 14 kinders, baie kinders in die huis.

Nou elke dag moet ek my pa se coffee of tee vir hom bring in sy tee break. Nou op een van die dae 'n ooi was besig om te kraam. Een van die babatjies wil nie aan die moeder drink nie en die boer sê vir my pa, "Man maak die lam dood."

Wanneer ek daai gehoor het, het ek gehuil en iets het net oor my gekom. Ek het my hele liggaam oor die lammetjie gegooi en geskree, "Nie moenie die lammetjie dood maak." Die boer sê vir my, "Ek sal vir jou ook vrek maak." Dan sê my pa vir die boer, "As jy my kind seermaak, gaan ek vir jou donner. Uitendelik sê die boer vir my pa, "Jong vat maar die lam saam met jou."

En, Kara, ek was so oor daai lammetjie van my! Ek het my jersey uigetrek en oor die lammetjie gesit. Ek en my pa het 'n pen vir die lammetjie gebou sodat dit veilig was en sodat dit nie rond loop nie. Ek het die pen mooi netjies gehou en ek het die lammetjie ook skoon gehou. Ek het elke dag van die skool huistoe gehardloop om die lammetjie met 'n bottel te voer. Ek het 'n rooi lint om sy nek en been geplaas want ek was trots op my lammetjie en ek wou nie hê dat sy velore raak tussen die boer se diere.

My een oom het 'n mannetjie skapie vir haar gebring en dit was nie lank nie voordat sy swanger was. Die eerste keer het sy net twee babatjies gehad. Maar so het dinge aangegaan en op 'n tyd het ek 12 lammers gehad.

"Een dag gee 'n blanke vrou vir my 'n vark want die ander varke wil net nie met haar wees nie. 'n Ander man gee vir my 'n bul en dit was nie lank nie en my vark was swanger en ek het 14 varkies gehad. Ek het twee terug gegee – een vir die vrou en een vir die man. Daai was ons diere daai en ek maak hulle hok skoon en ons gebruik die mis vir die tuin.

Toe eendag kom die boer en hy sien my diere en hy was woedend, sê hy, "Daar is net een boer op die plaas!" Toe eendag kom 'n trok om my

diere weg te vat. Maar ek wys vir hom en ek steek al vier die tyres stukkend. Ma hy wys vir ons en hy kom en hy vat my diere weg.

["I grew up on a farm … we had a hard life because we were 14 children.

Every day I had to take my father's tea or coffee to him during tea break. On one of those days an ewe was giving birth. One of the lambs would not suckle on the mother, and the boer told my father to kill it.

When I heard that, I cried and I was overwhelmed by emotion. I threw myself on the lamb and shouted, 'Don't kill the lamb'. The boer told me, 'I'll kill you as well'. Then my father told the boer, 'If you hurt my child, I'll bugger you up'. Eventually the boer told my father, 'Man, take the lamb with you'.

"And, Kara, I was so fond of that lamb; I took my jersey and covered the lamb. My father and I made a pen for the lamb so that it could be safe. I kept the pen tidy and the lamb clean. Every day I ran home from school to bottle-feed the lamb. I tied a red ribbon around its neck and leg; I did not want it to get lost among the boer's animals.

"My uncle brought a ram to her and before long, she was pregnant. She only had two lambs the first time but things progressed and at one stage I had 12 lambs.

"One day a white lady gave me a pig because the other pigs had rejected her. Another man gave me a boar and before long my sow was pregnant and I had 14 piglets. I gave two back – one to the woman and one to the man. Those were our animals, and I cleaned the pen and used the manure for the garden.

Then one day the boer came and he saw my animals; he was furious, and said, 'There is only one boer on this farm'. Then one day a truck came to take away my animals. But I showed him and punctured all four tyres. But he came back and took away all my livestock.]

The family protested and they went to court. The court ruled in Activist 5's favour and they received a small payout, which her father spent on alcohol. She identifies this as a turning point in her life, as she had lost not only her livestock, but also her ability to create additional wealth:

"Partykeer wonder ek wat sal gebeur het as die boer nie my diere weg van my gevat het nie. Ek dink ek sal baie ver in my lewe wees. Ek sal 'n ryk mens gewees het want ek kan lekker boer. Rerig Kara, hy het iets van my weggevat daai dag."

[Sometimes I wonder what would have happened if the boer had not taken away my animals. I could have been rich because I love farming. Really, Kara, I was robbed of something that day."]

Instead of the life of plenty that she imagined, Activist 5 grew up very poor on a fruit and diary farm. Her day began at 4am when she would light a fire for the house and get herself and her brothers and sisters ready for school. Then she would make porridge for breakfast, before they began their five-kilometer walk to the school on the farm. She would walk this distance, barefoot with her baby brother on her back. After school, she would come home to work in the orchards and later she came home to help with the chores, such as doing the laundry by hand and preparing supper.

Halfway through Grade 10 her father left her family to marry another woman. After he had left, she and her older sister dropped out of school to support the family. Her sister stayed at home to look after the children and she would join her mother in the orchards to earn additional income. This was the beginning of her career as a farm worker. She worked with her mother and performed

the general activities of the farm – growing, pruning and harvesting all types of fruit – peaches, apricots, apples and pears. Alternatively, she would work as a domestic worker in the farmer's kitchen, or in the homes of other women.

At 18 she left the farm to work as a domestic worker in Cape Town. From Cape Town she moved to an emerging town 50km outside of Cape Town, as her father had returned to her mother, and the family was now living there. Here she met and married her husband who had come to the new town to build houses. From there they moved to a town in the Cape Winelands District and had four children.

The relationship was abusive, as he had many extra-marital affairs. Even so, she stayed in the marriage for many years. When her youngest daughter was 12 years old, she could no longer tolerate the abuse and she decided to leave. This was not an easy decision, as it meant she would lose her home. She had heard, however, that the government was offering RDP homes to people in Research Site 5. She applied and, was granted a home and has lived here since 1998.

In 2010, she attended her first workshop and she knew immediately that this was the place she belonged. She came home to explain to her family that she was now an activist and a leader in FFO, and she asked for her family's support in her new venture.

After every workshop she attends, she reflects on the notes that she has made and how to implement what she has learnt:

> *"As ek so na die werkswinkels toe gaan, ek skrywe, ek sal altyd my goedjies skrywe en ek sal by die huis kom dan sal ek sien, daai het ek nie geweet nie en dit het ek nou weer sterk geraak en so kan ek nou uitgaan. Ek gaan sê vir die mense en as ek met die plaasmense gesels, dan gesels ek met hulle oor dit."*

["When I go to the workshops, I write down everything. When I get home, I assess what I did not know; and in which areas I have been empowered; and then I go forth; I use this information when I talk to the people on farms, I talk to them about what I have learnt."]

Through this reflective practice she made a break-through. She began to deconstruct her fear and hatred for the boer. She realised that it was deeply linked to this one particular episode during her childhood. She now views the relationship between farm worker and boer as a co-dependence between the two parties. The workers rely on the boer for wages, but he needs their labour to prosper. In her own words:

"Ek is nie vir die boere bang nie, hulle kan my niks maak nie. Dit kan hulle plase wees, maar as almal daai mense van daai plase afgaan, dan sit hy sonder hande, sy vrugte raak vrot aan die bome en hy gaan moet hande nodig kry. En op die ou einde van die dag dan sit hy met 'n groot verloor, wat die boere nie wil hê nie."

["I am not scared of the boers any more; there is nothing they can do to me. It may be their farms, but if people leave these farms, then they have no hands (labour). The fruit will rot on the trees and they will need hands. At the end of the day, they would suffer a great loss, which is not what the boers want."]

She comes to every workshop at FFO and is knowledgeable on the labour rights of farm workers, including seasonal farm workers, the ESTA law and evictions, health, sexual and reproductive rights of women, and she grows her own fruit and vegetable using agro-ecology. She participates in every event they organise and always comes back to her community and farms to share what she has learnt. Her home is an epicenter for FFO activities. From here the youth meet, FFO drops off information; or makes pick-ups. Community members also come to update themselves on the activities of FFO.

With her wealth of knowledge, farm workers contact her to negotiate on their behalf. Activist 5 is an active caseworker, lobbyist and advocate for farm workers in Research Site 5. The negotiation process always starts with her putting on her FFO t-shirt. She has dealt with six eviction cases – four of which were successful and two are still pending. She is most proud of the case where she prevented the eviction of an old woman who had lived on the farm for 27 years. In this case she was unable to be physically present, but asked the policeman, who has dealing with the case, to take notes and to repeat it to the boer. As the boer listened to the policeman, he asked, "Who said that this was so?" To which the policeman replied:

> *"Die vrou wat vir FFO werk het gesê ek moet vir jou die boodskap kom gee want daar is nie uitsettings nie. Die man het sewe en twintig jaar gewerk op die plaas en dit is die vrou se huis en hy is dood op jou plaas van 'n werksbesering en toe het hy verstaan en daar sit sy nou nog in haar huis."*

> *["The woman who works for FFO told me to give you the message because there is no eviction. The husband worked on the farm for twenty-seven years and it is the wife's house because he died of work-related injuries on your farm. The boer understood and there she is, still living on the farm."]*

On the labour front she has helped workers to obtain their severance package, occupational payouts, prevented retrenchments and is an advocate for unionisation. She makes visits to farms and uses the pamphlets provided by FFO to inform the workers of their rights, which include the minimum wage.

She also reaches out to the youth of Research Site 5. She is concerned that there are not enough extracurricular activities and this drives them to alcohol and drugs. The use of drugs and alcohol makes the young women susceptible to teenage pregnancy and school dropouts. Her house is a space where the youth can talk openly to her about their relationships and any

challenges that they face. She has identified transport as a problem for those students attending college outside Research Site 5. There are opportunities to further one's education, but the transport to get to the colleges is a problem.

Activist 5 is deeply committed to the work that she does and is motivated to making a difference in people's lives. This is what keeps her going when the feelings of loneliness and isolation surface.

> *"Niemand ondersteun vir my nie … Soos ek nou na 'n boer toe moet gaan, niemand gaan saam met my nie; ek staan alleen, Kara. Ek het nog al die pad alleen gestaan."*

> *["Nobody gives me support. If I have to go to a boer, nobody goes with me; I am alone, Kara. I always have been."]*

Transport and other resource shortages are her biggest constraints to her activism. Farms are a great distance from each other and transport is required for her to handle the cases. Many farm workers are still not aware of their rights, especially on farms that are deep inland. These are the farms that she longs to go to and when she can, she uses her income to make calls, or to secure petrol.

Her children are now adults and three of the four have matriculated. Her grandchildren attend the primary school that is within walking distance. It is fee-free and she is happy with the quality of their education. She is directly responsible for the education of one of her grandchildren because his parents abuse "tik." The expenditure is not a problem for her, as she redirects the R300 that she would have paid for school fees to his uniforms, school trips, raffles and stationery.

She is also a ward committee member and runs a business from her home. She is a labour broker facilitating labour contracts between workers and the boers. She also sells salted fish and is about to venture into fresh fish. She

wants to set an example to her children and grandchildren to show them that there is more to life than working on a farm for a boer.

Her big audacious goal, however, is to begin a women's-only herb cooperative on vacant land that is just outside Research Site 5. It is common knowledge that the owner is in another province and not coming back. It is her intent to occupy the land and begin growing herbs. She already has the market for her product; she just needs the product and for that she needs land. I asked her

> *"Aunty, jy is bereid om die grond te vat?"*
>
> *["Aunty, are you prepared to take the land?"]*

And she responded:

> *"Ja, Kara. Die Here het die aarde gemaak vir almal; nie net een boer nie. Hoekom moet ons plaaswerkers altyd tevrede wees met die minste? Hoekom moet ons tevrede wees wat die boer vir ons gee? Ons vra mooi, ons smeek, ons huil, maar hulle luister nie. Ons het genoeg gehad.* ***Genoeg is genoeg****! Ons ken nou ons regte en ons staan vir hulle. Ek is nou gereed om radikale aksie te vat!"*
>
> *["Yes, Kara. God created the earth for everybody; not for one boer alone. Why must we be satisfied with what the boer gives us. We ask nicely, we beg, we cry out, but they do not listen. We have had enough;* ***Enough is enough****. We know our rights, and we stand by them. I am ready to take radical action."]*

5.3.6 Educational Journey of Activist 6

Activist 6 and I are making our way to a farm where workers were facing an eviction. We ignore the sign that says: PRIVATE PROPERTY. DO NOT ENTER, and turn onto the poor quality gravel road.

When we enter the farm, a huge rubbish dump greets us. Plastic, paper, food and metal are everywhere and the flies swarm around the rubbish. Past the rubbish dump and on the left are five grey concrete toilets. Next to the toilets is the communal washing line where clothes are drying. There is one tap at the bottom of the farm that provides water to the 25 households (or 123 people) who live on the farm. At the bottom end of the farm there is also a piece of vacant land called the “landjie”. On it, the children play, and community meetings are held. All these are signs of the eviction process in progress.

This farm was once a thriving transport farm. The men of the farm were employed as drivers and transported hay across the country. The women were seasonal farm workers who harvested guavas and tended a small vineyard. The workers had very good relations with the farmer. They all refer to his as a: *“goeie boer“ [“kind/benevolent boer.”]*

He supported them financially, assisted with school transport and took the workers on recreational or pleasure trips. The land was open – the workers were entitled to the fruit, the children could play on the land and swim in the river at the bottom of the farm.

In 2009 the farm went bankrupt and was sold to another farmer from a province up North. When the new farmer first came, he held a meeting with the farm workers and assured them that they would remain in the employ of the new farm and he committed to upgrade their homes. Shortly after this meeting, the farm residents were all issued with notice of eviction papers. The farm workers refused to leave and instead contacted a legal aid lawyer to fight their case in court. The boer responded with a constructive eviction and illegal activities. He switched off the water supply, cut the electricity and did not maintain the road onto the farm, making mobility difficult. As a result the garbage collection by the municipal services stopped, creating the mound of rubbish in front of the farm. When the workers attempted to burn the waste, the farmer called the fire brigade and they were prevented from dealing independently with the waste. In the transition between farm owners, the learners had lost their transport to school and now had to walk 1.5 km along

the gravel road to the main road, and from there to their schools. The farmer also fenced in the farmland, preventing access to the fruit and prohibited the children from swimming in the river.

We park the car next to the washing line and make our way to the “landjie” to have a meeting with the youth on the farm. We are here to discuss the youth programme; specifically to let them know that they are the actors for a drama that is part of this year’s 16-days Against Violence Against Women and Children Campaign. This event is the highlight of FFO’s calendar and the selected youth will be performing in front of the entire organisation. Activist 6 is encouraging them to work hard, as she wants the drama to be good. While she takes them through the programme’s schedule, I take a moment to look at her.

Activist 6 is a young woman in her early 20s. She is short with dark brown skin and eyes. Her brown hair is shoulder length and she wears it straight. Most days she wears her trademark all black attire, with make-up simply and stylishly applied. She talks fast and expects you to keep up. Her Afrikaans is colloquial and I notice a rhotacism as she rolls her Rs in speaking.

The youth group is a tough crowd to read. They appear to be withdrawn and distand. Despite the distance between her and the youth, she connects with them, as they laugh or smile at her jokes. This is no easy feat, but then again, Activist 6 is no ordinary person.

Since her first year of high school to the end of her tertiary education, she has been involved in a parallel process between formal and non-formal education. With her note-pad in one hand and a cup of black, strong coffee in the other, she leads the work on the Young Women’s Programme. Her eight years of farm-level activism – as a pariticipant and now as a programme manager - has enabled her to develop a theory on building and creating activism. With farm youth, she believes there are four phases of activism.

PHASE 1: Building Trust and Awareness

In the first phase you earn the youth's trust and create a space where they can comfortably share their stories and problems within the programme. She does this by making regular visits to the farms to touch base, to invite them to the various workshops and training opportunities. Once in the workshops, the youth are encouraged to communicate with one another to build relationships and friendships. This promotes a feeling that they are part of something bigger and also builds a farm youth collective.

These spaces also have overt educational objectives. The workshops aim to equip the youth with knowledge of their rights, so that they know when their rights are being violated. Through the use of various codes, Activist 6 facilitates discussion on understanding the systemic causes of injustices and the development of appropriate and effective actions.

PHASE 2: Seeking the support of organisations and others

In the second phase the youth are aware that something is wrong and that something needs to be done. In this phase it is sufficient that they act on their awareness and contact a support structure, such as FFO, to help solve the issue. She calls this: *"vra vir Activist 6" ["Ask Activist 6"]* phase.

PHASE 3: Independent activism

In phase 3, the youth no longer refer to her, or to FFO, but can instead independently respond to injustices that they experience. In this phase they become:

> "*Hulle eie Mandelas … of hulle eie heroes in hulle eie gemeenskap."*
>
> *["Their own Mandelas… or their own heroes in their own community."]*

PHASE 4: Developing role models and facilitators of activism

In the final phase the youth become role models and facilitators of activism within their community. They are not only able to independently respond, but are now able to train other youth to become activists. And with that, the cycle is repeated.

To test Activist's 6's theory, the research reflects upon her own educational journey and her pathway into activism.

In the first phase of her activism, Activist 6 was a young girl growing up on technical training college farm on the outskirts of a large rural town in the Western Cape. She was raised by her mother and never knew her father. They lived in a two-bedroom farmhouse, where she lived with 10 family members – six in the house and four in a mobile home in the backyard. In Grade 7 her school bus stopped suddenly, without explanation, during an examination period. The other two students dropped out, but she decided to walk the 5km distance to school; alone.

During her first year of high school, her mother passed on and her aunt continued to raise her. Two months after her mother's death she met up with FFO. It was a difficult time in her life and by that age she was already drinking heavily. This was a moment in her life when she needed a group of people to talk to, and she found FFO.

> *"Ek het gegaan op hulle workshop; en daai was die eerste keer wat ek deel was van - 'n groep wat 'n mens leer en wat jy kan kom. Daardie is 'n groep waar jy regtig aan behoort en mense wat omgee vir jou."*

> *[I attended their workshop; and that was the first time I was part of a group that trained you and that you could really belong to and that cared for you.]*

In the workshop her training centred on the rights of women and she was educated on substance abuse, gender-based violence and HIV/Aids. She was also taught life skills, such as workshop facilitation. Within her feminist training she learnt of women's reproductive rights and that a woman had the right of control over her body. On farms this message remains new as women are raised to be subservient to men, a message that is endorsed by religion, culture and the way of life on farms. Her feminist training taught her to critically engage with these perceptions.

She also enjoyed the centering space in the workshops. During this time the facilitator used techniques that invited the participants to reflect and meditate and view themselves as a centre of power. It was in one of these sessions that she made a breakthrough:

> *"En later as jy iets skryf en jy besef, maar jy word sielkundig gehelp as ook jy kry informasie. Ek dink daai is die mees belangrikste want baie keer blameer jy jouself. Jy wil nie meer in daai huis, jy wil nie meer in daai plaas woon nie, maar jy maak nie vrede met jou verlede nie. Jy maak nie vrede met wie jy is, wat jou situasie nou is en hoe gaan jy, hoe jy daar gaan oorkom nie?"*

> *["And later when you write, you realise that you are being helped psychologically, and you also gain information. I think that is the most important because you often blame yourself; you don't want to stay in that house; you don't want to stay on that farm any longer, but you do not come to terms with your past; you do not come to terms with who you are, what your situation is now, and how you are going to overcome it?"]*

In her first phase of her activism, the education of FFO created a moment of awakening in her life. She realised that she was in control of her body and therefore her life. The centering code helped her to share her stories with the group and she found a place where she felt she belonged.

In the second phase of her activism, she came to rely on the support of two groups of people. The first was the coordinator of the youth programme and the second was a schoolteacher and her husband.

The youth facilitator provided her with guidance and kept her on the right track. She also made regular visits to her farm and invited her to workshops on these farm visits. Soon she began helping with the facilitation of the youth workshops.

To her ex-schoolteacher she is most grateful, as she offered her a lift from school to the farm, when she stayed behind to do extra-curricular activities. To attend high school, the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) provided transport and all learners were bussed to and from school in town. The bus, however, departed immediately after the regular school day, leaving her to make alternative transport arrangements, if she wanted to participate in extra-curricular activities. Her challenge was to access school opportunities outside of the formal school day. Her ex-teacher supported her with the much-needed transport and she used the time to make use of the library, to attend after-school computer classes, improving her computer literacy and applying for bursaries.

Besides transport, as a farm child she faced other challenges during her school career. Despite the fact that she excelled in school, there were children who looked down on her because she came from a farm. She also notes that the literacy levels of farm workers negatively affect the education of their children. Firstly, they are not knowledgeable of their rights and therefore cannot pass this information to their children. Secondly, they are unable to help with homework and lastly, their level of education means that their wages are low. This affects their ability to pay for schooling, especially at a tertiary level.

Activist 6 solved the problem of finances by taking up part-time employment. In primary school, she worked at a farm packing strawberries, and in high school, as a waitron on a wine farm. She also received an internship and a

bursary. She now holds a tertiary qualification in agricultural business and management.

In the third phase of activism, she is now the Programme Cordinator of the YWP and she uses the skills that she has acquired to implement the new programme. She is fond of using the But-Why code to get to the root cause of a problem. The use of this code helps her to break the isolation that people feel when they experience problems in their lives.

She also relies heavily on drama for educating the youth. Activist 6 is the producer and stage manager of most dramas performed at FFO. For her, drama just makes sense. It is entertaining and people can relate to it, as they are familiar with TV and movies. The actors can draw from their personal experiences – what they have seen and heard – and use this to portray a character. In performing the drama the characters also learn about themselves and about their reality. It can therefore also be used to broach difficult topics and makes space for the hard conversations. Lastly, it is an art form that can travel – the team can perform in many locations, or the script can be sent to another team. If recorded, it can also be used by other organisations.

She used drama to work with the youth that were facing eviction on a particular farm and was very happy with the results. At first the circumstances of their home life impacted negatively upon them and they did not want to mix with the other youth. But because of the time she put in, they came out of their shells and grew bolder. She was very happy with their transformation as they began to contribute and participate in the workshops. At the end of the year they delivered the drama to a crowd of women and received a standing ovation from the FFO members.

Working with this youth was an example of the force of activism. This is therefore Phase 4 of activism. Through her actions she has developed into a role model and facilitator of activism for the next generation, or cycle.

The challenges that she faces in the youth programme are very similar to those that she has had to overcome. During sessions, the youth identified transport to and from schools as their biggest issue. FFO embarked upon a Transport Campaign, which began with an independent survey research amongst farm learners across the Western Cape. It ended in a protest march to the Western Cape Education Department and a full-day youth progamme. What Activist 6 thought was a simple transport issue, revealed itself to be so much more:

> *"Die education campaign was 'n baie … dit was 'n eye-opener omdat ons het gedink dit is net 'n issue van vervoer en hulle uitdagings, maar dit is breer; daar was meer … Ons het opgetel dat daar is meer probleme as wat ons gedink het … So dit is nie net 'n educational probleem nie. Dit is meer 'n veiligheids probleem vir die polisie, die munisipaliteit; dit is 'n structure probleem want daar is nie bus hokkies nie; daar is nie ligte by die bus hokkies nie."*

> *["The education campaign was a real eye-opener because we had thought it was only an issue of transport and related challenges, but it was broader. There were more problems than we had thought. It was not only an educational problem, it was about security, a problem for the police, the municipality; it was a structural problem because there were no bus shelters and the bus stops were not lit up."]*

Leading this campaign has taught Activist 6 many things. Firstly, the success of a campaign is not determined by the size of the protest march, but instead by the follow-up work. For this campaign, follow-up strategies based on research, were developed. FFO staff also studied organograms and job descriptions to determine the responsibilities of officials in the relevant government departments.

They met with members of WCED, police and municipality and she was disappointed in all three arms of government responses. FFO had to remind

the WCED of their policies. They stated that they did not have the budget to implement the mandatory transport plan and could not guarantee the necessary buses. The police tried to point the finger at the Education Department and the municipality attempted to outsource the budgeting process to FFO.

The way in which government works frustrates her:

> *"Hulle wys nou heeltyd vinger na die een departement toe, maar hulle dink nooit om te integreer en te sê maar kom ons werk saam want ons veg dieselfde crime."*

> *["All the time they point fingers at the one department, but they never think of integrating and working together to fight a common enemy."]*

She has come to realise that the only thing that holds government to account is bad press. The transport campaign received media coverage from SABC and ETV. There were also follow-up media strategies as the media agencies wanted feedback on the stories and to develop in-depth documentary pieces.

Despite these responses by government, she defines the Transport Campaign a success. She bases this on the actions of the youth on a peach farm in the Cape Winelands District.

Through the campaign the youth of this farm were knowledgeable of the government's school transport policy. When their own school bus was cancelled without explanation, they knew it was wrong. They called Activist 6 to say:

> *"Ons try vir jou in die hande te kry, die bus van die kinders is nie meer daar nie."*

["We tried to get hold of you. The children's bus is no longer operational."]

She immediately called the principal of the school and asked:

"Maar hoekom is die bus afgevat, hulle het al die tye 'n bus gehad … Waar is die bus?"

["Why did they take away the bus? They had a bus all the time … Where is the bus?"]

The principal in turn said:

"(Ek)gaan met hulle praat en uitsort wat is verkeerd."

["I shall talk to them and sort out what is wrong."]

The next time she called, the bus was reinstated.

Through her actions Activist 6 was able to break the cycle. When she lost her bus in Grade 7, she made the decision to walk. When the youth on the peach farm had their bus service cancelled, there were recourse mechanisms. This time there were no difficult choices. Activist 6 had already walked "the long road" for them.

The next section presents the thematic analysis of these educational journeys.

5.4 Discussion on the Themes of the Study

The educational journeys convey the difficult realities of women on farms. Within these women's lives there were many moments of disjuncture – the moments when the floor underneath your feet shifts, leaving you to rapidly respond – to sink or swim (Jarvis, 2004).

In these times the women had to quickly make new plans for themselves and their families. These moments not only happen across stories, but with great frequency in each story. Take Activist 4, for example: Her journey begins with a childhood eviction, later she became a foster child in a family where she was abused, and her formal schooling is characterised by being taunted at school. After dropping out of school and returning to her mother, she finds herself in an abusive marriage, which she endures until her son is brain damaged from a near-fatal accident. As if this pattern of trauma is not enough, she is evicted from the only stable home that she has known, to live alongside dirty toilets. While there, she nurses her sick mother who is HIV positive on less than R400 per month. She responded to the situation with great strength and made quick sense of her new world, as she had a family to feed.

All the same, however, these experiences result in residual trauma, leaving the women broken, with very few resources that they can use for their healing. A recurring theme in the women's stories is one of abuse. Women experience abuse in the home from their husbands and/or their children; in the workplace from the farmer, as well as their male colleagues, and from officials of institutions of the state, such as municipalities, clinics, social welfare institutions, hospitals, social development offices and the police. This stress manifests itself as chronic physical illnesses such as obesity, diabetes and high blood pressure. Alternatively, the stress is experienced psychologically.

Landlessnesss and insecure tenure also emerge as a common theme. There is constant mobility of the activists in the story - whether it is moving from one farm to the next, or moving to stay with their mothers in times of abuse. The women struggle to find anchor and, in turn, suffer great instability. This vulnerability is further entrenched, as their husbands are the preferred workers, who are therefore entitled to housing contracts. Their insecure tenure results in violence, which many of the women endure for the sake of their families and accommodation.

Violence, poverty, hunger, food insecurity, labour exploitation, health constraints, unemployment, poor housing conditions, substance abuse, racism, insecure land tenure and farm evictions emerge as an overall pattern. These are the generative themes (Freire, 2005) that have emerged from the study. On farms hunger is destabilising and debilitating and it is the primary issue that the families face. In this context, food has a high currency and is an enormous source of power. The inability of the family to provide their basic food needs reduces the authority of the family unit and dilutes the power of the family to lead and direct their children.

5.4.1 Experiences in and with formal education

The sub-themes emerging from the broader formal education theme are *discrimination*, *drop out* and *transportation*. In five cases, formal schooling was limited, interrupted and discriminatory. These experiences are also strongly linked to the farm's geopolitical status. Evictions and the resulting destabalisation interrupted farm schooling; poverty and hunger drove the women out of school, in order to financially support their struggling households.

Schools too were not empowering sites for the women in their childhood. The women experienced discrimination and taunting due to their farm status. This legacy of discrimination continues, as their children have also become victims of teasing and bullying. As Activist 6 puts it:

> *Baie keer is die mense se perspeksie van die plaas - jy is dom, jy weet nie waarvan jy praat nie, jy werk vir 'n boer, jy maak staat op iemand ander se mag om te lewe … So hulle het 'n ander insig want jy is arm, jy het nie geld nie, jou ma pay min."*

> *["Very often people's perspective of the farm (worker) is that you are stupid; you do not know what you're talking about; you work for the*

boer; you are dependent on someone else for your livelihood. Your poverty and your parents' occupation as farmworkers are a drawback."]

In the schools there was also no space to process and deal with negative emotions. The trauma of a brother's sexual abuse, manifested in violent behaviour in Activist 3, and she almost killed a fellow male learner. Instead of probing what had caused the change in her behaviour, she was expelled and sent to work in the boer's kitchen.

All the women regret not completing school and the lack of formal education is accompanied with feelings of insecurity and disappointment. It reduces their confidence as well as their capacity to implement activism. Take Activist 3 as an example: As part of her casework duties, she must provide written feedback on the details of the case. She is not able to do this and it makes her apprehensive about her ability to work in this programme. For this activist, her illiteracy also reminds her of the incest she had experienced, at the hands of her brother, which created a chain of events that led to her being expelled from school before she had acquired literacy skills. She also struggles when she needs to help her grandchild with homework.

Farm education's unique objective of creating a readily available pool of labour for farm work (Atkinson, 2007; HRW, 2004) only made the matter worse. In most cases formal education made the women dependent on the farm for their livelihood and security. The insistence that parents now pay rent for children, who are older than 18 but not working for the farm, indicates that formal education, especially further education is frowned upon and is grudgingly tolerated by the boers. Educational attainment loosens the boers' hold on their workers and is therefore seen as a threat.

This then creates an interesting paradox. Whereas education is meant to develop the full capabilities of human beings (Sen, 1999), it is seen as a threat by the boer and it therefore needs to be stifled; it seeks to reinforce the negative prescription that the oppressor has of the oppressed (Freire, 2005). The study found that besides providing the women with basic literacy skills,

formal education was inadequate and repressive, and contributed very little to building activism amongst these women.

The only exception to this was Activist 6. At high school she learnt computer literacy skills and was able to use these skills to apply for internships and bursaries. She has a tertiary qualification in agricultural management and this, no doubt, builds her skills-set to further herself, her personal activism, and the activism of other youth. But formal education was not the only factor that supported her growth. It was also her great internal strength, the contribution of FFO and the care of her high school teacher. She also never had the luxury of just being a student. She worked part-time from Grade 7 to the end of her tertiary qualification to support her studies and her household.

Their experiences with education, however, do not prevent the women from having hope that education will improve the quality of lives of their children. Referring to a young girl that has recently dropped out of school in her neighbourhood, Activist 2 says:

> *"Hulle gaan mos nie 'n goeie werk kry met 'n graad van sewe nie … Moet daai kind ook op 'n druiwe lorry môre gaan klim en vir daai bietjie geld gaan werk?"*
>
> *["There is no way that they will get a good job with a Grade 7 qualification … Must that child also get onto a grape lorry tomorrow and go and pick grapes for that little money?"]*

Each woman plays an active role in their children's education and intend to take advantage of the education opportunities available to them post-apartheid. The next generation of farm youth has higher levels of educational attainment and literacy than their mothers and grandmothers. For the member-checking process, for example, it was the grandchildren who read the transcripts back to their grandmothers to determine accuracy and validity.

The education of the youth, however, is beset with problems. Some of these are educational difficulties experienced by many South African learners; others are unique to the farm. One challenge is finance and the low minimum wages of farm workers:

> *"Die ander ding is omdat ons ouers werk op die plaas en mees van ons ouers, of die kinders se ouers, die minimum loon so min is, so hulle finansies en hulle finansiele ondersteuning vir die kinders is ook 'n struikelblok vir hulle self."*
>
> *["The other thing is because most parents earn the minimum wage, and their financial support is so little, this is an obstacle for the children and themselves."]*

In this tight economic arrangement, the abolition of school fees is greatly appreciated. As Activist 5 says:

> *"Government is mos nou so genadig dat die skoolfooie nou weg geval het."*
>
> *["Government is now so benevolent/merciful that the school fees have been scrapped."]*

Transport has been identified as the major constraint; the lack thereof strangles all aspirations. The major issue that surfaces is commuting to–and-from school. Through independent research conducted by FFO and the women's narrative, transport has been identified as the biggest challenge to formal schooling. Using both sets of data, the research found that transport for farm learners was either: unavailable, unsafe, overcrowded, unaffordable, unreliable or inaccessible. Transport prevented learners from accessing educational opportunities, resulting in lower enrolment, irregular attendance, loss of school hours, lower motivation and eventually, dropouts. When

transport is not available, learners have no other option but to walk to school, leaving them vulnerable to safety, crime and also sexual harassment. Closely associated with transport is the lack of accessible and affordable high schools. If there is no high school in the area or farm, the learners must commute to attend high school. This adjustment can be hard on the learners, leading to displacement, safety concerns or dropouts. In addition, the inflexibility and shortage of transport for farm learners result in their being deprived of participating in extramural activities, thus leaving the youth vulnerable to substance abuse.

Further aggravating factors like landlessness, insecure tenure and evictions have a destabilisng effect on their children's education. In terms of the impact of eviction on attainment, Wegerif et al. (2005) found that if a child, evicted from a farm resettled in urban settlements, they had improved access to schools and also better attendance. This was especially true for learners attending high school. Activist 4, however, reminds us to be cautious in making generalisations:

> *"Kyk as jy 'n boom uit die grond uit haal en jy probeer om daai boom op 'n ander plek te gaan plant, jy weet nie of daai grond vrugbaar is nie. Jy weet nie of daai boom gaan dood gaan nie. So is dit net so goed met die mense ook. Jy weet nie hoe gaan jou kind reageer op 'n ander omgewing of by 'n ander plek nie."*

> *["Look, when a tree is uprooted, and you try to transplant that tree, you have no idea if that soil is fertile; you do not know if that tree will die. The same applies to people. You do not know whether your child will survive in a different (foreign) environment or place."]*

It is interesting to note that besides Activist 1 and 6 there is no collective response to education issues. Many of the women face similar challenges, but their responses are personalised, with no collective response to education rights and policy issues. Through the Transport Campaign, Activist 6 worked

with the youth across farms and Activist 1 lobbied for free transport for college students from Research Site 1. There was also no training on education rights and the South African education policy and legislature framework.

5.4.2 Experiences in informal on-site work education

The work experience gained from informal on-site education also did very little to enhance the critical and creative skills of the activists. Typically women were domestic workers and full-time caregivers of the home and family. The sub-themes emerging from the broader *informal education* theme are *opportunities for informal learning* and the *outcome of informal learning opportunities*.

As farm workers, all of these activists participated in informal on-the-job learning. Because the training was informal, the women were never awarded formal vocational qualifications. They have, however, intimate knowledge of the business of commercial farming and have been left to care for the farm in the farmer's absence. Women also manage labour tensions, bottlenecks and act in a human resource capacity. These women are trained to work in the vineyards, the packing factory where they pack a range of fruit and vegetables and can harvest produce. They are therefore experienced farm workers that have a long history with commercial farming and a passion for the work that they do.

All the same, these experiences did not translate into better occupational opportunities or higher levels of income. None of the women employed became professional, permanent workers, but always remained casual or seasonal workers. Their tasks were menial, routine, repetitive, poorly paid and not empowering.

Even when they took on managerial positions on farms, they were never fully recognised. Their managerial position worked mainly in the interests of the boer and can also be seen as divisive. In the case of Activist 2, it was the black forewoman that came to tell her that she was fired after not agreeing to work overtime. Activist 4 is another case in point. She was an intricate part of

the farm operations for 12 years; however, when she suffered an occupational injury as a result of a bakkie falling on her, she never received the compensation she was legally entitled to.

There were, however, instances where work experience was liberating. Activist 4's part-time work as a cashier built self-worth and independence. Activist 6 interned at the wine farm where she had worked as a waitron. Before her animals were taken from her, Activist 5 found the experience of farming with livestock deeply rewarding. Activist 1 was also part of two liberation movements and the informal education she received there, created fertile ground for activism that was later developed by FFO.

These, however, were the exceptions. On the whole, work experience again served the interests of the agents of oppression and did very little to build activism - save for the empathy that develops from sharing in one another's traumatic experiences. It is the "school" of hard knocks where your evictions, unfair wages, insecure employment, abuse and bullying at school create in you an awareness of the suffering of others. Activist 4's evictions prepared her for the role of responding to the housing crisis in Research Site 4; Activist 3's alcohol addiction equipped her to tackle drug houses on the farms head-on; the sexual abuse that empowered her to deal with issues of prostitution and reproductive health; it was the cancellation of her bus that prompted such a quick response from Activist 6. She explains what keeps her motivated:

> "*Omdat ek woon op 'n plaas en ek weet van swaarkry en ek weet van struggles en al daai, wil ek nie hê die ander kinders moet dieselfde opgroei nie."*
>
> *["Because I live on a farm and have experienced the hardships, and I know about the struggles, I do not want other children to experience that."]*

The study found therefore that formal and informal education contributed very little to the process of activism among these women. Except for Activist 1, it was through their engagement with FFO that the women first began to see themselves as activists. The moments when these women presume their equality are linked to their encounter and interaction with the FFO's non-formal education.

5.4.3 Non-formal education and activism

It is by no means a coincidence that FFO has responded to the historically low levels of organisation on farms, with non-formal popular education. The emergence of activism on farms is therefore the systematic and deliberate educational work of grassroots organisations in the sector. It is an example of the "low-key, long-haul political education and community work" that Chourdry (2007, p. 110) refers to. Sub-themes, emerging from this broad theme, are *programme content*; *awareness raising*; *transformative experiences*; s*kills development and utilisation*; *disillusionment* and *challenges experienced by participants*.

The content of FFO's programme is found to be relevant and resonates with women's limit-situations and the structures that dominate them. It is a powerful programme that addresses the needs of the women, creates a better environment for women (and children) on farms and achieves its objectives of building women's farm-level activism. I contend that the aims of the project are a shift from slave-thinking to liberated thinking – from limiting-situations to what Rancière (1999) defines as "a presumption of equality´. The exploitative nature of farm employment, and the repressive systems that perpetuate it, are clearly exposed as "policing" and this awareness enables farm workers to become agents of "politics", so that they can therefore operate as equals within the farm labour relations process. The work of FFO is vital in creating critical hope for the future.

The codes and methods that are used to educate, create an interesting, supportive and joyful learning environment. They are used to successfully provoke conversation, critical reflection and laughter.

The T-shirt is universally praised for communicating and educating without saying a word. As Activist 5 explains:

> *"Ek het altyd my FFO T-shirts aan sodat die boer kan sien waarvandan ek kom en vir watter organisasie ek verteenwoordig."*

> *["I always wear my FFO T-shirts, so that the boer can see where I come from and which organisation I represent."]*

Drama and the centering technique provide a much-needed healing space that is an essential part of rebuilding the human. Through these codes women make spiritual and psychological break-throughs. It was the centering code that helped Activist 6 to make peace with her mother's passing. Having first-hand experience with the codes, she is an ardent advocate for drama. When I asked her what she thought of the youth's performance as part of the 16-days campaign, she boasts proudly:

> *"Hulle het hulle … alles, puik gekwyt aan hulle taak, hulle het hulle woorde geken; hulle het amper … hulle het elke karakter … was, kan amper sê, hulle wil lewe in hulle karakter. Hoe kan ek nou sê? Ek kan nou nie verduidelik nie. In hulle karakters self, kan hulle … hulle kan praat, hulle kan deel saam met ander; hulle kan lag; … en een dametjie het gesê in die drama ek het nooit geweet jy kan verkrag word in jou eie verhouding nie. So, die karakters self leer ook terwyl hulle die drama opvoer of oefen."*

> *["They performed excellently; they knew their words; they almost lived their characters – how can I express it – they could talk in their characters; they could share with others; they could laugh … One young lady said in the drama: 'I never knew you can be raped within a relationship.' So, the characters themselves learn while the drama is performed or rehearsed."]*

The female farm activists have all reported moments of awareness n the programme. This Freire (2005) calls the moment of awakening, and it is when the students-teachers critically engage with their perception of reality. Asked what she thought the vision of FFO was, Activist 1 replied:

> *"Hulle doel is om vrouens meer bewus te maak van wat rondom hulle aangaan want … as 'n mens nie alles weet nie, as jy nog nie weet wat om jou aangaan nie, dan is jou oë self toe. Maar as jou, jou oë en jou ore oopgegaan het, dan moet jy altyd kyk laat jy ander mense raaksien."*
>
> *["Their purpose is to make women aware of what's going on around them. If you do not know everything, then your eyes are closed; but when your eyes and ears are open, you always have the opportunity to see the plight of others."]*

In particular there is awareness of their "women's rights." Activist 4 comments that:

> *"FFO (het) vir my eintlik baie kom leer… want as ek nie by FFO aangesluit het nie, het ek nie geweet van my regte nie …"*
>
> *["FFO has taught me a lot … If I had not joined FFO, I would not have known my rights."]*

With her training, Activist 4 could identify that Research Site 4 was actually facing an eviction crisis. Activist 5 lost her fear of the boer, Activist 3 could open up about the sexual abuse, Activist 2 realised her self-worth and put an end to domestic violence in her home and Activist 1 led a farm workers' strike. In each case the education programme presented them with a new way of thinking.

The skills developed are the knowledge of human rights, policy, legislature, recourse mechanism, leadership, confidence, communication, casework,

advocacy, conflict resolution, campaign management and workshop facilitation. These are powerful skills that set the stage for their activism.

All the activists undergo a transformative experience whereby they transform their societal structures and are transformed in the process (Hope & Timmel, 1996). These take place across different levels and are all examples of the presumption of their equality.

In the first level in Stoecker's (1995) adapted model, women experience a personal transformation. Most women speak of before and after their interaction with FFO. Before FFO they describe themselves as distrustful, insecure, shy, withdrawn, scared, lacking confidence, resentful, abused, hurt, unstable and suspicious. After the psycho-social training they have become communicative, confident, entitled, healed, restored, peaceful, centred, trustful, open, eager, hopeful and strong. The feeling of freedom that Activist 3 experiences after sharing her childhood trauma can best summarise this:

> *"Ek voel vry. Ek voel los. Ek voel net iets is uit my uit, ek voel goed, rêrig, ek voel goed. Hy is uit … maar dit is nou alles deur FFO wat ek kan dit oopgemaak het. Want as ek dink hoeveel jare loop ek met dit?"*

> *["I feel free. I feel relieved. I feel that something inside has been released. I feel good; really, I feel good. He is out, (gone) but it can all be ascribed to FFO … that I've opened up. Because I think, how many years have I not endured this?"]*

The new mantra of the women is: "I am equal to, therefore I can demand!" The first place they assert themselves in is the home and family. This is the second level of Stoecker's (1995) adapted model.

There is awareness among the women that they are equal partners in their marriages, and they have the right to be treated fairly and with dignity. Through the use of her journal, Activist 2 was able to open up communication with her husband and create a more stable environment for her family.

Whereas Activist 3 always described herself as a harsh mother before, she now prides herself in her ability to communicate calmly with her children and her husband. None of the women in the study would endure abuse at the hands of their partner and are active advocators for other women not to accept this fate.

Before they were not aware of their rights; now they can assertively campaign on behalf of their own and others. Through casework, activists transcend the benefits of their learning on farms, and move to the broader community. This refers to activism from Level 3 to Level 7 of Stoecker's (1995) adapted model. Learning becomes action for the benefit of a broader community. Activist 5 explains:

> *"En ek sit nie stil nie; ek doen. As ek nie kan by hulle uitkom nie, dan bel ek vir hulle. Ek gebruik my eie geldjies om vir hulle te bel, Kara, want ek wil hê hulle moet sterk raak en hulle moet ook kan vir die boer sê, 'Dit is nie soos jy wil nie, dit is ook soos ons wil, want ons het ook ons regte'."*

> *["And I do not sit still, I do. If I cannot get to them, I phone them. I use my own money to phone them, Kara, because I want them to grow in strength; and they must also be able to tell the boer, not your will only; but it is also about our will because we also have rights."]*

Through their casework these activists have stopped evictions, impacted upon labour disputes, reinstated buses, secured land and materials to build new homes, lead revolts on farms, stopped prostitution, ended domestic violence and obtained a 52 per cent increase in the national minimum wage. The case studies show that these women have made visible the needs of farm workers and have insisted that their demands be considered and taken seriously. They have used the non-formal education they received at FFO to presume their equality to those that possess power. Call it action, resistance or contestation, the study finds that the activists have performed politics

(Rancèire, 1999). Through their case work and the insistence of their rights, these activists fill the gap between policy legislature and implementation.

The case of Activist 1 is unique. Through the strike, and that of all other striking workers, her actions impacted upon the national [structural level 6] and international context [structural level 7]. The farm workers' strike increased the minimum wage for all farm workers in the country. Farm workers also barricaded the national road, making entry into and out of Cape Town almost impossible, and lastly, they disrupted international table-grape and wine production. This case is also interesting because if also offers a lens into the hidden acts of resistance, or the off-stage action (Scott, 1989) of the farm workers. The strike that came to the media's attention in October 2012 had an unknown build-up. Prior to the full-blown strike, there were negotiations and mini-strikes across Research Site 1. Strengthened by the courage of the Marikana miners, the farm workers began planning and preparing for the strike. There were no forums; just frustrated workers setting up meetings and doing the groundwork. When the strike penetrated the surface of the South African public awareness, it was the entire hidden transcript, openly and honestly spoken (Scott, 1989). The farm workers' strike is therefore a collective expression of the presumption of equality and a profound moment in post-apartheid South Africa.

Lastly the study found that the pedagogies of mobilisation offered an additional reflective space where activists could make meaning of their experiences. In her assessment of the strike, Activists 1 is highly critical of government and unions, whom she believes hijacked the strike from the workers. Her critical and sage reflection is political consciousness, albeit an expression of depressing disillusionment.

She is not the only one to question the legitimacy of government. Activist 2 has the following forthright assessment of government and the efficacy of protest marches and memorandums:

> *"Ek dink nie ons moet meer memorandums afgee nie because ons kry nie die mense wat ons soek nie; ons kry nie eers 'n antwoord terug nie,*

ons kan maar vir hulle sê in two weeks time, daar is niks nie. So ek is nie meer into die memorandum gaan aflees en laat sign en goeters because die manier hoe hulle mense, even daai memorandum ontvang, hulle gesigsuitdrukking, hulle wys sommer … 'ek stel nie belang nie; ek is nou maar net hier omdat ek die ding moet vat'".

Ons het nou die dag hoeka toe ons so lank gewag het voor die hek by die parliament, toe sê ons ook, lyk my ons moet ook tyres brand en die goeters afbrand hier om genotice te word."

["I think we should not hand over memorandums anymore because we do not get the person we are looking for; we don't even get a reply. Even if we demand/ a response in two weeks' time, there is nothing. I am not in favour of reading and signing memorandums because the way those people receive them - their expressions – show that they do not care."

The other day when we waited so long in front of the gate at Parliament, we reiterated that it seems that we have to burn tyres and set things alight to be noticed."]

This evidence of conscientisation is a thread that runs through each of the stories. Women have a firm grasp of the political landscape and the policing structure that dominates them. They feel that government is not accessible and is disconnected from the realities of farm workers. As Activist 4 wants to know:

"Ek wil net, ek wil net weet … hoeveel plase moet, moet 'n eienaar het in elke dorp of in die land en so. Ek wil, die regering moet eintlik vir ons daai vraag kan beantwoord. En wanneer kry ons as vroue, as vroue grond om ons eie kos te kan maak, om ons gesinne te kan voorsien.

["What I want to know is how many farms can one owner have in one town or in the entire country. Actually it is a question that only government can answer. And when do we as women get a piece of land, so that we can grow our own food to look after our families."]

Through the pedagogies of mobilisation, the activists have identified resource challenges such as airtime, transport, petrol and a shortage of staff as challenges that constrain the scope and impact of their work.

In addition, activists report mental and physical strain. Their casework takes them to the coal-face of race, class and gender inequalities on farms. This causes stress on the body and can lead to psychological and physical illness. In addition, women report victimisation from the boer and other members of the community. Also noted are feelings of loneliness and alienation.

The study now makes conclusions and recommendations before making the final summary.

5.5 Conclusions of the Study

The study concludes that in South Africa, the women who live and/or work on farms continue to be oppressed. Violence, poverty, hunger, food insecurity, labour exploitation, health constraints, unemployment, poor housing conditions, substance abuse, racism, insecure land tenure and farm evictions underpin the texture of living or working on farms.

In this reality, activism remains a tool in the hands of the disposed to reclaim their dignity. When female farm activists resist and contest the structures of domination, they are evoking their right to be considered human. They are asserting that they, too, matter and are in fact equal to any other speaking-being. These are acts that presume their right to human dignity

Although small, every presumptive act is radical at its core, as it disavows the prescription of the oppressor. The notions that the oppressed are inadequate, deprived, lazy and distrusting, are engaged with critically, and are seen for

what they are – dehumanising distortions. The act of presuming one's equality therefore transforms the being, and the world which they occupy.

Except in a few instances, do formal education and informal on-the-job training contribute significantly to the creative and critical capabilities on farmwomen. Moreover, the unequal distribution of adequate education generates inequality and oppression that eventually give rise to full blown revolt, as was the case of the De Doorns farm workers' strike. The obtainment of adequate formal education therefore remains a constitutional imperative and is necessary to transmute inherited inequalities and arrest the cycle of poverty and generational oppression.

In the lacunae of educational redress and transformation, the work of grassroots organisations within the rural space is important. It addresses Apartheid educational deficiency and supports activists to make sense in a fast- changing global environment and builds democracy.

In FFO the study concludes that there is a four-tiered education process that engenders activism.

Tier 1: Students of Activism

Through popular education, women are first students of activism. The skills developed are the knowledge of human rights, policy, legislature, recourse mechanism, leadership, confidence, communication, casework, advocacy, conflict resolution, campaign management and workshop facilitation. These are powerful skills that set the stage for their activism.

Tier 2: Learning in activism

Activists learn while doing the work of activism. In this study, this continuous education process has been referred to as the pedagogies of mobilisation. During the process there is deep reflection on action and further engagement with the constraints that are experienced. Education within FFO is therefore not a separate outcome, but an intrinsic driver of all work. More than any, this

was the space that activists used to engage critically with the political landscape, and, in doing so, honed their conscientisation.

Tier 3: Teachers and developers of activism

Women move from learning and doing to teaching, facilitating and developing activism within their community. Activists become community resource agents and walking libraries that offer support and guidance on all issues – from the personal to the legal. Their wealth of knowledge means that their homes become advice centres and are centres of power in their community. They become role models for other women and teach other women to be activists in their own right.

Tier 4: Learning from the female farm activists

Just as women learn from FFO, FFO also learns from the women. There is a constant back-and-forth between the two parties and this interaction informs the programme areas, as well as the forms of education and action initiated. This adheres to the Frierian philosophy that we each come to teach and be taught.

The study therefore concludes that FFO achieves its objectives and creates multi-skilled, community-centred female farm activists who can confidently respond to farm-level injustices, both independently and collectively. It is this non-formal education programme, more than anything else, that enhances the skills and capabilities acquired by other forms of learning, and heals the damage wrought by them.

5.6 Recommendations of the Study

In the light of these conclusions, the research makes the following recommendations. Here the intent is to deepen the experience of the popular education on farms.

- **Activism for formal schooling education rights.**

The youth programme locates activism within the context of formal schooling. This energy should be connected with the individualised and personalised struggles experienced by each activist in ensuring the rights of their children to education. In this forum, women and learners are educated on their policy and legislative rights within the South African framework.

This could create a movement that connects women to their children through the common goal of educational rights of farm children. The youth should continue to lead this movement, with mothers and grandmothers supporting them from behind. In doing so, they are also creating the next generation of activism on farms and the "strong cohesive bloc" required for government to implement their own policies (Freire, 2005, p. 151).

- **Non-formal education's contribution to education transformation.**

Given the slow pace of education transformation in post-apartheid South Africa, there is a need to reimagine what comes next. In this lacuna, non-formal popular education brings a fresh perspective and has the potential to reanimate the education transformation debate.

The use of popular education is, of course, not new to South Africa, as popular education has been used during the struggle to create the mass movement known as People's Education that has called for "*people's education for people's power". "The people"* were "all those involved in the struggle against the Apartheid system" (Mashamba, 1991, p. 4 & 10) and education's purpose was the creation of a critically conscious person who could analyse, understand and impact upon his or her socio-economic and political realties (Vally, 2007). The re-emergence of popular education in South Africa post-apartheid is a reminder of the wealth of human development theory that this country has in historical archives.

- **FFO should strengthen the autonomy and independence of the organisational structures in farm communities.**

During my time at FFO, I noted that a lot rested on the work and commitment of a few key activists. This is to be expected, as not everyone chooses activism. These key women were responsible for recruitment of other women for workshops or casework. While this does build the capacity of the women doing the work and gets the work done, a more sustainable approach would be to build autonomous organisations on farms or communities that would eventually operate with very little guidance from FFO or even key leaders.

This suggestion came from a comment that Activist 3 made about hosting a community meeting on the farm itself, to discuss farm-level consensus on domestic violence. Building such structures would begin with an open invitation to the entire farm to the community meeting. Within this space, a Freirerian approach could be adopted and people could identify the issues that limit them. While FFO members could convene the space, it would not necessarily be an FFO only space and could include people who chose to act independently and in other organisations. It would essentially be a community space where numerous identities could emerge, and prospective activists could be enlisted.

The intent was to create a space that FFO activists could be part of, but that was also bigger than themselves. This could help overcome the feelings of isolation and victimisation that activists sometimes experienced.

This level of organisational momentum would require dedicated and continuous resources on the part of FFO. Again the suggestion of Activist 3 is noteworthy. Motivated by her desire to create opportunities for the youth, she had a brainwave. She suggested that FFO train youth leaders on the farm so that they can manage programmes independently of the staff of FFO. This system should be supported with necessary resources.

In the same vein, this approach to organisational building would require more energy and resources at the beginning, but if the commitment from the

community members was there, once the organisational systems were set up, FFO's role would be monitoring and evaluation. In this way, the work on farms could continue independently of FFO.

- **The importance of casework provides justification for its own independent system.**

It is through casework that the activists translate their individual learning into societal transformation. All women in the study have successfully conducted casework that has improved or maintained the quality of life on farms. Given the importance of this work and the dedication of the women who approach it, it seems a pity that issues such as airtime, petrol or transport should hinder this progress.

Currently the casework takes place within the different programme areas and is the responsibility of the Programme Manager, who is also managing all other elements of their programme. The study therefore suggests that all casework be centralised in a separate and independent work area that runs across programme areas. This would prioritise the casework by providing it with the necessary organisational support.

The study also recommends that casework be financially supported. I recognise that activism is based on the principles of volunteerism, and I am therefore not making a case for paying activists, but only to support activism with the required resources. The mechanism for financial accountability could be thought through to ensure that an audit trail remains.

The principle here is to acknowledge the importance of casework to community and societal transformation, and that activists, under very difficult economic circumstances, are currently subsidising the work. The study further suggests that the youth be incorporated into the casework work area, as they can support adults with any necessary paperwork because they have the required level of literacy. This would also create intergenerational activism.

- **The creation of more purely reflective/healing spaces.**

During the time I was present, the reflective space was a component of the total workshop programme. The stories of the women reveal how healing the centering and mediation spaces were in their lives. The study therefore suggests the creation of purely reflective/healing spaces.

In these spaces the activists need not necessarily plan or present on progress, but they could just come together to talk through the emotional component of activism. Often in the activist spaces, there is such a preoccupation with "what are we going to do" and "how are we going to do it", that the "why am I here" question is taken for granted.

These reflective spaces will help resolve the tensions that activism brings in their lives, as women talk through the difficulties and the challenges that they experience while doing their work on farms. The desire is to create a physiologically healing space, where women break feelings of isolation and recommit to the work with a renewed spirit.

- **There is a need for basic literacy training.**

For all of the women, their exit from the formal schooling is associated with regret. This is particularly acute for the women that have low levels of literacy. Their lack of formal qualifications impacts on their self-esteem and also constrains their activism. Women need to be able to read and write so that they can keep an accurate account of a meeting and report back on decisions made. In addition, women need computer skills to send through the minutes of meetings to maintain process. This is a gap in FFO's content. When reviewing the archive material, I noted that this was once part of the programme and the study recommends that it be reintroduced. A popular approach to literacy can also be taken. Alternatively women would like training that is accompanied with formal qualifications. This is a question that only the activists can answer.

- **Social movements are needed**

If it takes a village to raise a family, then one organisation cannot address the plight of the farmwomen, children or workers. Solidarity is needed between sectors and especially across the urban-rural divide. Interested parties can support by volunteering their time and car to assist with casework. Alternatively, teachers and activists can support the literacy programme.

The study makes the following recommendations for further research:

- **To continue the research on the role of education in activism in South Africa.**

As noted in South Africa, a relationship between activism and education is not a new phenomenon. Despite this rich history, the post-apartheid literature documenting the conversation between education and activism is relatively thin.

The study can therefore represent one case upon a longer historical trajectory of activism. This trajectory could also acknowledge the importance of other movements, such as the #Feesmustfall movement, where students demanded free, quality decolonised education within the tertiary (and other) educational system.

- **The research could further contribute to social movement theory from the perspective of the global South**.

Thompson and Tapscott (2011, p. 2) argue that the unique characteristics of the global South create a "need for new understandings of the ways in which, and the reasons why, communities mobilise". By deeping the social movement theory analysis, the study could be located within a larger global picture of activism.

5.7 Final Comment

It was the De Doorns farm workers' strike that brought me to this research. The strike represented a flare raised by farm workers, signalling a message to the broader South African society. As an activist, I could not ignore the flare and I moved towards that light. I came to farms in search of what that moment meant, and how I could support it.

What I found was bitter sweet.

Women on farms continue to live oppressed lives. They bear the brunt of slavery, colonisation, Apartheid and neoliberal economic policies. Not only do they slave for pittances in the vineyards and orchards, but they also suffer insecurity of land tenure and are at the receiving end of gender-based violence from their male partners, who themselves have been emasculated by this repressive situation. Women earn the lowest salaries, have fewest employment choices and in the family, are normally the last to eat.

But I also found hope. Across commercial farms in the Western Cape there are groups of women who daily stare into the ugly face of race, gender and class inequalities. They have been doing this for generations, like their mothers, and their mothers before them. Whereas once they might have thought themselves inferior, they are now resolute in their unwavering belief that they are equals to anyone and any being.

When you first hear the voices of these women, you can easily mistake their presumption of equality for anger or fear. But if you listen closely, what you hear is, in fact, a deep love. Love for themselves, their children and their community. Love for us, the people whose food they make, providing us with the opportunities to be all that we are meant to be. Their activism is directed at the oppressed and the oppressor alike. Their presumption of equality is an act of revolutionary love.

In the FFO workshops, there is a song that always touches the heart when it is sung. It is, for me, the most appropriate way to end the study:

“Women of strength I salute you.

Women of power, I adore you.

Breaking barriers,

Making a difference.

Women of power;

Women of strength;

Women on farms.”

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Appendices

Ethics Approval

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA
Faculty of Education

Faculty of Education
Ethics Committee
21 May 2014

Dear Ms. Mackay,

REFERENCE: EM 14/04/05

Your application was carefully considered by the Faculty of Education Ethics Committee and the final decision of the Ethics Committee is:

Your application is approved.

This letter serves as notification that you may continue with your fieldwork. Should any changes to the study occur after approval was given, it is your responsibility to notify the Ethics Committee immediately.

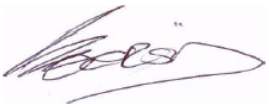
Please note that this is **not a clearance certificate**. Upon completion of your research you need to submit the following documentation to the Ethics Committee:

1. Integrated Declarations form that you adhered to conditions stipulated in this letter – Form D08

Please Note:

- ***Any*** *amendments to this approved protocol needs to be submitted to the Ethics Committee for review prior to data collection. Non-compliance implies that approval will be null and void.*
- *Final data collection protocols and supporting evidence (e.g.: questionnaires, interview schedules, observation schedules) have to be submitted to the Ethics Committee before they are used for data collection.*
- *On receipt of the above-mentioned documents you will be issued a clearance certificate. Please quote the reference number* ***EM 14/04/05*** *in any communication with the Ethics Committee.*

Best wishes,



Prof Liesel Ebersöhn
Chair: Ethics Committee
Faculty of Education

Exploratory Research Phase

The figure below summarises the exploratory meetings held with rural civil society organisations in the Western Cape in 2014.

	Exploratory Research Site 1
Vision and organization	At the time of the exploratory meeting, all projects were operational. Exploratory Research Site 1 was registered in 1996 as grassroots non-governmental organisation. Its vision is of "engendered society that treats women who live and work on farms with dignity and respect in accordance with the constitutional rights guaranteed to all South African citizens." It does this through "socio-economic rights-based and gender education, advocacy and lobbying, case work and support for the building of social movements of farmwomen" (Women on Farms Project, 2013).
Education programmes	The education programmes build the capacity and agency of women on the farms. As the Director says, "We identify women's agency as the locus of social change and transformation." The focus is on socioe-conomic rights, the development of psycho-social skills and the tools to organise and mobilise on farms." These educational objectives interweave to "create a network of women who work together and lobby for change in communities at different levels" (C. Solomon, personal communication, August 5, 2014).
Youth programmes	By working with the next generation of young women, this organisation intends to arrest the cycle of intergenerational violence and poverty experienced by women on farms. Education in this programme aims to reduce school dropouts, improve schooling outcomes and enhance career and life opportunities. Young women are trained in gender-based violence and their sexual reproductive rights (Women on Farms Project, 2013).
	Exploratory Research Site 2
Vision and organization	At the time of the exploratory meeting, all projects were operational. Originally this organisation supported rural communities to access education during Apartheid. Within the democratic milieu, its focus is now on transforming the rural countryside of South Africa through the building of strong, autonomous popular organisations. These include: farmers' associations, land rights forums, producer co-operatives, small stock holders, fisher people associations, commodity groups, youth and rural women's groups (Trust for Community Outreach, 2019). As the Director explains, "We focus on building activism in rural communities so that people have the tools to change their own lives (M. Andrews, personal communication, August 19, 2014).

Education programmes	Education develops an informed and confident leadership that can lead local initiatives. The training offers specific skills such as paralegal training for shop stewards, agro-ecology and indigenous seed training. Information blitzes educate farm residents on their rights and on farm evictions (M. Andrews, personal communication, August 19, 2014).
Youth programmes	There was no formal training programme for the youth and school-going learners. Previous projects included the development of cultural festivals and capturing farm communities' oral histories. Currently the youth attend adult popular education programmes with the intent to use sport as a vehicle for youth development in the future (M. Andrews, personal communication, August 19, 2014).
	Exploratory Research Site 3
Vision and organization	At the time of the interview this organisation was operational as a women-led trade union. On 23 April 2015 the Registrar of Labour Relations cancelled the registration of this trade union citing that it "ceased to function as a genuine trade union" (Crouse, 2015). Members of Exploratory Research Site 1 birthed this trade union as only a trade union could represent workers within the Council for Conciliation Mediation and Arbitration or at the farm-level bargaining councils. The union took an integrative approach to support women members. The general secretary explains, 'We work in the interests of all farm workers with women's issues at the forefront" (W. Pekeur, personal communication, August 12, 2014). The union campaigned across the board on issues of: workplace equality, family responsibility leave, housing security and children's rights to education. In 2012 it had 3 526 members (Sikhula Sonke, 2012).
Education programmes	Their education model empowered shop stewards to be "change agents" on farms. Women shop stewards received legal and paralegal training so that they could negotiate with the farmer, government and inside labour institutions (W. Pekeur, personal communication, August 12, 2014).
Youth programmes	Besides the establishment of crèches, there was no training dedicated to the youth or school-going learners. Shop stewards supported parents indirectly by taking up schooling issues and by helping with parental participation at school meetings (W. Pekeur, personal communication, August 12, 2014).
	Exploratory Research Site 4
Vision and organization	At the time of the interview this organisation was no longer operational. In 2012 this rural movement was registered as a non-profit organisation (NPO). Volunteers ran the organisation to demonstrate that "rural women and youth have tools to organise and lead efforts for change in their lives." The NPO operated within a small off-farming community in the Cape Winelands District. In this community there are high levels of unemployment, violence and drug abuse. The membership fee of the organisation was R10 per month and they dealt with all issues brought to their advice office in the community (W. Pekeur, personal communication, April 1 & August 12, 2014).

Education programmes	Mothers in the NPO worked at the local primary school where they supported an after-care programme and grew an organic food garden (W. Pekeur, personal communication, April 1 & August 12, 2014).
Youth programmes	A youth forum based on the principles of popular education was established. In this forum the youth unpacked the global environment, the South African policy framework and how this affected the power dynamics within their community. They met weekly and independently formulated and implemented action. Together with the local primary school, the NPO also helped the youth to apply for tertiary education bursaries (W. Pekeur, personal communication, April 1 & August 12, 2014).
	Exploratory Research Site 5
	I met with a former journalist from a Cape Town community-based television network that had covered the De Doorns farm workers strike of 2012/2013. The journalist could therefore advise me on the important role players of the strike (E. Philander, personal communication, August 6, 2014).

Letter of Invitation

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA
Faculty of Education

LETTER TO THE INVITATION: DIRECTOR OF WOMEN ON FARMS PROJECT

Dear Colette Solomon

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH WITHIN WOMEN ON FARMS PROJECT (WFP)

I request permission to conduct a research study within your organisation, entitled ***"Exploring Grassroots Education Activism in Post-apartheid South Africa."*** The study aims to explore and document grassroots organisations working in the field of education. This project is part of a doctoral study at the Department of Education Management and Policy Studies in the Faculty of Education, University of Pretoria.

To obtain this information, I intend to conduct a case study that will illuminate (describe, explain and explore) how grassroots organisations insert themselves into the post-apartheid education context. The research instruments within the project are document analysis, interviews and participant observation. To help answer the research questions the following will be requested from your organisation:

- Documents such as the guiding documents, reports, minutes, newsletters and programme material;
- Unstructured interviews with staff within the organisation;
- Unstructured interviews and focus group discussions with education participants and
- Unstructured interviews and focus group discussions with parents of education participants and
- Participant observation within your education programmes.

Participation in this study is voluntary and the participants have the right to withdraw at any stage of the study with no negative consequences to them. All the participants will be given letters of informed consent, which will explain the nature and purpose of the study. The letter will also include the title of the study as well the details of the lead researcher. Confidentiality of all participant responses will be guaranteed as no identifiable information will be disclosed in the research report or transcripts. There are no known risks to participants resulting from their participation in this study. The expected benefits of participating in the research are to create space for participant reflection and to offer an objective analysis.

All findings will be shared with your organization. Upon completion of the study, I undertake to provide Women on Farms Project with information about the availability of the research report.

If you are willing to participate in this study, please sign this letter as a declaration of your consent.

Should you have any questions about this research project, please contact Kara Mackay on 082 627 8934 or karakie@gmail.com

Thank you for your time.

Sincerely,

Kara Mackay
(Researcher)

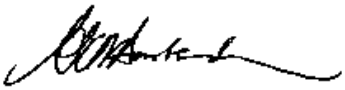
Dr. C. Amsterdam
(Research Supervisor)

CONSENT: I have read the information on this page and I understand that I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form.

2014-09-01

Researcher's Signature:

Researcher Supervisor's Signature:



FFO's Education Programme: Rationale, Educational Content & Organisational Structures

	Labour Rights Programme
Project motivation	This programme responds to the agricultural sector's declining employment rates, increasing casualisation and feminisation of farm labour, farmers' non-compliance with policy and government's inadequate implementation and policy enforcement. Women experience additional vulnerability, as they are most likely to be seasonal or casual employees and without union protection (Women on Farms Project, 2013).
Educational programme & organisational structure	Through the creation of labour action groups, the programme "seeks to improve the working and living conditions of women farm workers." Women are trained to know their rights and organise campaigns to expose and assert their labour rights (Women on Farms Project, 2013).
	Land and Housing Programme
Project motivation	FFO argues that land transformation in South Africa has done very little to change the rural landscape in terms of gender, race and class. The trends towards the casualisation of agricultural labour and the increasing use of seasonal labour have also resulted in farm evictions. Evictions are more prevalent among farmwomen, as their right to housing is linked to the employment status of their male partners (Women on Farms Project, 2013).
Educational programme & organisational structure	Women are organised into crisis committees or land rights forums to support and intervene in cases of illegal evictions and housing rights violations. The intention is for women on farms to play a "leading role in engaging, intervening and representing" the demands of farm residents" (Women on Farms Project, 2013).
	Food Gardens and Cooperative Programme
Project motivation	The precarious nature of employment on farms has the additional consequence of food insecurity and hunger. Independent research conducted by FFO in 2011 found pervasive levels of hunger among farming communities. This is especially true during the off-season when seasonal, female workers are not employed. This project's response to hunger is two-fold. The first is to create alternative income-generating vehicles such as women's agricultural cooperatives and, secondly, to train farmwomen to cultivate food gardens offering a healthy, affordable and alternative food source (Women on Farms Project, 2013).
Educational programme & organisational structure	The vision of the Cooperatives Programme is to increase "livelihood opportunities and household food security for women seasonal workers." Women are trained in agro-ecological farming techniques and business management. With food gardens women are trained in agro-ecological farming cultivation and are given indigenous seeds to grow an alternative source of food and income (Women on Farms Project, 2013).

	Women's Health and Empowerment Programme
Project motivation	Precarious employment; insecure land tenure; economic dependence on their male partners; high levels of alcohol consumption, gender-based violence and the incidence of HIV/Aids all intersect to create poor conditions for farmwomen's rights to health (Women on Farms Project, 2013).
Educational programme & organisational structure	Health resource agents and health teams are trained on substance abuse, gender-based violence, HIV/Aids and its inteserctionality. The objective is to "ensure that farmwomen's health needs and rights are accessible and respected, and that these women are empowered to take individual and collective action around abuses of those rights in the home, workplace and the community" (Women on Farms Project, 2013).
	Young Women's Programme
Project motivation	Under the ambit of the Women's Health and Empowerment Programme, is the Young Women's Programme. The lack of choice and opportunities that young women on farms experience make them susceptible to gender-based violence, school dropouts and teenage pregnancies (Women on Farms Project, 2013).
Educational programme & organisational structure	Working in gender equity groups on farms, the programme aims to arrest this socialisation by providing young women with the "relevant information, skills and competencies to enable them to make informed decisions and choices, and to take control of their lives." It complements formal schooling by setting up homework classes, book clubs and additional mathematics classes. Parallel to this, the programme challenges generational gender roles, norms, values and behaviour on farms (Women on Farms Project, 2013).

Data Collection: Interviews

Consent forms – Staff (English)

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA
Faculty of Education

Dear Staff within the Women on Farms Project

INVITATION AND INFORMED CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH PROJECT

You are cordially invited to participate in a research project entitled ***"Exploring Grassroots Education Activism in Post-apartheid South Africa."*** The study aims to explore and document how the education programmes of Women on Farms Project empower women and youth who live and work on farms.

You will be required to participate in an **interview** on the work of Women on Farms Project. Your participation in this study is voluntary and you have the right to withdraw at any stage of the study with no negative consequences to you. All responses will be treated as confidential. No real names will be used in the research report and if a response is used in the report, a fictitious name will be used. Do not hesitate to ask questions about the study before participating or during the interview.

Please also note that the interview will be recorded and that copies of the transcripts will be made available to you to check if the information collected is accurate. There is also the possibility of a follow up interview should further information be needed.

There are no known risks and/or discomforts associated with the study. The expected benefits of participating in the research are to create the space for participant reflection and to offer an objective analysis.

The information obtained will not be used for any purposes other than this and related research. All findings will be shared with your organisation. Upon completion of the study, I undertake to provide the Women on Farms Project with information about the availability of the research report.

If you are willing to participate in this study, please sign this letter as a declaration of your consent, i.e. that you participate in this project willingly and that you understand that you may withdraw from this research project at any time.

If you have any questions about this research project, please contact Kara Mackay on 082 627 8934 or karakie@gmail.com

Thank you for your time.

Sincerely,

Kara Mackay

CONSENT: I have read the information on this page and I understand that I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form.

_____

Name and signature

_____

Date

Consent forms – Staff (Afrikaans)

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA
Faculty of Education

Geagte Personeel van Women on Farms Project

UITNODIGING EN INGELIGTE TOESTEMMING (VRYWARING) EN DEELNAME IN 'n NAVORSINGS PROJEK

U word hartlik uitgenooi om deel te neem aan 'n navorsings projek naamlik **"Exploring Grassroots Education Activism in Post-Apartheid South Africa."** Die studie beoog om te ontdek en te dokumenteer hoe die onderrig programme van Women on Farms Project vroue wat werk en leef op plase, bemagtig.

U word versoek om deel te neem in 'n onderhoud wat fokus op die werk wat Women on Farms Project doen. U deelname in die studie is vrywillig en U het die reg om te ontrek in enige stadium van die onderhoud sonder negatiewe nagevolge. Alle terugvoering sal vertroulik behandel word. Geen regte name sal gebruik word in die navorsings verslag nie en as daar van die terugvoering gebruik sou word in die verslag sal dit onder 'n skuilnaam gebeur. Moet nie twyfel om vrae te vra oor U deelname in die onderhoud of selfs tydens die onderhoud nie.

Neem ook kennis dat die onderhoud sal opgeneem word en dat kopiee van die eksemplare beskikbaar sal wees vir U om te verseker dat die informasie wat ingesamel was akkuraat is. Daar is ook die moontlikheid van 'n opvolg onderhoud as verdere informasie benodig word.

Daar is geen bekende risiko's of ongemaklikhede geassosieer met die studie nie. Die verwagte voordele van U deelname in die navorsing is om ruimte te skep in deelnemers refleksie en om 'n objektiewe ontleding aan te bied.

Die informasie wat verkryg word sal net vir die doeleiendes gebruik word en ander soortgelyke navorsing. Alle bevindings sal gedeel word met U organisasie. Tot en met die voltooing van die studie onderneem ek om die navorsings verslag beskikbaar te maak vir Women of Farms Project.

As U gewillig is om deel te neem aan die studie, teken asseblief die brief as 'n verklaring van U toestemming(vrywaring), onder andere dat U deelneem in die projek gewilliglik en dat U verstaan dat U mag ontrek van die navorsings projek by enige tyd.

Vir enige vra rondom die navorsing projek, kontak asseblief vir Kara Mackay by 0826278934 of by karakie@gmail.com

Dankie vir U tyd

Kara Mackay

Toestemming(Vrywaring): Ek het die informasie op die bladsy gelees en ek verstaan dat ek nie enige van my regte opgee met die ondertekening van hierdie vorm nie.

_____

Naam en Handtekening

_____

Datum

Consent forms – Female farm activists (Afrikaans)

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA
Faculty of Education

Geagte Leierskap binne die Women on Farms Project

UITNODIGING OM DEEL TE NEEM AAN 'n NAVORSINGS PROJEK

U word hartlik uitgenooi om deel te neem aan 'n novorsings projek naamlik *"Exploring Grassroots Education Activism in Post-Apartheid South Africa."* Die studie beoog om te ontdek hoe die onderrig programme van Women on Farms Project vroue wat werk en leef op die plase, bemagtig.

U word versoek om deel te neem in n **onderhoud** wat fokus op die werk wat Women on Farms Project doen. U deelname in die studie is vrywillig en U het die reg om te ontrek in enige stadium van die onderhoud sonder negatiewe nagevolge. Alle terugvoering sal vertroulik behandel word. Geen regte name sal gebruik word in die navorsings verslag nie en as daar van die terugvoering gebruik word in die verslag sal dit onder 'n skuilnaam gebeur. Moenie twyfel om vrae te vra oor U deelname in die projek nie.

Neem ook kennis dat die onderhoud sal opgeneem word. Kopiee van die transkrips sal beskikbaar wees om te verseker dat die informasie wat ingesamel was, akkuraat is. Daar is ook die moontlikheid van 'n opvolg onderhoud as verdere informasie benodig word.

Daar is geen bekende risiko's of ongemaklikhede geassosieer met die studie nie. Die verwagte voordele van U deelname in die navorsing is om ruimte te skep vir deelnemers refleksie en om 'n objektiewe ontleding aan te bied.

Die informasie wat verkryg word sal net vir die doeleiendes gebruik word en ander soortgelyke navorsing. Alle bevindings sal gedeel word met U organisasie. Tot en met wanneer die studie klaar is, onderneem ek om die navorsings verslag beskikbaar te maak vir die Women on Farms Project.

As U gewillig is om deel te neem aan die studie, teken asseblief die brief as 'n verklaring van U gewillige toestemming en dat U verstaan dat U mag ontrek van die navorsings projek by enige tyd.

Vir enige vrae rondom die navorsing projek, kontak asseblief vir Kara Mackay by 0826278934 of karakie@gmail.com

Dankie vir U tyd

By voorbaat

Kara Mackay

TOESTEMMING(VRYWARING): Ek het die informasie op die bladsy gelees en ek verstaan dat ek nie enige van my regte opgee met die ondertekening van hierdie vorm nie.

_____

Naam en Handtekening

_____

Datum

Interview form

An interview form was developed to lead the interview process. The interview covered four topics and was divided into two sessions.

Session 1a)

In the first session, the participant gave me a sense of their history and how they came to the grassroots organisation. The following questions were asked:

- Tell me about yourself – where did you grow up, what was your upbringing?
- How did you come to know and join Women on Farms Project?
- Why did you join Women on Farms Project?

Session 1b)

Next the interview explored in depth the female farm activist's interaction with the grassroots organisation. Here the focus was on obtaining data on content, method and how the education acquired was used:

- What programmes of Women on Farms Project have you participated in?
- Why did you join this programme?
- What have you learnt from the programme?
- How have you used what you have learnt on farms and in your community?
- What did you like about the programme?
- Where do you think the programme can improve?
- What additional training/education do you desire?
- What are the challenges that you experience as an activist on farms?

Session 2a)

The first discussion in the second session was about youth on farms and the issues that they faced:

- What are the issues that youth in your area/farm face?
- As you know, Women on Farm Project has a youth programme:
    - What do you think about this programme?
    - What do you think is working?
    - Where do you think the programme can improve?
- Are you responsible for any child's schooling/education?
    - Are you happy with the quality of schooling?
    - What are the issues that you face with the schooling your child?

Session 2b)

The last session was about De Doorns Strike. By broaching this topic I was able to assess indirectly the living conditions of farm workers and their expectations for the future:

- Where were you when you heard that De Doorns farm workers were striking?
- Did you participate in the strike?
- What was it like on your farm/in your area at the time of the strike?
- What did you think about the strike?
- What is life like after the strike? How are things different?
- There were benefits to the strike, as well as consequences?
- What do think will happen next on farms?

Member-checking form

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA
Faculty of Education

"Exploring Grassroots Education Activism in Post-Apartheid South Africa"

Die studie beoog om te ontdek hoe die onderrig programme van Women on Farms Project vroue wat werk en leef op die plase, bemagtig.

Dit is belangrik om te onhou dat U deelname in die studie vrywillig is. Alle terugvoering sal vertroulik behandel word. Geen regte name sal gebruik word in die navorsings verslag nie. As daar van die terugvoering gebruik word sal dit onder 'n skuilnaam gebeur.

Om seker te maak dat die transkrip akkuraat en kompleet is, antwoord asseblief die volgende vrae:

1. **Rekord die transkrip wat U gesê het?**
2. **Is daar enige iets wat U wil terugtrek?**
3. **Is daar enige iets wat U will bydra?**

Weereens baie dankie vir U deelname in die narvoorsing projek. Ek waardeer dit baie.

Kara Mackay
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Data Collection: Participant Observation

Observation form

The following observational form was the guideline used to record data during the participant observation period. When making sense and writing up an observation, the following principles directed the interpretation of the descriptive fieldwork.

OBSERVATION DETAILS

Observer	
Observer status	
Setting and place	
Activity being observed	
Date and time	
Length of observation	

1. **Descriptive analysis** – This is a description of what is happening. It is the objective analysis on the site, actors and activity.

2. **Reflective analysis** – This is my personal reflection of what has happened, namely the site, actors and activity. The reflective analysis also records the researcher's reflection and the emerging themes.

3. **Research question and conceptual framework** – How does this observation relate back to the research question and conceptual framework?

4. **Outstanding work and issues** – This records the work that has emerged from the notes and deals with outstanding operational issues.

MAKING SENSE OF SPACE	MAKING SENSE OF THE PEOPLE PRESENT
Description of the setting • Where are we? (If needed a sketch of the site) • What does the place look like? • What does the space feel like? • Geography of the space - politics of the space?	*Description of the actors/characters present* Who are the actors present in the space? • People/portraits • Demographics • Relationships between actors in the space (reactions and responses between participants)
MAKING SENSE OF THE ACTIVITY	**PERSONAL REFLECTION & THOUGHTS**
Description of the activities/actions and events taking place • What activity is taking place? • What is the methodology being used? (objects being used) • How do the actors relate to the activity? (reactions) • Reflections of the meaning of the activity	*Description of the sense that I have made of the site, people and activity?* • Personal thoughts, hunches and themes • Who am I in the space? • How do I feel in the space? • What are my biases?
THEMES TO EMERGE	**RESEARCH QUESTION**
• What potential themes have emerged?	• How does this observation relate to the research question?
8. WORK THAT CAME FROM THE NOTES • Work that has emerged for the notes • Operational issues	

Data Collection: Archive Information

As per the Letter of Invitation, a request was made to the Director of Women on Farms Project to access archival documents such as the guiding documents, reports, minutes and programme material.