



**TRANSPORT, GENDER AND AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT:
A CASE STUDY OF THE CAPRICORN DISTRICT LIMPOPO
PROVINCE SOUTH AFRICA**

By

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DECLARATION

I, Lulu Knightingale Mmakola declare that

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CAADP	Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Programme
CTA	Centre for Agricultural and Rural Cooperation
DOT	Department of Roads and Transport
DOA	Department of Agriculture
GAD	Gender and Development
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NEPAD	New Partnership of Africa's Development
WID	Women in Development
WAD	Women and Development
WB	World Bank
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RIU	Research in Use
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

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ABSTRACT

Agricultural development, in Africa is seen as a vital tool for combating poverty in many households. In this thesis, agricultural development is thus seen as one of the ways in which the Millennium Development Goals 1 & 3 can be achieved. Moreover, the researcher hopes to show the link between transport and the possibilities of socio-economic development in the agricultural sector if and when transportation is facilitated. Furthermore, the need for gender equality and women's empowerment will be emphasized in agricultural activities, particularly labour.

The study draws from two women-led projects namely, the Lahlapapadi Goat Project and Kwadikwaneng Nursery in the Capricorn District of Limpopo, South Africa. To achieve the objects of this enterprise, the following tasks are undertaken. Firstly, the role of transport in women-led projects is investigated and described, particularly as regards to its possible impact on women lives. Secondly, reasons as to why women despite playing a large role in agricultural production receive very limited recognition. And thirdly, an assessment as to whether women receive adequate support from both the agricultural and transport departments for their agricultural activities is conducted. The broader context of historical ideologies around which gender roles in society are shaped will also be examined with a particular emphasis on transportation so as to show the extent to which such ideologies pose a threat to the development of women-led agricultural projects.

To realize the broader objective and its underlying tasks, the researcher adopted qualitative feminist methodologies. These employ in-depth interviews, focus group discussions in conjunction with visual techniques involving photography and videography. The study's findings revealed that women are largely not recognized for their labour due to socio-cultural factors, such as patriarchy and subsequent gender stereotyping, that force women to continue in their traditional household roles. Furthermore, transport was found to be an important tool for the improvement of food security and economic status in the lives of women particularly when it complemented the agricultural activities of rural women.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction and Background

Globally, agricultural production is largely undertaken by women. Nevertheless, there are numerous challenges that come with being a woman farmer. For example, women within sub-Saharan regions largely do not own, and therefore have limited access to, land. It is as such not uncommon for women in rural areas to farm on their husbands land or to even “borrow” it from traditional authorities. The burden of agricultural productivity is further exasperated by the tendency of migration of their male counterparts to urban areas in pursuit of employment. This leaves women with the enormous task of being “responsible for 90 per cent of food processing activities, water and firewood collection” (Mwankusye, 1999: 37). Regardless of these contributions in agriculture, the plight of women is still largely unaddressed by policymakers of our society. One area of their plight that needs to be considered is in transportation. This is because “transportation presents important mechanism to accessing markets, information and generating incomes within agricultural projects” (Mwankusye, 1999: 38).

Generally, transportation plays a critical role in the movement of goods and services for production and consumption in society. Specifically as it relates to women and their agricultural activities, transportation would greatly facilitate the running of their daily chores such as the fetching of firewood, water and the movement of crops and other agricultural goods (Mahapa, 2003; 2010). That notwithstanding, transportation often remains denied to women and this is mainly because of the ways in which policies are designed and planned. As a consequence, women are relegated to the usage of their very bodies as rudimentary forms of transport to meet their productive needs. Even when transportation programmes such as Intermediate Means of Transport (IMT) have been designed and implemented to assist men and women, women have often found themselves benefitting less than their male counterparts (Fernando & Potter, 2000; Mahapa & Mashiri, 2003). This is because beyond the mere provisions of transport, norms that sanction gender roles also play a part in the manner in which interventionist programmes are received and implemented.

1.2 Location of Study

The study was conducted in the Limpopo Province, South Africa. The province is home to about 5,400,000 people and is located in the northernmost part of South Africa. It is the fifth largest of the country's nine provinces, taking up to 10.3 per cent of South Africa's land area (Elsenburg, 2009). It was named after the Limpopo River. Economically, the province is still in its formative stages of economic development relative to other provinces in South Africa. As such, it is predominantly involved in "exporting primary products such as cotton, maize, iron ore and fruits", while importing manufactured goods from other provinces (Elsenburg, 2009: 11). Furthermore, Limpopo is culturally diverse, consisting of several ethnic groups such as the Bapedi and the Xitsonga. Its racial profile is predominantly African who account for up to 97.3 per cent of the total population. Whites make up 2.4 per cent with Indians and Coloureds making up 0.1 per cent and 0.2 per cent respectively (Elsenburg, 2009). Limpopo is the least wealthy of all of South Africa's provinces dominated by vast rural areas and agrarian communities (Elsenburg, 2009). However, a vibrant mining sector seems to be emerging which is presently the fifth largest contributor to the provincial economy.

Thus commercial¹ and subsistence² farming are "the mainstay of the Limpopo Province economy underpinning employment, food production and export" (International Development Association, 2013: 10). This is mainly due to the province's comparatively lower opportunities for formal employment (Elsenburg, 2009). As such, the high unemployment rates (of around 37 per cent) have led policymakers to see agricultural development as the focus for development strategies in the Limpopo Province (Local Government Handbook, 2012: 15). As Mmbeneni and Mokoka (2002) state, women in the province are the majority in food security projects while men are involved in commercial farming like cattle breeding and orchards. Therefore facilitating women's easier involvement in agricultural activities not only better their lot but also the lot of the entire province.

¹ "Large-scale production of crops and farm animals for sale, usually with the use of modern technology" (Cambridge Online Dictionary, 2013)

² Farming for own use or consumption (Cambridge Online Dictionary, 2013)

1.2.1 Project Information

The projects identified for the study are located in the Capricorn District under Lepelle-Nkumpi Municipality, operating under the Middlekop Service Centre. The Capricorn district is in the central region of Limpopo province which is predominantly occupied by the Bapedi People. The district is also predominantly rural in nature. It consists of five local municipalities, namely, Aganang, Blouberg, Lepelle-Nkumpi, Molemole and Polokwane. The district covers 21 705 square kilometres of the area with a population of about 1 260 000. The Lahlapapadi Goat Project situated at Tooseng some 60km away from Lebowakgomo, while the Kwadikwaneng Nursery is situated some 45km away from Lebowakgomo.

These two projects were chosen because they are located within the rural communities away from the main roads and as such posed serious challenges for farmers to access markets due to the lack of transport facilities. Secondly, the projects are women-led, and have been reported to be well-organized in spite of their locational inconveniences. Lastly, both projects are found in the Capricorn district of Limpopo close to Lebowakgomo village which is also the home area of the researcher. This allowed for logistical conveniences for the researcher to conduct this study.

1.3 Purpose of study

As stated in the introduction and background, women continue to play a crucial role in agricultural development when compared to men, yet their contribution remains largely unacknowledged and unrecognized. The researcher assumes that one of the reasons for this is that rural women find themselves trapped in strict cultural³ systems and cultural⁴ ideologies that prohibit their progress. These cultural ideologies are perpetuated within patriarchal private spheres such as the household and family, in which women play roles as child minders, nurturers and care takers. In these instances, women are left to face the burden of being misrepresented, and invisible. Moreover, the misrepresentation and underrepresentation of women's status has led to diminishing women's power and their ability to participate in decision making processes concerning their needs.

³Ideas and interaction of various cultures that inform societal action and transformation (Magaret, 2004)

⁴“Body of ideas reflecting the social needs and aspirations of an individual, group, class or culture” (Cambridge Dictionary, 2009: 89)

This study has three main objectives. Firstly, the study seeks to describe and investigate the role of transport in women-led projects. Secondly, it seeks to look at the reasons why women's contribution to agricultural productions continues to be unrecognized. Thirdly, the study investigates whether women receive adequate support from both the agricultural and transport departments for their agricultural activities. Other issues to be examined include the ways in which socio-cultural ideologies in society have shaped the ways in which transport assistance and needs are gendered particularly in the agricultural sector.

1.4 Research Questions

- How important is transport and agriculture to the development of rural women's socio-economic status in Limpopo?
- How do notions around gender shape the ways in which women in agricultural development are perceived?
- In what ways does gender affect the ways in which transport resources are provided to women?
- What transport policies have been put in place to support women involved in agricultural production and how are such plans arrived at?
- What challenges are faced by women in agricultural development?
- What impact does transport have in agricultural development?
- Are there any differences that can be identified between the two women-led projects?
- What has led to women involved in agricultural development not being fully recognised?
- What strategies can be developed to better incorporate women in development?
- What measures should be taken to ensure the full participation of women in economic and political decision making in transport and agriculture?

1.5 Theoretical framework

This study is instituted within theories of Gender and Development to elaborate and explain women's experiences in agricultural development. This is one of the three dominant feminist theories designed to assist in the analysis of women related topics particularly in the areas of empowerment in "Third World countries". The other two are, Women in development (WID)

and Women and development (WAD). These two theories are briefly discussed as a background towards the introduction of the Gender and Development (GAD) Approach.

WID was largely developed in order to search for practical solutions for the failure of prevailing development concepts. It also owes its development to the growth of feminism which was based on systematic assessments of the roots of women's disadvantage in society (Jackson, 1992: 90; Jackson & Jones, 1992: 56). The rationale behind WID was that women could contribute substantially to development if not for their underutilization as a resource. On the other hand, WAD begins from the position that "women have always been an integral part of the development process in global systems of exploitations and inequality" (Rathberger, 1990: 499; Boellstorff, 1995: 55). It thus contests that the issue of the "underrepresentation of women in economic, political and social structures can be determined by carefully designing intervention strategies rather than developing more fundamental shifts in social relations of gender" (Koczberski, 1999: 90; Pillai *et al.*, 1995: 12). Since this study seeks not only to look at the absence of women in development, but also to investigate the inequalities that have been instigated by socio-cultural norms, GAD is adopted as the principle theory.

GAD is different from WID and WAD because that it focuses less on the social concept of gender and more on the concept of sex. The focus of GAD is on the ways of "perceiving the problems of women in terms of their sex (their biological difference from men) rather than in terms of their gender (the social relationships between men and women)" (Parpart *et al.*, 2000: 58). This is not to say that GAD does not recognize the importance of redistributing power in social relations. For example, the approach emphasizes that women ought to enjoy equal access to economic, social and political opportunities. However, GAD's adherents believe that relations between men and women would be transformed if all sexes had the same amount of power in decision making processes concerning their welfare and development. This would in turn facilitate the implementation of women's needs over and above their mere documentation as their ability to influence policy making and planning equaled their male counterparts. Women's empowerment is therefore an important aspect in development since it could lead to the improvement of women's access to developmental resources that are accessible to men. Ideas

within the GAD approach are similar to those of liberal feminism “which argues that equality for women can be achieved through legal means and social reform” (Beasley, 2005: 28).

Pillai *et al.* (1995: 27) state that the GAD approach emphasizes direct challenges to the access of cultural, social and economic privileges that enable women to make equal social and economic profit out of the same resources. In this regard, the GAD approach is of relevance to this study as it speaks to the power dimensions that exist in labour accrued from the differences of being men or women. It is therefore fundamental to the investigation of how relations between men and women are based on the socio-culturally determined gender roles ascribed to sexes. Beyond investigating the gender inequalities that exist between men and women, GAD will be of great assistance to understanding the causes of the misrepresentation of women as well as their misrecognition in labour. Following which, recommendations will be presented as to how to better incorporate women into transport and agricultural policy.

1.6 Methodology

The study uses a feminist methodology in order to understand the gendered power dimensions involved in the accessing of transport resources and the role women play in agricultural development. Feminist methodology is an approach to research that has been developed in response to the concerns by feminist scholars about the limitations of traditional methodology to capture the experiences of women and others who have been marginalized in academic research (Naples, 2003: 1701). Additionally, feminist methodology according to O’Brien (2009: 25) is “an approach concerned with collecting information, analysing data and conducting research that analyses traditional or patriarchal understandings of how knowledge is produced and subsequently accepted as legitimate by peers in the academy, policy formulation and the general public”. It was in this regard that standpoint epistemology was developed in order to make the meaning of women’s lives more visible. This would enable the point of view of women to be included in gender analysis. Hartsock (1998) and Harding (1999) state that standpoint epistemology which adheres to a realist approach to knowledge “offers the possibility of new and more reliable insights into women’s lives because it is grounded in women’s experiences, including emotions and embodiments”.

Since this casts gender as a tool or unit of analysis, as well as a step towards identifying the foundation of women's discrimination and oppression in the specific sectors of transport and agricultural development, the researcher adopted feminist qualitative research methodology which also belongs to a critical paradigm for the data collection exercise (Webb, 1993: 416). As such this methodology – in keeping with feminist tradition – includes subject interaction, non-hierarchical research relationships between researchers and respondents, emphasizes on the expression of feelings as well as the concern for values (Taylor & Rupp, 1991). This study also took an interactionist stance with the participants by deliberately endeavouring to understand their experiences as regards to their farming activities. To this effect, formal interaction tools aimed at collecting in-depth information about the participants were used in order to understand how participants made meaning of their own experiences.

The sampling methodology was non-probabilistic and therefore purposive. This was on the basis that the researcher had prior knowledge of the population in question that enabled them to purposively target those members of that population who most likely had valuable experiences pertaining to the research question (Babbie & Mutton, 2010: 100). A total of 2 participants were engaged in in-depth interviews. At least 8 participants were involved in the focus group discussions (FGDs). In-depth interviews were conducted with key informants from the two projects. Lastly, a qualitative thematic analysis was carried out to analyse the data collected from the participants. Visual aids obtained through videography and photography were also compiled into the final report for illustration purposes.

1.7 Limitations of study

This study had some limitations. The first limitation was that of time as a lot of logistical aspects of the data collection exercise were crammed into a tight schedule. The persistent shifting of field dates by various gatekeepers only served to further strain the limited time allocated for the exercise. Moreover, the researcher observed that potential participants were generally uninterested in taking part in the study. Thirdly, in spite of the researcher's attempts to assure participants of confidentiality, some persisted to inquire about what the information the researcher was collecting was for or how it would be used. In order to arrive at a compromise, tape recording in some instances was put off and substituted with note-taking. Casual

conversations were also carried out particularly with various governmental officials who were not prepared to divulge information pertaining to transport policies. Those officials who had agreed to the interviews sometimes defaulted on their appointments due to leaves of absence or other official commitments without delegating other officials to participate on their behalf. This defaulting on the part of government officials and coupled by their anxiety to reveal information limited the amount of data that could be collected concerning policy planning and implementation in the area of transport and agriculture.

The seasonal illnesses of the winter period also contributed to the difficulties of accessing participants as some pulled out of interviews or FGDs due to ill-health. Lastly, the number of members given to the researcher by an official from the Department of Agriculture did not match with the ones described in the proposal of study. As such the total number of participants in the study decreased to 16 from which only 8 showed up for the interviews from both projects. Even after visiting the projects at least twice, all members of the projects did not show up for the interviews. The findings and results of this study were therefore affected as a direct result of these data collection difficulties.

1.8 Study Outline

Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter briefly discusses the background of the topic, and highlights the history of transport, gender and agricultural development. It further, gives motivation and reasons to why the researcher feels the study is important and particularly why the researcher chose the topic. It also briefly introduces the reader to the fundamental aspects of the study as well as the breakdown of the research project.

Chapter Two: Gender, Agriculture and Transport in Africa

This section is based on current discussions and debates on the role of transport and its impact in women-led projects in Africa. Furthermore, it engages with previous research findings and current policies on gender, transport and agricultural development in order to define the perspective of the potentially broad issues under study.

Chapter Three: Gender and Development

In this chapter, the theoretical framework will provide the researcher's point of view on how a systematic research enterprise could be conducted given the subject matter of the study. This is therefore a section that will highlight the conceptual model that will guide the research. Furthermore, it will provide background information that supports the conceptual model taken for the study's investigations.

Chapter Four: Feminist Methodology

This section includes ways in which the research was conducted. Methodologies, methods, procedures and protocols followed to collect data are explicitly discussed in order to give the reader an idea of how the researcher arrives at findings of the study. Moreover, it gives the reader a description of the sample chosen as well as the justification of the sample selection.

Chapter Five: Findings and Discussion

The chapter is a reflection of the results accumulated after data collection. Findings and results are also analyzed from the participant's responses during focus group discussions and in-depth interviews. Moreover, a discussion of these results will follow to present the views and perceptions of participants on the topic. Furthermore, existing theoretical accounts presented elsewhere in the study will be compared to these views and perceptions to facilitate a fuller discussion.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and Recommendations

This chapter provides a summary of the study findings, as well as a conclusion on findings and the implications of study. Furthermore, the section includes recommendations for the study based on the researcher's experiences in conjunction with other theoretical positions presented to earlier chapters. The main will be to make recommendations that would better incorporate women into agricultural development and transport.

1.9 Key Concepts of study

1.9.1 Development

According to Hopper (2012) and Haynes (2008) the concept of development originated from the European Enlightenment in the eighteenth century. The concept was seen as another term for change, whether it be economic, political, social or psycho-social (Brookfield, 1975). It emerged as a subject area in the Second World War in which scholars and practitioners sought to study the cause of poverty and ‘underdevelopment’ in a systematic and sustained way than it had been before (Haynes, 2008). Thus themes of rationalism and modernity which characterized the European model of progress influenced development enormously (Hopper 2012: 3). For this reason, modernity and the modernization of states was viewed as the goal and process of development by the United Nations.

Another definition of development that is mostly used by the South Commission is as follows:

“Development is a process which enables human beings to realize their potential, build self-confidence, and lead lives of dignity and fulfilment. It is a process which frees people from fear of want and exploitation. It is a movement away from political, economic, or social oppression. Through development political independence acquires true significance. And it is a process of growth, a movement essentially springing from within the society that is developing.”

~ South Commission (1990).

1.9.2 Human Development

This study’s conceptualization of human development shall incline towards the definitions Anand *et al* (2000: 3) and Sen (2005: 10) which see human development as “a process of enlarging people’s choices at all levels of development”. These choices include “the ability to live a long and healthy life, to acquire better knowledge and to have access to human rights” (Sen, 2005: 10). Human Development thus has to do, as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 2012) contends, with the enlarging of human choices concurrent to the widening of opportunities which are compatible with the relative functioning of different societies.

1.9.3 Human Rights

In this study human rights shall mean “all rights inherent to all human beings, whatever [their] nationality, place of residence, sex, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, language or any other status” (United Nations, 1996 -2012: 1).

1.9.4 Gender Mainstreaming

The study perceives “Gender Mainstreaming as a globally accepted approach to achieving gender equality” (United Nations Entity for Gender equality, 2011-2013: 10).

1.9.5 Gender

The definition of gender used in this study is that of the Reeves and Baden (2000: 6) which defines gender as “the roles and responsibilities of men and women that are socially and culturally constructed”. In other words gender roles and expectation are learned and taught by members of society. In addition, “the concept of gender also includes the expectations held about the characteristics, aptitudes and likely behaviours of both men and women” (Reeves & Baden, 2000: 8).

Gendered roles and expectations are often modified by the differentiation of systems such as political status, class, ethnicity, physical and mental ability, income levels, age and others. This suggests that gender definitions, roles and relations may vary across continental borders and cultures. The understanding of the concept of gender is crucial because when it is applied to social analysis it reveals the subordination of women thereby providing a way towards reducing that subordination (UNESCO, 2003).

1.9.6 Gender Equality

Gender equality is the measurable equal representation of women and men in all spheres of society without implying or suggesting that women and men are the same (IPPF, 2012: 2). Rather, gender equality implies that men and women have equal value and should therefore be accorded equal treatment (IPPF, 2012: 2). Currently in South Africa, more women have access to employment opportunities than ever before. However, many of them get less pay for the same value of work than their male counterparts. Furthermore, most women face various forms of gender based discrimination at the workplace on a daily basis. In aspiring to reach the MDG goal

3: (Promote Gender Equality and Empower women) The United Nations as well as the South African Government considers gender equality as a human right. These institutions argue that empowering women is an indispensable tool for advancing development and reducing poverty (IPPF, 2012: 2). Even though, empowerment approaches promise to open room for ideal circumstances for women in South Africa, most of challenges affecting policy and practice are embedded in the diversity of cultural practices in South Africa.

1.9.7 Empowerment

Empowerment is the process of increasing the capacity of individuals or groups to make choices and transform those choices into desired outcomes (World Bank, 2011: 1).

1.9.8 Social Exclusion

“Social exclusion is a multidimensional process in which different types of segregation combine to form their expression in the society (Byrne, 2005: 10). For example, certain individuals or groups could be excluded from participation in decision making processes, or from access to employment and material resources, and even from integration into common cultural processes.

1.9.9 Patriarchy

Patriarchy is a form of social organization that structures the dominance of men over women (Calhoun, 2002: 108).

1.9.10 Agricultural Development

Agricultural development denotes an overall increase in returns from land without a concurrent increment in the amount of inputs (Alderman, 1994). It is thus a process of in which the management and conservation of the natural resource base and the orientation of technological and institutional change is carried out in such a manner as to ensure the attainment and continued satisfaction of human needs for present and future generations (FAO, 2009).

1.9.11 Food Security

Food security entails a situation in which people have access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to maintain a healthy and active life at all times (World Health Organization, 2013: 1).

1.9.12 Socio-Cultural Norms

Socio-cultural norms are customary rules that govern behaviour in societies. These norms function to motivate people to act in similar or different ways (Durkheim, 1993). They specify what is and is not acceptable in a society or group. They are the agreed upon expectations and rules by which a culture guides the behaviour of its members in any given situation. Norms thus vary across cultural groups.

1.9.13 Transport

Transport in this study entails as Bryceson (2003) defines it the conveying of people, goods, commodities and services from place to place.

CHAPTER TWO: GENDER, AGRICULTURE AND TRANSPORT IN AFRICA

2.1 Conceptualizing Development

Development is a process of bringing about change to the lives of people particularly those in poorer countries (Chamber, 1993). It is therefore a process that suggests that all human beings have the right of equal access to resources be they political, economic and social (Nussbaum, 2000). In the same vein, development strives to eliminate all sorts of discrimination and abuses of power which often negatively impact on the most vulnerable members of society (Anand & Sen, 2000). Development thus recognizes the input of all members of society regardless of their characteristics of sex, race and any others (Sen, 1995). In this sense, development champions the creation effective and efficient social structure that allow equal opportunity for all. Such social structures in turn help the alleviation of gender-based imbalances that are formed during social interactions. It advocates for an equal distribution of wealth and power amongst women and does not subject women and men to their culturally ascribed roles within the public sphere (Nussbaum, 2000).

Nevertheless, ‘development’ in its attempt to reverse poverty and inequality globally has failed to take into consideration issues of citizenship and just development. In other words, it has failed to “interrogate why underprivileged groups in society such as women, children and people with disabilities are not entitled to the same rights and resources as other groups” (Royal Tropical Institute, 2004: 19). Development, when clearly defined and practiced, should take into consideration the ways in which power is exercised in the management of economic and social resources for development. This study argues that good development and change could take place when women are treated as equal citizens to their male counterparts. This entails that women’s political and economic rights must be recognized to ensure full participation in development initiatives particularly in agricultural development.

Chambers (1997) concurs and adds that development is not only change but good change. According to Chambers (1997), good change supports the ideologies and discourses around human development as stated in the preceding paragraph. This is done through people-centred

development efforts, and through enhancing the range of choices in all areas of human endeavour for human beings (Burchi & Muro, 2012). Additionally, works on development by theorists Cowen and Shenton reveal similar sentiments. Cowen and Shenton (2012), hold that analysing the intentions of development, allows for a much greater space to rediscover the aims and objectives of development. This involves asking the right questions such as: what needs to be done or what should be done to ensure ‘good change’? What constitutes good change? And how do we see good change? What is development supposed to do? How should development meet its own goals? And lastly, who are the beneficiaries and stakeholders of such development?

According to Cowen and Shenton (2012) incorporating such approaches in defining development motivates development practitioners and theorists to further look into methods that are accurate in development not only in countries with poor economic development but also in more developed ones (Haynes, 2008). Although the focus within development studies has been on countries in the Southern hemisphere, development is not simply confined to the developing world. Development is something that all countries and regions experience (Haynes, 2008). However, as many as the initiatives may be in ensuring that the goals of development are achieved, development notions are in themselves somewhat contradictory.

In contrast to micro-level development, macro-level development addresses inequalities and improves human living standards by largely ignoring individuals within that process. Macro-level development looks into the participation of states thereby shifting the focus away from individuals that play a significant role towards the development of the state (Sen, 1995, 1999). The use of macro-level development approaches has been debated against by critics. Their debates stipulate that interventions such as global women empowerment and global gender mainstreaming, underestimates local politics, social realities and belief systems (Barbanti, 2004). This according to Barbanti (2004) results from strong factors that are affecting the opportunities for conflict resolution, which remains overlooked by those who practice development. As such, it is necessary to move away from such an intellectual mood in order to identify specific needs for specific groups within a society thereby avoiding homogenizing the diverse needs of different groups and individuals. Feminist scholars have argued that development discourse tends to homogenize Southern women’s experiences with those of women in the North. This has led to a

repetition of failed attempts to alleviate poverty and gender oppression in Southern countries due to the failure to recognise the differences in race, culture and ethnicities of these women.

A further complexity in conceptualizing development has also got to do with how human needs change and vary over time and place (Hopper, 2012). Primarily, development was largely concerned with economic growth, the creation of wealth and material accumulation to the extent that human beings assumed a secondary place to those concerns (Sen, 1995, 1999). People were thus pushed from the centre of developmental debates and dialogues to their peripheries. This macro-level emphasis overlooked the fact that development must involve scrutinizing the efforts made by people in order to ensure that those it is intended for do benefit from it. Fortunately, the developmental focus has changed from being overly concerned with economic growth to one which pays more attention to the quality of human life: a shift that has attached greater importance to the attainment of political freedoms and social welfare targets (Haynes, 2008). As such, income is an important factor towards human well-being in conjunction with other social and political gains. Income generation is therefore not an end in itself (UNDP, 2004).

The quality of human life obtained from attaining greater political freedom and social welfare for women is therefore embedded in choosing development methods that are auto-centred (people-centred) - that is, development methods which are for and by the people (Sen, 1990; Chambers 1995). And therefore, by incorporating human development approaches into gender policy and discourse, a more serious emphasis on the need to extend human choices is made which could lead to the enhancement of women's capabilities (UNDP, 2004; Burchi & Muro, 2012). In which case, gender development and equality treated in conjunction with human rights make it more possible for women to achieve various forms of freedom (UNDP, 2004). Human rights are thus a means to enhanced human capabilities through the creation of the ability and room to exercise various types of freedom in politics, economy and society generally (Sen, 1995: 57). Knowledge acquisition is therefore of intrinsic value to the process of human development and can be seen as a critical means of building human capability (UNDP, 2012).

Nonetheless, international development institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) have continued to focus primarily on promoting economic

growth at the macro-level in the belief that increasing wealth at national level will in the medium term alleviate poverty throughout the entire nation (Sweetman, 2002: 10 & Kehler, 2005: 68). However, as already mentioned, economic development alone is only a necessary but largely insufficient condition for human development. And thus actively improving and promoting women's rights and equality at the grassroots has to be a key prerequisite for poverty alleviation and ultimately, national economic growth. By concentrating on human choices, opportunity is offered to people so that they can influence the processes that shape their lives while enabling those people to participate in different types of decision making processes, programme implementation, monitoring and adjustments, with a view to improve outcomes where necessary (Hopper, 2012). If gender equality is seen as a mechanism that benefits not just women but also their surrounding communities, then it should be accorded the appropriate levels of investment that would see its offered returns.

The need to put the sociological lens on women arose from the shared believe with feminist researchers that women more than men are vulnerable to poverty. Hence they are frequently named amongst the world's poor (World Bank, 2010; Kehler, 2005; Sweetman, 2000). Moreover, men and women in rural areas experience poverty in different ways, quantitatively and qualitatively (Sweetman, 2002). According to Sweetman (2002), women unlike men are doubly excluded in social, political and economic institutions which are grounded on sexual discrimination, social and economic exclusion. In other words women are not only excluded in major decision making processes within the private sphere but also in public spheres. Despite their efforts to break free from their reproductive roles in the households by seeking employment, women have to also go through institutional sexism where they acquire other gendered roles such as cleaning or secretarial and administrative work. In other instances, women may not even be appointed for jobs that are viewed as 'masculine' such as plumbing which are seen as requiring physical exertion. They may also be excluded from managerial positions that require thinking and problem-solving skills (Sweetman, 2002).

2.2 Gender and Agricultural Development

Agricultural production remains one of the key livelihood strategies for poverty alleviation and achieving food security across the globe. Agricultural development is one way in which Goals 1

of Ending Poverty and Hunger and 3 of Promoting Gender Equity and Empowering Women of the MDGs can be achieved (FAO, 2010-11: 1). It is known that agricultural labour globally is predominantly provided by women (Mwankusye 1999: 37). The Common Wealth Secretariat estimates that female farmers cultivate more than 50 percent of all food grown in developing countries. Furthermore, between 45 and 75 per cent of all economically active women depending on where they are in the developing regions of the globe said that their primary economic activity was agriculture (Common Wealth Secretariat, 2001: 20).

In Africa specifically, rural women contribute up to 60 per cent of the total agricultural labour force and 80 percent of the total food produced (FAO, 1994: 16). Not only do women outnumber men in the agricultural labour force but they also work more hours than men (Majake, 2001; FAO, 1994: 16). Khan (2006) argues that agriculture in South Africa plays a crucial role in sustainable development for the eradication of hunger and poverty. Nevertheless, the agricultural sector experiences challenges as far as sustainable development is concerned. One of the major challenges include how to find ways to make communities materially sufficient, socially equitable and ecologically sustainable (Quisumbing, *et al.*, 1995). Achieving these requires a declining obsession with growth coupled with an increasing motivation to satisfying human need through resource allocation (Quisumbing, *et al.*, 1995). Women, regardless of their efforts, still suffer from the consequences of repressive and oppressive discourses that describe and misinterpret the African woman as a home-maker and passive recipient of development (Oyewumi, 2005). These structures affect women's ability to have access to agricultural resources such as land and extension services.

While agriculture continues to be seen by rural development practitioners as a way towards poverty reduction, the sector continues to underperform in many countries mainly because women, who are its fundamental resources, face constraints that reduce their productivity (Sofa Team & Doss, 2011). Though women's struggles may seem to be similar, their participation in rural labour markets varies considerably across regions. Vast evidence from different studies and researchers has shown that women are often paid less than men for the same work (Quisumbing, *et al.*, 1995). The labour burden of rural women exceeds that of men and includes a higher

proportion of unpaid household responsibilities related to preparing food, and collecting fuel wood and water (Majake, 2001)

2.3 Women and Agricultural development in Africa

According to Whitehead (1990) rural women make vital contributions to the agricultural and rural economies in all developing countries. Women's roles differ significantly between and within different regions (Ayoade, 2011). Their activities predominantly comprise of producing agricultural crops, tending animals, processing and preparing food, working wages in agricultural or other rural initiatives, collecting fuel and water, engaging in trade and marketing, taking care of family members and sustaining their homes (Sabo, 2003; Quisumbing, 2004). In spite of their contributions which include agricultural activities, policy makers are more concerned with health and nutrition programs for women which emphasize only their socially constructed reproductive roles. As a consequence, women have been neglected as productive agents as well (Mahapa & Mashiri, 2000).

In support of gender mainstreaming, the African Focus Bulletin (2011) argues that providing women equal access to agricultural resources as men would increase the productivity levels on women's farms in 'developing countries' by at least 20 to 30 per cent. This bulletin further argues that this could raise the total agricultural production in 'developing countries' by 2.5 to 4 per cent which could contribute to poverty reduction by 12 to 17 per cent for between 100 to 150 million people (African Focus Bulletin, 2011: 40). An estimated 9.25 million people in the world were undernourished in 2011/12, the majority of who lived in developing countries (FAO, 2011). These findings are central to recognizing the impact that the empowerment of women through agricultural and transport innovations could have on the economy of South Africa in particular. Gender mainstreaming initiatives could improve the living conditions of people in rural communities and rural households. Furthermore, the statistics provided in this bulletin add weight to the position that agricultural development is an important step toward economic development and transformation (World Bank: n.d). Gender sensitive agricultural development is therefore central to the general task of development.

2.4 Gender and Agriculture in South Africa

A study called the “Employment Trends in Agriculture in South Africa” showed that women were the largest number of those employed on farms and in the non-farming informal sector (Statistics South Africa, 2000: 19). Results also showed that the agricultural commercial sector is largely comprised and dominated by men, which presupposes that more women than men are engaged in subsistence farming with minimal profit (Census, 2010). In the Limpopo province, the gender employment gap was found to be the widest in the whole country in which 37 per cent of unemployed women were involved in subsistence farming compared to 12 per cent of unemployed men. Since South Africa is one of the poor countries in the world, agriculture is the most dominant activity. The agricultural sector contributes 70 per cent to the South African Economy (Census, 2010). The sector plays an important role in South Africa because of the opportunities for sustaining livelihoods through the employment it offers and the resultant linkages between agriculture and the rest of the community.

In this regard, it is imperative that agriculture particularly as it pertains to women’s involvement be taken more seriously because it would be a more effective tool at decreasing poverty at the micro-level of the household even in a country in which other sectors such as mining and industry contribute greatly to macro-economic performance (Alderman, 1994: 23). This notwithstanding, agricultural growth is seen as the more viable poverty reduction mechanism than most other sectors especially in the efforts to achieve Goal 1 of the MDGs. As already mentioned, this is because agricultural activity in South Africa represents the largest immediate source of employment for the majority of its unemployed citizens. According to Meijerink *et al.* (2007: 20) because most rural households depend directly or indirectly on agriculture, given the large contribution of the sector to the overall economy, one might expect agriculture to be an important factor of development and growth. This point is critical especially when considered against the fact that up to 70 per cent of the African continent’s poor people live in rural areas and depend on agriculture for food and livelihood (International Fund for Agricultural Development, 2012).

Within the SADC region, agricultural development planning, research and extension services have also overlooked the importance of improving small holder farming. This is because

agricultural development is seen as incapable of making meaningful contributions to the economy and subsequently national development (Haynes, 2005). In spite of this attitude, women in the SADC region are the largest labour force group in the agricultural sector. For example, Malawian women make up to 70 per cent of agricultural work which includes planting, weeding, harvesting and processing food such that around 80 per cent of all food consumed at the household level in Malawi is produced by women (Haynes, 2005: 17). This is perhaps the reason why Hames (2005: 25) surmises that “given the vital role women play in agriculture, one of the necessary conditions to achieving sustainable development and improving food security in the region is the provision of sufficient attention and support to women farmers who form a majority of the farming production both as workers and food producers”.

Still more, the efforts rural women make through their unpaid and burdensome endeavours are further challenged by time, mobility and energy constraints at the expense of their health, well-being and productivity (Doss & Sofa Team, 2011, Majake 2001, Ayoade, 2011). As such, contribution of women in agricultural and rural development should be improved and enhanced by implementing resolutions that relate to the specific problems they encounter as economic and social stakeholders for the fact that their integration into agricultural and rural development improves the efficiency and sustainability human development (Sweetman, 2004; Bock and Shortall, 2008)..

2.5 Factors Contributing to Women’s Misrepresentation in Agricultural Development

Below are some factors that have made it difficult for women to partake in commercial activities of farming.

2.5.1 Socio-cultural factors

The society to which one belongs plays a significant role in how the individual perceives herself or himself. Members of a society co-exist and cooperate by conforming to the cultural norms of their society (Schalkwyk, 1996). In other words, their ability to participate in the social interactions of the society is reliant on their compliance to prescribed rules (norms) for socializing with others. As such, it is out of the learned ways of behaving that power relations are formed which find their expression in the access and allocation of community and societal

resources. In this section of the chapter socio-cultural factors are highlighted in order to show the effects of norms, values and cultural ideologies on the ways women perceive themselves and their participation in agricultural development.

According to Schalkwyk *et al.* (1996) “culture shapes the way in which things are done and our understanding of why this should be so”. Similarly, values and beliefs which are culturally derived serve as norms that determines when certain behaviours are appropriate and when they are not which allow for a wide range of situational and individual difference (Schalkwyk *et al.*, 1996). For example in Malawi riding bicycles is seen as inappropriate for women to the extent that women are often seen pushing bicycles carrying loads without getting on them (Peters, 1999, :10; IT Transport Ltd, 1996: 22). Thus culturally derived values, beliefs and norms can also operate as important constraints to social change and social transformation especially for women (Wasti and Cortina, 2002: 1).

Gender is thus related to culture because gender roles and definitions are culturally defined. As Wasti *et al.* (2002: 1) puts it, “the behaviours, the expectations of attributes as well as the relations between men and women are shaped by culture”. In the agricultural sector, farming – a practice predominantly carried out by women – is considered part of the domain of man or males. These cultural attitudes or notions might be due to the fact that most land is owned by men (Radel, 2011). They are then reproduced through acts of gender performance (Butler, 1988). Men continue to perform their culturally derived ‘masculine’ duties which require them to perform the hard labour and own the means of production. While on the other hand, women, continue to perform ‘light’ duties such as nursing the elderly and taking care of the entire household.

In addition, masculinities, femininities and other gender relations are important aspects of culture because they shape the ways to which daily life between men and women is lived in the family, the wider community and the workplace (Brown, 1995). The degree and extent to which women and men come to have knowledge and understanding about themselves is in many ways shaped by the socio-cultural norms and values of the societies in which they belong. Their ability to know who they are and what they do in their respective societies is governed by their socio-

cultural norms and values. These socio-cultural norms also ascribe men and women to different levels of power, duties, responsibility and ability to become active members in their communities and the broader society (Brown, 1995).

In other words, culture also plays a role in dictating or shaping the amount of power that one has in a particular societal structure. The status of men and women within their societies also informs the types of roles or duties that men and women play in their respective societies (Quisumbing, 2003). For example, in a patriarchal society like Zimbabwe, men have significantly more power than women. Men in Zimbabwe are thus more likely to hold wealthier and more powerful positions than women.

These notions have been brought about by the influence of the historical ideologies of patriarchy and colonialism in Africa which have led to the perpetuation of inequalities existing between men and women especially in economic terms (Brown & Haddad, 1995). The patriarchal system empowered men in designing cultural expectations that required the male to possess wealth and own resources so he could be the ‘breadwinner’ within the new context. Also, these cultural ideologies suggested that women are subordinate to men because women could only be taken care of by their husbands. This systematic exclusion of women prevented them from becoming active participants in the economy or decision making processes of the societies they lived in (Mohanty, 1940; Moser, 1993). However, with the gradual shifts that are taking place in many societies, ideas around what it means to be male or female are also being challenged and changed.

Patterns of gender relations between men and women also vary among societies. For instance, women in more traditional societies particularly in rural areas experience greater expectations to conform to cultural ideologies of patriarchy that lessen their personal freedom and limit their access resources. Furthermore, they are largely denied involvement in decision-making processes that influence their societies and lives (Jackson, 2005; Brown, 1994). Gender relations are thus “like any other form of relations... are structured by ideologies and belief practices, property and resource access and ownership, legal codes and so on” (Imam 1994: 40). The interactions

between men and women are therefore largely governed by cultural norms that standardize material possessions into a ranking order that places men higher than women.

2.5.2 Effects of Status on the Perceptions of Women

Status, is defined as a classification or a position which significantly determinants of how people are defined and treated (Macionis and Plummer, 2008: 150). Max Weber identified status as among the more prominent social structures that inform the organization of social interaction (Macionis & Plummer, 2008). For example, women acquire statuses in her society from being employed, married, single or divorced which impact on how others treat, relate and even define them. In this manner, gender roles are socially reproduced through processes in which women are expected to maintain the same cultural or social status throughout their entire lives making it difficult for them to achieve a different status to the ones they possess. And since workplaces and other social institutions have not been modified in meaningful ways to accommodate and account for the new statuses of women, their range of acceptable behaviour is severely restricted (Breen & Rottman, 1995).

Status is therefore essential to understanding social stratification and persistent inequalities between men and women. Max Weber (1949) identified two types of status namely, *achieved* statuses and *ascribed* statuses. Achieved statuses are acquired through effort and merit while ascribed statuses are imposed at birth, requiring individuals to carry out certain roles in order to maintain them (Weber, 1949). For example, from birth and onwards, a girl is raised into the traditional role of a woman which involves cooking, cleaning, fetching of water and other related activities. She is expected to perform those roles in order to be considered a woman. In contrast, a boy is raised into the role of a man which might involve herding cattle in pastoral and agrarian societies, pursuing and acquiring wealth, and heading his household in order to pass on his legacy to his sons. According to Weber, such ideology subjects women to caste-like circumstances that deny them the same rewards that men for their efforts (Macionis & Plummer, 2008).

2.5.3 Intra-household Resource Allocation

Beyond these constraints to development there are also other factors involving the access to and allocation of resources that are also sometimes overlooked in society. These are factors are found within households themselves. In the following descriptions of resource allocations within the household, the idea that there is harmony and equality within the household is challenged. Rather the role of households in the furthering of inequalities through their internal resource allocations will be made clearer.

Thus, in this chapter, the ideas of the household as a unitary model poses as a threat to development because most agricultural projects implemented often do not take into account the different rights, resources and responsibilities of men and women within the household (Quisumbing, 2003: 53). Most women and men in South Africa use different plots of land and separate purses, and typically do not pool their resources together (Quisumbing, 2003). The distribution of wealth and power thus becomes an issue in need of analysis particularly in view of the subordinate social and economic position of women.

Women generally have to cope with their relative lack of power in the household. This is particularly more acute for the poorest women. Their subordination is embedded and derived from the gender stereotypes and cultural norms that give men the upper hand when decisions need to be made within the household (Sweetman, 2002: 4). The household “is a primary and immediate unit of society in which members experience inclusion, or exclusion, gender performance and rights to decision making processes” (Macionis & Plummer, 2008; Quisumbing *et al.*, 1995). In this manner, family is an effective system in which unequal traditions and relationships are established and inherited (Little, 1994: 21). These traditions are based on defining different realms for men and women on the basis of cultural notions of their inherent characteristics.

It is within the household domain that the roles of men and women are defined and exercised. For example, within a patriarchal setting, the man is ascribed as the breadwinner. This title of breadwinner affords him the right to make decisions on behalf of all members of that household. The man thus achieves a position of “power” to which all members of the household yield. This

position of power is largely based on his contribution to the household (Sen, 1990). Functionalist perspectives deem these types of household settings as mandatory functions for the processes of socialization. Still more, function argues that for a family to function as a unit there is need for all members to play their socially and culturally ascribed roles. Women's reproductive roles such as cleaning, cooking and taking care of children are also perceived as crucial to the unitary model of the household. Such conservative perspectives and analyses of the family unit serve to institutionalise sexism and patriarchy in society.

Power is "the capacity to affect the quality of the other persons' outcomes and the ability to get another person to do what one wants her or him to do despite initial resistance" (Lips, 1991: 4). Power is also defined as control over human and other resources as well as core social institutions. It is a form of control that makes possible both the effective initiation of action and decision and the use of effective sanctions (Bebbington *et al.*, 2004: 189). Power is therefore an inherent part and process of relationships, and as such, relationships are characterized by skewed processes of bargaining between those who have power and those are subjects to it (Quisumbing, 2003). That being so, bargaining itself is a form of power which could be important to understanding relationships between men and women particularly because it denotes the ability of a person or a group to get what they want amidst persons who have varying amounts of power (Quisumbing, 2003).

2.5.4 Bargaining power and resource allocations

In the process of bargaining a series of implicit or explicit negotiations and exchanges rests on resources. The influencer is in a bad position if she or he has nothing to offer in return for compliance (Sweetman, 2001: 60). For example, a woman without land or land rights is placed in a bad position to bargain for what is produced on that land. Furthermore, the produce of that land will be perceived as belonging to her husband.

The material conditions of property ownership are further compounded by socio-cultural norms and ideologies which together sustain the subordination of women in the household. If women have little or no bargaining power, they are systematically placed in a position of vulnerability and voiceless-ness. A members bargaining power is defined by "the strengths of one's fall-back

position which are the outside options which determine how well-off he/she would be if cooperation failed” (Folbre, 1995; Kabeer 1994; Oxfam, 1995). As such, a woman’s level of power in the bargaining process is determined by the extent to which she has command over valuable resources (Quisumbing, 2003: 19). Equal distribution of resources will thus enable fairer representation in the household, and subsequently in public spheres where decisions about development are made.

An economically empowered woman not only makes a contribution in the household but also acquires stronger fall-back position. On the contrary a woman located in a patriarchal society with no employment, and who works on her husband’s land may remain in the same social position of subordination and oppression without much reward for her labour (Sen, 1990). For example, studies have shown that “men are most likely to be supportive of women riding bicycles if there is a direct benefit related to them doing so” (Earth Summit, 2002). If women can take goods to the market faster (Peters, 1999: 19 & Porter, 1999), then transport resources are allocated to them. Therefore, the improvement of the person’s fall-back position would lead to an improvement in the deal the person gets within the households.

A study by Brown (1994 “showed that in order to understand people’s access to resources, it is necessary to analyse a multiplicity of functional groupings”. First, one needs to understand the bargaining processes within them. Secondly, the resources flows associated with particular social relationships. Thirdly, the way production and reproduction are embedded in the wider social and political relations. And lastly, the effects that these three factors have on individual opportunities (Young, 1990; Brown, 1994). The study also showed that women are not only tied up with daily activities of caring for children and domestic services but are constrained in the access to essential and strategic resources. Findings also reflected that certain social structures which are often rooted in traditional societies prevent women from having equal access to land, labour, credit, education, and extension services (Brown, 1994 & Date-Bah, 1997).

Moreover the level, type and the extent of women’s participation in economic production is also weakened by the lack of access to essential and strategic resources. One cannot ignore the impact that extra-household policy and politics has had on the intra-household resource allocation. “For

example, improvements in the prices of agricultural products benefit the owners of land. If land owners always happen to be men, they will have greater bargaining power. Social systems and organizations still operate on the basis of who the head of the household is and the amount of bargaining power he has in decision-making processes in traditional societies. Consequently, this type of thinking leads to the ill treatment, subordination and oppression of women by their husbands.

2.5.5 Patriarchy, Institutional Sexism and Agriculture

The important feature of farming as an occupation is that few women farm in their own right. The patrilineal line of inheritance which involves the passing of land from father to son means that women rarely inherit land (Shortall, 1992). Their typical entry into land acquisition for farming is through marriage. Shortall (2001: 65) argues that, “feminist research has proved that traditional definitions of farm work focus on the work of the owner and manager and normally the work of women on the farms goes unnamed and unrecognized”. Thus women’s whole relationship to farming is shaped by their route of entry and position within the farm family (Shortfall, 2001).

The misrecognition and underrepresentation of women in farming are also largely influenced by cultural and economic discourses in the society in which a woman belongs. A study by Radel (2001) on *becoming farmers* discusses how female farmer’s recognition is influenced by “strongly gendered construction of farmer identity”. According to Radel (2001), men in Latin America are socially constructed as farmers, whereas women are constructed as helpers and housewives. Such constructs devalue woman’s bodies and abilities in relation to those of their male counterparts. Women’s bodies are seen as disabled for farming in relation to their male (Saugeres, 2002). Consequently, when and if women show that they are able to run farms by themselves and do work which is usually defined as masculine, they are presented as only being able to do so because they have male assistance (Saugeres, 2002; Radel, 2011).

2.5.6 Gendered Divisions of Labour

In line with arguments against patriarchy and sexism, Pini (2005) observes “that discursive representation of the bodies of women and men in a farm context maintains and legitimates farm

women to a subordinate position to male farmers.” In South Africa farming practices are comparable to those of Latin America where farming is seen as an essentially masculine domain in which socially constructed masculine attributes such as physical strength and technical knowledge are valued (Liepins 1996; Pini, 2005). Liepens (1996; 1998), in her work on women and farming where saw agricultural media as a discourse, identified that the ways in which media shapes the construction of farming as needing masculine strength, control and action. Lipens (1996; 1998) argues that within these discourses men and masculinities are honoured while women and femininities are marginalized, thereby enforcing perceptions that men are natural farmers while women are not.

The discourses and notions linking men and farming have offered men a wide range of material opportunities including an increased ability to access agricultural training, obtain credit to farm, and achieve positions of agricultural leadership for land. While on the other hand these very discourses has brought harm to the image of female farmers across the globe. Taylor (2003: 25) sees these trends as politics of recognition in which “identity is shaped by the recognition or the misrecognition of others”. He states further that “people can suffer real damage and real distortion if the people or society around them mirrors back to them a confining, demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves” (Taylor, 2003). According to his arguments, non-recognition inflicts harm, and that it is a form of oppression and imprisonment of someone into a false and distorted state of being.

Drawing from Taylor’s (2003) argument, it can be said that issues facing women in agricultural production are largely the result of the social construction of gender identity which automatically place women in an inferior position to men. Patriarchal ideologies thus inflict women because they perpetuate the abuse and ill treatment of women by their husbands as well as their male community members. Socio-cultural norms also forming part of societal structure and social behaviour can thus be seen as limitations and constraints to women acquiring equality and resources to better themselves in their respective societies as well as their place in agricultural production.

A continuous process of monitoring and evaluation of female-led agricultural projects and their transport allocations within rural areas should be adopted to assist the progress of women in development. Proper documentation of women's achievements and participation, and the education of members of the public especially men could assist bring about successful and sustainable developments.

2.5.7 Land Access

According to Marcus (1991) land is a fundamental component of property relations in every society since it is one of the natural resources essential for social existence. Even so, acquiring land in rural areas is a difficult task to fulfil for women. This is because farm land is ultimately associated with having social and political access to and control over resources (Radel, 2001). According to the FAO (2012), women's constitutional rights are frequently jeopardized by conflicting laws or long-standing traditional practices. Women often have access to land through "secondary land-rights" which means that they hold these rights through male family members. This in itself poses as risk to long entitlements in case of divorce or widowhood (FAO, 2011). The differential access to land and trajectories between men and women "pushes women to the margins where they are taken for granted. The failure for government to seriously consider women's land questions of ownership and control does not only reflect the indifferences of hegemonic masculinities to gender-land interfaces but also a crisis in development and democracy whereby women continue to be victims" (Commission on Gender Equality, 2000: 15).

Furthermore, the fight for land reform in South Africa is a compound web of interrelated national, class, race and gender issues which arise out of the legacy of apartheid (Marcus, 1991: 25). The ownership of land affects greatly the political and social status of the majority of South Africans as much as their economic position. According to Robert Chambers (1983: 38) "the landless face a harsh arithmetic of supply and demand". He also argues that since women are in most societies and communities amongst the landless, their social position and social status is weakened. In a male dominated society like South Africa, women are differentially and unfavourably placed in relation to land and all social resources than men (Chambers, 1989; Cross & Hornby, 2002). For example, in a study by Marcus (1991), it is seen that black women stand

at a disadvantage within their class and division. Even though the majority of subsistence farmers in South Africa and African countries are women, their social position often curtails their abilities to farm as productively as possible (Cross & Hornby, 2002).

Results from case studies on women and land access in South Africa reflect that giving land to women does not automatically lift them out of poverty because allocating land to a unitary household does not guarantee women's ownership of land. Therefore, "collating women's needs with those of men does not ensure sustainable livelihoods for women or dramatic outcomes" (Bhatasara, 2011: 3). Without gender aware officials on bodies dealing with allocation, inheritance and dispute settlement, a male bias among these officials will continue to stand in the way to women's enjoyment of their rights (Cross & Hornby, 2002). Inclusion of women in decision-making and policy formulation processes, especially among vulnerable groups such as slum dwellers, and ethnic minorities is important. The issue of land allocation has served to be more problematic in the African continent than in any other continent in the world. Therefore, its allocation should be of fundamental concern to every citizen as it affects their basic human rights (Marcus, 1991).

Moreover, women who work on farms are employed as casual and seasonal workers, competing with children, rights-less and without terms of employment (Chambers, 1983: 149). The distribution of land to women, as well as their involvement in land reform policy decision making processes is important in agricultural development. This is so because involving women in land right policies would not only improve their socio-economic statuses but would also empower women to take part in agriculture. Indeed, the idea of women having to marry to acquire land puts African women at a disadvantage. Unfortunately, because land is often governed by chiefdoms, tribal authorities and husbands in rural communities, women are often unable to decide what is produced on the land, how much land to apportion to what activity, and for what purposes (Chambers, 1983: 149). In other words, whoever owns the land controls access to it, determines its uses, decides the economic, social and political beneficiaries of production on it and how the wealth thereof can be exploited (Doss, 2002 & Carr, 2008). Thus the owner of the land may exercise his or her power on the land as he or she wishes

In cases where a woman is able to acquire land she is required to send forth her uncle or brother to purchase the land for her because in a tribal community a woman is seen as someone who is unable to conduct negotiations with men (Saugeres, 2002 & Radel, 2011). An attempt to remedy such practises was made by the South African government through the passing of the Traditional Affairs Bill in 1996 (Cele, n.d). The Bill was designed to improve communal governance enforcing the practices of good governance within institutions of traditional authorities. Nevertheless, studies show that women are still underrepresented within those institutions due to the socio-cultural expectations that are still dominant in those settings. Women thus remain reluctant to speak in meetings or are “unwillingness to challenge authority” in line with those expectations (Cross & Hornby, 2002: 29). Challenging cultural norms may require that both men and women be educated about the benefits of the involvement of women in agricultural projects. Also, educating men about the benefits of having a society in which women are involved in labour may eliminate or reduce competitiveness between men and women involved in the same labour (FAO, 2004 & Farnworth, 2010). In the last instance, organizational structures should be compelled to represent the needs of both men and women so that they are treated equally regarding the distribution of resources and the contribution of opinions in decision making processes.

2.5.8 Agricultural Extension

Agricultural extension strategies traditionally have focused on increasing production of cash crops by complementing the agricultural activities of men with training, information access, inputs and services (Berger *et al.*, 1984; Farnworth, 2010). Thus resources have been channelled to men in agricultural labour. The resultant gender stereotypes have led to the perception that women are incapable of using agricultural technologies and transport resources for their own labour. Moreover, contrary to the notions that women are the weaker sex, studies show that women’s daily workloads do not often permit them to be absent from home for residential training, or even attending short courses. Being absent from their homes may cause problems as there may not be a substitute to carry out household duties. The study also showed that even where the attendance of these women is high, women are mainly instructed in home economics

and other forms craftsmanship. They are not trained in technical agricultural knowledge (Brown, 1991; Farnworth, 2010).

The issue then lies in the improvement of development strategies and societal norms which would bring about a shift in communal thinking and cultural ideology. These maybe the requisite changes that would facilitate the empowerment of women and their subsequent improved participation in development. For example, a study by Sotomayor (2007) highlighted the experience of the Uruguay rural water program; Sotomayor (2007) argues that women's involvement in decision making increased the viability of the rural water program by locating and designing the new water facilities to reflect women's needs. He argues that women's social empowerment increased through their participation in water board associations (Sotomayor, 2007). According to Lips (1991), when seeking to understand the distribution of resources, the first step should be to analyzing the power in any set of relationships.

2.6 Policies in Agricultural Development in Africa

According to Ellis (1996) agricultural policy can be defined as the “course of action chosen by governments to change or influence the social and economic context within which agricultural production and marketing activities takes place”. Agricultural policies are often perceived as a way in which the government responds to the needs of the people through various methods of mediation. These interventions may be designed to influence prices of input, prices of output, and the income of farmers. They may also be designed to improve the technology of farm production and institutions responsible for the administration of agricultural production and marketing activities.

The African Union's New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), is a strategic framework for pan-African socio-economic development (NEPAD, 2003). It is an intervention approved by African leaders to address serious challenges facing the African continent. Some of these challenges include poverty, development and Africa's marginalization internationally (NEPAD, 2003). NEPAD was developed to improve economic productivity through agricultural-led development. Its broader aim is to reduce poverty and hunger in the lives of Africa's poor particularly those in rural areas by “increasing investments, developing better agricultural

policies and enhancing more support for farmers” (NEPAD, 2003). The policy holds that improving agricultural production for reducing hunger in Africa makes economic sense (CAADP, 2003). The argument therein lies in the idea that agricultural development constitutes the backbone of the economy mainly in Africa.

Even so, the “NEPAD” policy has to a certain extent failed to address gender issues by not recognizing women as marginalized members of development efforts (Sibanda, 2003 & Mahapa, 2010). In no ways does the policy use concepts of women empowerment or even address the need for human skills development for women involved in agricultural development. The policy fails to make a declaration of the need to improve and recognize women’s interests in development processes. According to Mahapa (2003) “irrespective of its declared interest in a major policy goal of *promoting and protecting democracy and human rights* and in *developing clear standards of participatory government*, the NEPAD policy has failed to accurately distinguish the importance of gender equality and empowerment which is essential to the achievement of these goals” (Mahapa 2003: 6). Arguably, the lack of women representatives in the executive committees of the African Leaders responsible for drafting the policy might account for its failure to recognize gender issues in agricultural and broader developmental activities.

2.6.1 The Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Programme

In 2003 the Comprehensive African Agricultural Development Programme (CAADP) was introduced as a substructure of the “NEPAD” policy. The CAADP focuses mainly on improving and promoting agriculture across Africa. Its aims are to eliminate poverty and reduce hunger through agriculture (CAADP, 2003). The programme and its developers had the following objectives to realize by 2015. They wanted to see;

- Dynamic agricultural markets within and between countries and regions in Africa
- Farmers being active in the market economy and the continent, becoming a net exporter of agricultural products
- A more equitable distribution of wealth for rural populations
- Africa as a strategic player in agricultural science and technology; and

- Environmentally sound agricultural production and a culture of sustainable management of natural resources in Africa”.

CAADP has four pillars, which are;

Pillar 1: Land and water management

Pillar 2: Rural Infrastructure and trade-related capacities for improved Market Access

Pillar 3: Increasing food supply and reducing hunger

Pillar 4: Agricultural Research

For this study’s purposes, only Pillars 2 and 4 are focused on in order to illustrate the role of transport in agricultural development as well as the importance of recognizing female farmers.

Pillar 2 of the CAADP emphasizes the importance of increasing market access through improved rural infrastructure and other trade related interventions. The strategies to achieving this aim includes upgrading transportation (road, rail, marine and airfreight) as well as expanding rural roads (CAADP, 2003). Thus according to this pillar transportation is a key strategy and tool that is essential to the improvement of market access. Without it farmers are unable to access markets to meet the needs of their customers and their households. Such information about transportation and its importance in agricultural development shows that there is a relationship between transportation and socio-economic improvements (Collett & Gale, 2009). The greater the link and relationship developed between transport and agricultural development the greater the chances of improvement in market access and subsequent economic improvement.

For instance, if improving a footpath to a vehicle track has positive impact for a farmer, what more improving a poor quality earth track road to a good quality gravel road (NEPAD, 2003). These findings may hold true for farmers in rural areas and in the Limpopo Province at large. Creating space to discover the ways that gender issues can be incorporated into these strategies is very crucial to development particularly considering that women are to a great extent responsible

much of the productivity in agriculture especially in rural areas (Collett & Gale, 2009; Hines *et al.*, 2001). Thus developing basic vehicle access to areas of high agricultural potential should be considered more than increasing the quality of access to areas which already have vehicle access.

Pillar 4 emphasizes the need to improve agricultural research systems in order to disseminate appropriate new technologies. This goal is very crucial to the provision of resources required for agricultural development because inaccurate information about the state of farming hampers the magnitude of improvements that can be achieved. As such the Forum of Agriculture in Africa has worked closely with partners such as the DFID UK's Research into Use (RIU) programme to improve the support available to farmers to adopt such new measures (NEPAD, 2003). Pillar 4, however, falls short on identifying gender differences in agriculture. According to Meizen-Dick *et al.* (2010), successful development strategies and interventions, are those that are transformative in nature, be it through creating opportunities, new commodities and services or changing the way people perceive and react to change. Meizen-Dick *et al.* (2010) argues further that changing agricultural research from male-domination to gender equity is a matter of political correctness of ideology. He states;

“We will not be able to meet the food needs of the future population or ensure that productivity translates into improved welfare for the poor unless we take gender into account more seriously in agricultural research and development (Meizen-Dick, et al., 2010:12)”

Critics of the CAADP programme also support claims made by other researchers in the field that the agricultural sector has suffered much neglect. Some scholars of this field have argued that in order to solve this condition, women farmers must be specifically taken care of and that assistance should be given to them primarily (Sibanda, 2010). They go on to argue that over and above what governments provide in the form of seeds, fertilizers, marketing assistance and credit, they must give the special support to women farmers who produce the majority of Africa's food.

2.6.2 South African Agricultural Policy, NEPAD and the CAADP

The South African Policy for agriculture, drafted by the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (2011) is similar to the NEPAD and CAADP frameworks. It too states that in order to address poverty and food security there's need for an increase in agricultural productivity and output. The policy thus endeavors enable and enhance the agricultural sectors contributions to the economic growth of the country (DAFF, 2011: 10). The policy intends to achieve this by increasing the incomes of the poorest groups in society through the bolstering of opportunities for small-scale farmers and medium scale farmers needed to raise production to meet both consumption and market demands of the South African nation (DAFF, 2011: 10). The policy holds that in order to ensure that small-scale farmers are supported and enabled to contribute effectively to the agricultural sector there is need to practice auto-centered development; that is to champion "Batho Pele" or the people first principle. Auto-centered development is seen as crucially important to achieving sustainable development in the agricultural sector.

Yet, much like the other policies, the South African Agricultural Policy (2011) fails to adequately incorporate and mainstream gender into its programmatic activities. For one, the policy does not mention the ways in which both men and women are supported in their labour, and as such, portrays an unproductive gender neutrality towards agriculture. This means that even though policy promises equal distribution of resources, the actual practice of achieving this goal is not stipulated. This then creates room for ambiguities especially since the sector is comprised mostly of women. The policy thus does not contain enough measures to be taken by the agricultural officials to ensure that gender is mainstreamed into policy so as to identify gender difference and gender biases in the sector. With this, the ability to achieve the policy's goals of equal distribution of resources will not materialize. And overall, the policy will not work in favour of women involved in farming.

2.7 The Role of Transport in Agricultural Development

"Rural transport, infrastructure, and services are not only key components in rural development but are also an important ingredient in ensuring sustainable poverty reduction" (Button & Nijkamp, 1997: 215). This is so because transport has long been a strategic factor in agriculture,

rural development and social change dynamics (Button & Nijkamp, 1997). Transport acts as a bridge linking factories and industries with markets making it possible for finished products and industrial inputs to be available at the right time and place, in the required forms and quantities (Mashiri *et al.*, 2002; FAO, 2004; Chakwizira & Mashiri, 2009). Improving investment in rural road constructions and maintenance like some studies have suggested can have important and significant impacts on rural incomes and the quality of human lives which is one of the preconditions for development (Chakwizira, Nhemachena & Mashiri, 2010).

Moreover, a study by Ajiboye & Afoloyan (2009) showed that inadequate provision of transport leads to an average waste of 25 per cent of total agricultural foodstuff produced. When transport is made available in agricultural development economic growth is stimulated through increased accessibility, efficiency and effectiveness (Ajiboye & Afoloyan, 2009). This shows that the availability of transport facilities is a crucial and most critical determinant to development in poorer countries. The lack thereof has great impact on farmer's productive affordability and consumer's purchasing power which may affect the farmer's ability to make sustainable income. Thus, if and when transport services are infrequent, or of poor quality, farmers will be at a disadvantage when they attempt to sell their crops (Ajiboye & Afoloyan, 2009). If the journey to market is made on rough roads then some crops may get damaged which would also result in lower prices for the farmer (Ajiboye & Afoloyan, 2009). Transport is a way in which food processed and produced on a farm site can be moved to different homes through markets which is an important factor in agricultural productivity. The people's quality of life is enhanced; markets for agricultural produce are created and sustained; and new areas of economic focus between geographical and economic regions open up.

In addition, results of the study by Afoloyan & Ajiboye (2009) showed that improved transportation would encourage farmers to increase their productivity levels in the rural areas, which in turn would reduce spoilage and wastage since it would be easier for farmer to move inputs and workers to markets and agro allied industries. Inefficient transport for agricultural production can hamper expansion because it is time consuming and expensive. High losses are likely to occur owing to such lower carrying capacities while opportunities to produce more

profitable crops are not taken. Meanwhile, walking to and from markets consumes energy which could otherwise be productively used on the fields (Ajiboye & Afoloyan, 2009). Therefore, improving the nature of transportation will lead to the empowerment of farmers which has a positive impact on their income thus leading to poverty reduction.

More so, the need to transport goods to and from the farm is a necessary task often connected to agricultural activities of rural households. The function of road networks in agricultural production and marketing reflects the strength of the households' agricultural connections with the wider economy (Mashiri *et al.*, 2002; FAO, 2004; Chakwizira & Mashiri, 2009). Therefore, agricultural systems are dependent on the quality of road access for the delivery of farm inputs to local communities and for relocation of produce from the local area to market places.

Furthermore, accessibility to transport is also considered a fundamental aspect to the development of the African continent. This is so because it is believed that the lack of roads and transport leads to the perpetuation of poverty (Greico *et al.*, 2009). According to Liu *et al.* (2011), most poverty-targeted interventions depend on transport as a complementary input for their effective delivery. The distributive impact of transport projects and the potential for transport projects to play a direct proactive role in assisting the poor has received little attention. Chingozho (2002) also argues that there is a need to strengthen the direct role of transport intervention in poverty reduction. Another issue that needs consideration is that of access itself which has over the years been a complex one. This has been so because most policies and programmes typically fail to incorporate gender issues that transform goals into implementable projects.

More results from the study conducted by Sibanda (2001) showed that women and men in rural areas have different roles and responsibilities that each one plays. This suggests that "men and women have different responsibilities for transport tasks" (Fernando & Porter, 2002: 2). Evidence, has also shown that women in rural areas often carry heavier loads than men and yet they have less access to transport and resources. Women unlike men, have fewer opportunities in the use of transport technologies such as wheelbarrows, tractors and bicycles. As such the

physical burden of transportation is not alleviated to the effect that household and agricultural duties remain untransformed (Porter, 2008: 284). Peters (1999: 20) found in this study of *Gender issues in transportation* that seventy percent of the 1.3 billion people living in poverty worldwide are women”. In that study, he demonstrates that transport related issues alongside access to jobs, markets and social/educational facilities play a huge role in perpetuating women’s disadvantaged position in society (Peters, 1999). This assumption was made upon discovering that there is a difference in the mobility needs of men and women which are themselves grounded in the gender based division of labour within the community and the family. In addition, it was found that transport systems are often not directed to the needs of women but are often times biased towards the travel needs of male breadwinners.

Similarly, Mashiri and Mahapa (2002) argue that gender has not been integrated into the mainstream of either the infrastructure debate or the debate on rural transport services, particularly in rural areas. Recommendations about the integration of women into infrastructure debates and rural transport suggest that allowing women to participate and share their perspectives in “the planning of transport needs and patterns would reduce the overall burden of transport (Ali-Nejadfard, 1999: 202).

2.8 The Significance of Gender Equality in Transport

Research, in gender and development, shows that the availability of transport is very important for the agricultural development of rural communities (Chingozho, 2002: 26). Summarily, studies demonstrate that transport is a key mechanism in reducing distances between farmers and markets (Mahapa, 2003; Mashinini *et al.*, 2009; Salon & Gulyani, 2009). Transport modes and infrastructure enable farmers to access markets for the selling of produce. In turn, farmers’ socio-economic statuses improve which subsequently lead to improvements in the living standards of communities (Mahapa, 2003). Moreover, the transport investments and inputs have led to the improvement of living standards in rural areas although this might not be so for all communities in South Africa. Accessibility, proximity and location to transport resources has improved people’s mobility’s over the years (Mahapa, 2003; Mashinini *et al.*, 2009; Salon & Gulyani,

2009). Individuals and communities are now able to travel and access goods and services more easily (Fernando & Porter; 2002: 1).

Regardless of the developments in accessibility and transport, the development of transport infrastructure has for a long time been assumed to be gender neutral with both sexes benefitting equally from well-designed projects (Mashiri, 2005: 16). More recognition is accorded to the fact that men and women have different transport needs and are therefore affected in different ways by transport interventions (Venter, Mashiri & Buiten 2007). As such, gender equality is important in transport because it promises to break the cycle of inequalities stemming from cultural-historical ideologies founded in patriarchal systems of social organization (Venter, Mashiri & Buiten, 2007). Equal representation on women's activities in relation to transport will also lead to the implementation of transport systems that are responsive to the practical needs of women, households and communities (Venter, Mashiri & Buiten, 2007). This is necessary for the empowerment of women particularly those in rural areas. Ensuring gender equality in transport also affords poor women involved in agricultural activity the opportunity to equal access and accessibility to socio-economic sectors in their societies. Gender equality in transport is important for sustainable development. And thus in order for development to be sustainable and equitable gender needs to be mainstreamed into transport research and implementation of transport initiatives (Mashiri, 2005).

According to the World Bank (2007), development policies and institutions must ensure that all segments of society – including a fair representation of men and women – have a voice in decision making. This can be done either directly or through institutions that legitimize their interests and needs. Furthermore, the World Bank (2008: 140) argues that “excluding women from full participation constraints the ability of the public sector policies and institutions to manage resources effectively because gender based exclusion compromises the prospects for a high quality of service delivery”.

Perhaps these finding of the World Bank (2007) with regards to service delivery could be used to account for the findings of the Rural Transport Strategy for Limpopo (2008). The Results showed that walking which constitutes 82 per cent of all modes transportation is still by the far

the most dominant mode of transport in Limpopo. Minibuses and buses which are a popular alternative account for only 6 and 9 per cent respectively (Limpopo Department of Roads and Transport, 2007). In the Capricorn District in particular, the use minibuses and buses accounts for about 10 per cent of all other modes of transport. These statistics reflect that strategies to broaden transportation alternatives are largely underperforming.

Other than walking and the usage of buses, findings also show that wheelbarrows and handheld carts were frequently used to transport goods. Alongside these were bicycles which were also mostly owned by a specific member of a household (Limpopo Department of Roads and Transport, 2007). The need to look at the differences in travel patterns and transport use between men and women in households may thus lead into increases transport usability, accessibility and provision. Similarly, recognition and acknowledgement of the differences in transport use and ownership within households may also be helpful in understanding why men and women choose different modes of transport. In sum, corrective strategies could be helpful in delivering appropriate transport facilities to men and women according to their interests and strategic needs. As the picture looks from these statistics, it would not be incorrect to assume that transport costs are too high for residents in Limpopo since the province still has high levels of poverty.

2.9 Women and access to transport resources in Africa

Men and women all over the world, have different travel and transport needs due to their different socio-economic roles and activities (Fernando & Porter, 2002: 2). Women and men also face different constraints in accessing, using and paying for transport services. According to Ellis (1997), the poor accessibility of transport in rural areas perpetuates a deprivation trap by denying communities access to their most basic needs. Issues of access and accessibility are important and need to be addressed in order to ensure that men and women have the “ability or ease of reaching various destinations or places that offer opportunities for a desired activity” (Ellis, 1997: 20). Access is different from accessibility in the sense that access speaks to the right and opportunities that one has to use or benefit from something. In this section access is discussed to make sense of the factors contributing the ability to use and benefit from transport resources for domestic responsibilities and agricultural labour.

According to the World Bank (2010) transport plays a significant role in the amelioration or exacerbation of the life conditions of women particularly the poor and living in developing countries particularly to the extent that contextual differences are taken into account (World Bank, 2010: 3). Thus the contexts of gender when considered in the transport sector ensure that transport is equitable, affordable and that it provides access to resources and opportunities required for development (World Bank, 2010; Porter, 2002; Grieco, 2009). In addition, the use of gender analysis and gender planning could also promote the creation of interventions that are based on a full understanding of the sexual division of labour production as well as the socially sanctioned reproductive roles and responsibilities of males and females (Maramba and Bamberger, 2001: 2).

Furthermore, a study by Oliver (1985) discovered that most public transport users in rural and urban areas are women; therefore women are the most affected by the availability of public transportation services. This alludes to the qualitative aspects of transportation facilities which speak to not just the availability of transport but also the quality of that transport in terms of its different modes and their schedules. Often women's workloads and work schedules require them to make frequent trips to the city or even around the community itself for household and other familial tasks. And yet in spite of this, women's needs and issues are often assumed to be identical to men's (Hamilton & Jenkins, 2000) which ultimately results in a low level of awareness of women's travel needs. Improvements in transport infrastructure and transport services arising from greater awareness can, according to Booth *et al.* (2000), enable poor people to meet subsistence, economic and social needs more easily.

Reasons for gender relational patterns between men and women vary among societies. Women in traditional societies are largely tied down by cultural ideologies of patriarchy which leave women with less personal freedom, fewer resources at their disposal as well as limited influence over decision-making processes that shape their societies and their own lives. This is in contrast to women living in modern societies where cultural definitions are less demanding. To this end, Mama (1994: 10) states that "like any other forms of relations, gender relations are structured by ideologies and belief practices, property and resources access and ownership, legal codes and so on." Thus, understanding the relations between men and women is important to development

practice since it assists in designing policies that are efficient and effective in empowering women, as well as providing for and addressing the different needs or roles of men and women in development. Moreover, in developing countries women have very limited access to transport services and technology which poses challenges on their access to health, education and other social facilities (Riverson & Walker, 2006: 2).

Understanding and responding to women's transports needs recognisability essential for reducing poverty because it is also cited as crucial to realizing the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and in particular, the goal to reduce poverty and hunger. According to Bentley (2004) women comprise the majority of the most marginalized, impoverished and least empowered sector of South Africa. Therefore, poverty is perceived to have a gender dimension which challenges the equal status of women in law and poses a threat to the realization of their equal human rights practice (Bentley, 2004: 248). According to Teleman (2012), gender justice which is the realization of women's rights human rights and ending hunger are closely intertwined and interdependent goals. Solving the problems of hunger and poverty thus mean that the current global development model which is underwritten by gender inequality will have to be challenged (Teleman, 2012).

Women unlike men have far less access to higher value markets. As such, their produce may be sold on their behalf by men who then keep and control the income. In that regard, improvements in transport facilities could positively impact on women and men by promoting or encouraging changes to agricultural production such as a shift to cash crop production. A study by Jacana (2006) on *the role of bicycles as a lever of empowerment for rural women* showed that transport is essential to sustainable development. According to that study, limited access to transport services greatly hinders economic and social development and contributes to poverty by denying women the exchange of information, social awareness and the subsequent promotion (Jacana, 2006: 15). Jacana's (2006) study showed that the bicycle intervention in South Africa, Ghana and India was extremely successful in addressing gender inequality because it gave women more free time while allow them to alter their traditional roles in their communities.

In an article by Rise Team (2011) *the future of Agricultural development: putting women in the driver's seat* showed that teaching women how to drive tractors is essential for the growth of agricultural projects. The experiment was undertaken after the realization that a growing number of men were leaving the rural areas to pursue their employment goals in urban areas. This created a gap that required women to step up and begin operating farm equipment and machinery (Rise Team, 2011). Even so, the increased number of women involved in agricultural labour is without notice due to the reason that women own and have less access to vital resources such as land, livestock, education, financial resources and technology among others. Aggregately, women as a group have fewer opportunities in agriculture than men (Rise Team).

Agricultural income flows in rural areas are uncertain on account of heavy reliance on the vagaries of nature, poor technology and limited access to competitive markets (Booth, Hammer & Lovell, 2000). Rural poverty is intensified by the fact that rural areas are poorly served with transport facilities. Effective transport services in rural areas are needed for speedy delivery of agricultural inputs such as improved seeds, fertilizers, ploughs and other farm implements to village and households as well as transportation of crops from farms and villages to their markets (Khan & Bibi, 2011: 16). Poor transport facilities slow down the development in agricultural activities, and stunt the progressive improvement living conditions in rural communities. Therefore, rural areas need to be accorded primacy in transport services through increased transport supply and supplement (Khan & Bibi, 2011).

2.10 Institutional and Political Mechanisms in South Africa

According to Potgieter *et al.* (1999), transport plays a pivotal role in economic and social development in both urban and rural areas. This is so because transport facilitates the movement of goods and people over distances which allows for easier access to various facilities and services thereby promoting trade. Gradually, there is a marked improvement in people's living standards through better access to health, education, social services and various markets (Potgieter *et al.*, 1999). In spite of the importance of transport to socio-economic development, very little has been done in South Africa to assess the impact of transport policy on development, let alone the role of gender in transportation policy (Mitchell & Walters, 2011).

To date women are not yet fully recognized as comprising the majority of public transport users. Information about the gender differences of the use of transport is still lacking suggesting that transport policies are either gender blind or gender neutral. Furthermore, developing an understanding of gender differences in transport needs, access and planning, are essential to identifying the differences in economic and socio-cultural roles and responsibilities between men and women (Potgieter *et al.*, 1999). As opposed to men, women in rural areas, take up roles such as care taking, preparations meals and managing their households (IFAD, 2000). More so, women in these areas take up duties as wage labourers, producers, and vegetable sellers, as well as engaging in small scale trading and enterprise (IFAD, 2000). Apart from these mentioned roles, women spend long hours fetching water and firewood. Therefore, an understanding of these differences enables a better appreciation of the different travel and transport needs of the either sexes (Bamberger, 2000; Sibanda, 2002; Mahapa, 2000; Grieco *et al.*, 2009; Porter, 2002).

Women, more than men, in South Africa spend considerable amounts of time traveling. And the different tasks that commission their traveling require different modes of transport in order for them to be fulfilled. Transport is also important in order to complete daily agricultural activities and household duties. As such, the availability of transport can reduce the amount of time spent by women on household activities (Mitchell & Walters, 2011). For example, women in the less wealthy provinces of South Africa, such as the Eastern Cape and Limpopo, suffer great economic loss because of the lack of transport (Mahapa, 2003). This is because as a result of the remoteness of rural areas, they are neglected in terms of transportation thereby leaving them cut off from other areas. In addition, transport and its development is essential for women in rural areas because it has an impact on women accessing health services, educational facilities and employment as well as participating in key decision making forums (Potgieter *et al.*, 1999).

Transport policy and policy practice in South Africa indicates that gender has not been seen as an important factor to be mainstreamed in transport policy and planning in relation to rural Africa (Potgieter *et al.*, 1999). Many studies have shown that women are excluded from social and political activities because of the many domestic roles and activities that they play such as the collection of firewood and water, and travel to the fields to harvest crops (Bamberger, 2000; Mahapa, 2000; Sibanda, 2002; Grieco *et al.*, 2009). Other research findings on transport and

gender also reveal that although the South African Government has sought to introduce new transport policy programs, such as *Shova-Kalula* and *Moving South Africa*, in order to provide affordable means of transport, gender has not been one underlying conditions for the programs. Consequently, gender impacts are unclear even though bicycle usage has improved (Mahapa, 2003).

2.11 Transport Policy and Practice in the Limpopo Province

One of the missions of the Department of Transport in the Limpopo Province is to “provide safe, sustainable and integrated transport infrastructure and services for the promotion of socio-economic development” (Department of Roads and Transport, 2007). Their vision also holds that the Department seeks to quantify transport infrastructure and services for all. Both the vision and mission these goals are important to this study because of their relevance to understanding the direction of development in the Limpopo province particularly in the rural setting. As already stated, this study in part aims to look at transport policies put in place to support women involved in agricultural production and how these policies aim to achieve that goal. Secondly, this study also aims to bring light to the issue of transport and its importance to the development of rural women’s socio-economic status. The following section considers these research goals in the light of what is happening on the ground in the Limpopo province.

2.12 The Limpopo Provincial Growth and Development Strategy

On September 2008 Africon, which is now known as Aurecon South Africa (Pty) Ltd, was appointed by the Limpopo Provincial Department of Roads and Transport to develop a Rural Transport strategy for the Province (Aurecon, 2010). This strategic framework for rural transport planning in the Limpopo province is based on the SADC Regional and National Rural Transport Perspective, which gives precedence to rural development issues (Aurecon, 2010).

According to Aurecon (2010) the South African government, through its National Development Perspective, adopted the Millennium Development Goal recommendations of the United Nations for transportation. Out of the several recommendations, the ones deemed relevant to the subject matter of this study were as follows;

- To develop national and regional strategies to alleviate poverty should be in place by 2006
- To enhance public investment in capacity building, resource mobilisation, and official developmental assistance. Particular attention would relate to connectivity planning through multi-purpose service delivery centres and labour intensive road development projects
- To ensure that poverty reduction strategies are transparent and inclusive of civil society, private sector and international partners.
- To launch of projects and programs in order to build experience at community level by building the capacity of local officials in transport planning and implementation.
- To facilitate Development Assistance to support Millennium Development Goals. That is, the Rural Transport Strategy is to be used as a motivator for the National Government to provide funding for rural transport projects.”
- To support for scientific research and development to address needs of the poor such as health, agriculture, natural resource and environmental management

Similarly, the growth and development strategy of Limpopo province identified transport as a tool that enables facilitation of economic growth through the movement of people and their goods and services. The argument being that is that the role of roads and transportation is evident in social and economic activities. As such, through the transport policy, the Limpopo province hopes to “open markets to natural resources, agricultural products and manufactured goods which would support industries and challenge present delimitations brought about by the province’s topography (Aurecon, 2010: 30). The Transport Policy White Paper of Limpopo identified the huge discrepancy between the access to opportunities in rural settings as opposed to access to similar opportunities in the nearest urban centres (White Paper on Provincial Transport, 1997). This discrepancy is noted as a challenge that poses threat not only to economic opportunities but also to education and other social services.

Part of the Limpopo White Paper on Provincial Transport (1997) policy is the Limpopo in Motion Strategy. The strategy is drawn from the national White Paper on National Transport Policy. On a provincial level the strategy commits itself to the following:

- To improve the general mobility of Limpopo people
- To Improve passenger transport to learners, elders and disabled
- To promote accessible transport to support economic development and job creation

The objectives and aims of the Limpopo in Motion (2005) strategy show that the transport department maintains interest in bettering accessibility to transport for economic development and job creation. Indeed this interest has been shown to be a legitimate one in poverty reduction strategies elsewhere in this study. The objective of this policy though promising again pays little consideration towards understanding the different roles played by men and women in society. In that manner, the anticipated accomplishments of the policy remain may not resolve gender concerns.

Both national and provincial policies show little interest into issues of equality and gender mainstreaming. Issues of equality and gender mainstreaming are important to policy since policy itself needs to avoid furthering the exclusion of some members of society. Although the policy promises to integrate learners, the elderly and disabled which are considered as vulnerable members of society, women are left out of this group. A policy that integrates women, or mainstreams gender, in development must not fail to recognize that transformation involves neither the assimilation of women into men's roles nor the maintenance of the dualism that exist between men and women. Rather, it must establish a new and positive form of development (Government Gazette, 2012).

2.13 RDP and Transport Programme

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) of South Africa shows more interest in equality and gender than the National Transport policy. The RDP which was the first policy to be developed after the apartheid era was intended achieve an integrated and coherent socio-

economic progress. The policy sought to mobilize all people and the country's resources toward the eradication of poverty brought about the injustices of the apartheid system. The apartheid system rooted in colonial ideology supported patriarchal discourse and male dominance in all public and private spheres (Government Gazette, 2012). The abolishment of the apartheid system for all South Africans did not only mean escaping colonial rule but also deliberately giving precedence to the previously disadvantaged.

One of the goals of the RDP was to build a democratic, non-racist and non-sexist South Africa upon recognizing the elimination of such forms of segregation as fundamental to transformation (RDP, 1998). The policy also recognized that the informal sector as the *survival sector* for many of South Africa's women workers who were underpaid and exploited. More than anything the policy looked at issues of empowerment and gender. In 1994, President Mandela in His State of the Nation Address argued that "true freedom can be achieved only when women have been emancipated from all forms of oppression" (Government Gazette, 2012). Mandela further emphasized that the objectives of the RDP could not be realized unless there were visible and practical indications that showed that the condition of women in South Africa had radically changed for the better. He hoped to see women empowered sufficiently to participate in all aspects of life as equals with all other members of society (Government Gazette, 2012: 1).

Therefore the failure of transport policies to recognize that women, as members of the population with different needs to those of men, are not only strange but also make the project of empowerment impractical. It is not enough for the transport policy to merely announce its wishes to provide transport services to all. As inclusive as that sounds, the policy has failed to recognize the different gender needs and transport tasks of different groups. Furthermore, the policies also fails at underpinning cultural hindrances at influence the provision of transport to "all". One may ask exactly who in the 'all' has accessibility to transport and who in the 'all' can afford transport fees. Paying due recognition to the fact that women make up much of the face of poverty, it would be safe to say that women more than men are likely to suffer from transport costs.

2.14 Summary

Transportation is an important factor in ensuring that agricultural production is efficient and effective. It serves as a link between farmers and the market place as well as other social institutions that are essential to the lives of people. As such, the calls for serious intervention by the appropriate institutions and organizations involved in transport provision and agricultural development have a firm basis. Additionally, since agricultural production is a large source of employment in rural South Africa, it is imperative that more considerations ought to be made in the processes of planning and policy formulation practices. This would ensure that planning issues are addressed in such a manner as to benefit those they are meant to benefit – in this case, the people experiencing difficulties in rural areas as a result of the lack of reliable transport systems and infrastructure.

In agricultural development, the provision of transport is vital to improving access to markets and the subsequent improvement of socio-economic indicators required for better living conditions in rural areas. However, the failure to recognize the differences in gender usages of transport and specific gender needs in agricultural production may lead to an imbalance in service provision and insensitivity to women in the sector. As such, gender equality is necessary to fulfilling the needs of both men and women involved in farming by facilitating the provision of facilities to move their products from the village to the market. Moreover, such outcomes are dependent upon the incorporation of women into policy formulation and implementation practices in both the sectors of agriculture and transport. All this can be more prudently achieved by recognizing women's overall contribution to the economy and then seeking to minimize the challenges that they face whilst making those contributions.

CHAPTER THREE: GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT

3.1 Introduction

Since the second wave of feminism in the 1960s, different theoretical frameworks have been developed and used to understand women's position in global economic processes. Each theoretical framework proposed a strategy to enhance women's position (Bradley, 1998). According to Parpart *et al.* (2000) "theoretical frameworks fundamentally shape research approaches and are therefore an essential underpinning for feminist research". The contributions of different theories highlight the effect that a thorough understanding of gender issues could have on development (Parpart *et al.*, 2000). As such, the common objective of feminist theoretical frameworks was to address the condition of women particularly those in the South. These strategies and frameworks failed to recognize that the location of women in the global economy arose mainly from Northern core countries. As such there was a discord between developmental challenges identified by the frameworks and experiences of southern Countries which had to do hunger, malnutrition and unemployment (Bradley, 1998).

Other factors that posed a challenge to understanding the position of women, in the global economy had to do with the processes of conceptualising and theorizing gender. There is an ongoing debate within organizations as well as amongst social theory practitioners pertaining to matters of proper terminology and what various concepts of gender really entail. For instance, for a long time the term gender has been used interchangeably with the terms female and woman. Over time, gender studies came to be seen as women's studies. This was particularly true of the 1970's when the term gender began to be used as distinguisher between biological sex differences and the ways in such differences influenced behaviour and competencies. Behaviour and competency differences were then defined as either masculine or feminine (Ritzer, 2002). Tong (2009) emphatically rebuts those earlier assertions by stating that "the purpose behind affirming a sex and gender distinction was to argue that the actual physical or mental effect of biological difference had been exaggerated to maintain a patriarchal system of power and to create a consciousness among women that they were better suited to domestic roles" (Tong, 2009: 57).

Prior to Boserup's acclaimed publication on *Woman's Role in economic Development (1970)*, many, if not most, of the development literature ignored women's economic role and contributions which gave the impression that women were passive recipients of development. Researchers and practitioners thus relegated women to productive roles confining them to an undervalued domestic sphere isolated from the rest of the social structure. Boserup (1970) helped introduce an understanding of how development policies ideologically disintegrate women's economic contributions while simultaneously relying on and exploiting women's labour. However, regardless of these contributions to women's issues many policies and strategies in transport and development have largely demonstrated a lack of clarity of gender and the gendered dimensions of poverty (Mitchell & Walters, 2011). As such, the formulation and implementations of such policies and strategies often fail to improve the lives of women and their families to the extent of sometimes worsening their situation. Oudreago (2002) points out that because policies and programmes have focused on men's roles and male dominated institutions, they have assumed that women and men benefit equally from development. Women's needs have therefore been consistently ignored or inadequately addressed to the effect of reinforcing the subordinate position of women within their households and communities.

An adequate engagement with gender issues in development is still imperative today. This is because not much has sufficed mainly in transport policy and agricultural development regardless of the efforts made by renowned feminists. With this said, it is also important to note that the type of development that is pursued may be highly influenced by other factors that can shape the course of development within a given country (Hopper, 2012). Factors may include the influence of culture and history, the degree of political instability, social cohesion, geography, natural resource endowment, as well as the particulars of the development strategy being pursued (Hopper, 2012). Such factors often determine the extent of development in a society.

Access to information is also limited in most developing states. This lack of sufficient information could be the result of the absence of information gathering technologies and institutions, as well as the tight control of such data by respective governments (Oudreago, 2002). In other words, development is to a certain extent curtailed by accesses to both resources and information. Limited access to information gathered about the welfare of women in rural

communities to policy implementers and practitioners has the potential to hamper social change and growth.

3.2 Women in Development versus Women and Development

The urge to reflect on the western ideology of development mainly embedded in modernization theory occasioned for a more top-down approach to development which held little or no regard for the people involved (Young, 1990). Development was practiced without consulting with community members. With its endeavours the Modernization theory was believed to have the ability to address cultural issues that hinder the process of development. Such a stance arose from perception that modernization theory could provide strategies that enable poorer countries to break free from their respective cultural traditions. The dominant argument being third world countries would achieve increased economic growth and move to higher stages of development which western societies have reached if their cultural expectations and traditional approaches to development were abolished. Development as such was seen as solely achievable through technological advancement, transformation of thought and patterns of behaviour, and other broader modes of perception. In end, however, modernist expectation did not reflect as they were expected to in development. Much less, they achieved very little for women in agricultural development because their emphasis was on women in the workplace and economic institutions (Folbre, 1995).

Furthermore, early development initiatives of the modernization theory saw economists and colonial officials preoccupy themselves with the introduction of technological instruments that would enhance labour productivity (Hopper, 2012). Their hopes were that the returns from these projects would benefit the rural poor. Unfortunately, such events did not take place as hoped since women were greatly ignored and development did not trickle down to women. Women and men involved in agricultural production did not benefit equally from agricultural extension services as well as agricultural technology (Lips, 1990). It was out of these shortcomings that Women in Development (WID) came about – as a response to the failings of modernization approaches.

After the emergence of the WID approach, feminists developed a strong motivation to include women in all aspects of development from which they have been excluded (Hopper, 2012). WID's practitioners argued that development experts continued to see women as housewives rather than earners and therefore assumed that woman's lives would be improved by channelling more money into households: all of which was contrary to the evidence which showed women had continued to suffer the heaviest burden of poverty (Young, 1990). Clearly, such ideas from the modernist approach shared those of the unitary household model in which all members of a household were assumed to have equal bargaining power. Subsequently, the sharing of resources was deemed as equal without taking into consideration the inequalities that exist within households. According to WID writers and practitioners adequate incorporation of women into development includes strengthening women's position within the labour force and the market economy and not only in the household (Parpart *et al.*, 2000; Hopper, 2012; Miller & Razavi, 1995). To achieve this goal they sought to increase women's representation within development institutions which would promote greater access to funding and participation in development programmes.

Its various contributions notwithstanding, the WID paradigm failed to recognize how inequitable gender relations were having a damaging impact on the lives of women. The relational nature of women's subordination had been left largely unexplored. This led to a failure to address the nature of relations within households especially in terms of altering the burden of household tasks (Lips, 2005). The WID paradigm "identified women's lack of access to resources as the key to their subordination without raising questions about the role of gender relations in restricting women's access in the first place" (Miller & Razavi, 1995: 4). In that manner, the paradigm ignores the larger social process that affect women's lives and their productive roles thereby failing to address the root cause of inequality (Miller & Razavi, 1995). Moreover, Marxist and dependency theorists criticized WID for its tendency to generalize women's experiences and needs to the extent that it portrayed them in a homogenized manner which overlooked the diversity of women's issues and needs.

The inadequacies of the WID approach led to more robust confrontations between Marxist and dependency feminists and adamant WID theoreticians. The critics maintained that WID as an

approach ignored the real source of women's oppression which in their view was global capitalism and whose remedial intervention required a change in the structures of power (Hopper, 2012). Consequently, their criticism accrued into an alternative approach called Woman and Development (WAD) whose core approach was to confront women's oppression and subordination by directly addressing the structural constraints that came with capitalism. Central to their argument was strong belief that capitalism was dependant on the exploitation of women as a source of cheap labour (Parpart *et al.*, 2000). For them, this accounted for why women's work and earnings were seen as supplementary to that of the male breadwinner in the households (Quisumbing, 2002).

Thus low incomes from their cheap labour meant that their contributions to the household could only be seen as minimal additions to those of their husbands. In the end, only male labour was seen as capable of raising enough incomes with the power to change living conditions and the quality of life. The outcomes of such arrangements only led to the perpetuation of existing patterns of global inequalities. The ground-breaking contribution of WAD therefore was that it helped dispel the thinking that integrating women into development processes was a necessity because now it could be appreciated that women had been silently involved throughout the ages. The challenge therefore was in achieving integration that altered gender roles and forms of behaviour that helped sustain existing patterns of global inequality. This new angle encouraged the formulation of a more transformed model of development (Miller & Razavi, 1995).

In spite of these contributions into understanding issues facing women in development, the critics argued that WAD ignored the specific challenges facing women and the nature of gender inequality (Kabeer, 1994). This criticism raised by socialist feminists argued that WAD concentrated too heavily on economic production over and above the importance of the biological reproduction of women's lives (Kabeer, 1994). Hopper (2012: 10) notes that "the approach offered little practicable support for women... insisting that their plight would only be improved by overthrowing international capitalism". Others critics argued that even if the goals of WAD were achieved, it would not necessarily lead to the transformation of men (Rathberger, 1990) and would therefore defeat the purpose of understanding the gender relations between men

and women which is to demonstrate the roles those relations play in ensuring successes in development initiatives (Hopper, 2012).

The shortfalls of WAD in addressing women's issues in development led to the development of a subsequent and much better strategy, Gender and Development (GAD) was established. The strategy was deemed as better due to its interest in creating projects that are based on the needs expressed by women. Moreover, the theory focuses more on gender than women, and more particularly on the social construction of gender roles and gender relations (Parpart *et al.*, 2000). This theory continues from where both the WID and WAD left off, with more provision for the possibility for change and the transformation of gender roles. The theory highlights ways in which women empowerment could be practiced or even reached by viewing women as agents of change rather than passive recipients of development (Rathberger, 1990). Viewing women as agents of change is essential in recognizing the contributions of women in development as well as ensuring that woman's roles are recognized and that women are made visible by development practitioners just as their male counterparts.

3.3 Gender and Development Approach

Although the WID and WAD helped women economically, their projects were not aimed at changing power relations between men and women. Therefore, in response to the WID and WAD's limitations, a new approach called Gender and Development (GAD) was developed by feminists and women-focused NGO's during the 1980's. The goal was to improve women's rights and to increase gender equity (Ritzer, 2000: 1854). Furthermore, addressing women's needs was seen as integral to challenging women's subordination in households and in respective societies (Goetz & Gupta, 1996). Engels (1981) for example, stated that gender equity can be achieved through ensuring that "women are brought back into public industry" (Engels, 1981: 96). By bringing women in public industry, they "would not have to face the burden of wage work and unpaid household work because household work would be provided as public service" (Engels, 1981: 96).

Furthermore, GAD was founded upon Socialist Feminism which identified "the social construction of production and reproduction as the basis of women's oppression and focused its

attention on the social relations of gender” (Miller & Razavi, 1995; Tasli, 2007). This focus questioned the validity of roles that have been ascribed to both women and men in their different societies. Socialist Feminism draws from Marxism’s historical materialist method through which “social arrangements of patterned disparity are rational and yet unjust” are accounted for (Keohane *et al.*, 1982: 2). It is through the materialist method that the unequal ways in which society is structured eventually come to be accepted as normal in spite of their unfairness and discrimination. The inability to have access to work and one’s sexuality is to Marxism and feminism the definition of a person’s lack of power which, in their view, is central to understanding women’s class and subordination (Keohane *et al.*, 1982 & Parpart *et al.*, 2000).

Since women are more likely to lack power and opportunity than men, GAD addresses power relations between men and women by recognizing the multiple connections between women’s economic roles outside of the home and those inside the family (Ritzer, 2000: 1854). This approach is considered essential to understanding how the reproductive roles of women in the households affect the ways in which women are able to function in the workplaces. Additionally, GAD is more holistic in its approach because it also considers issues such as race, class, culture and ethnicities as well as societal structure. By so doing the approach takes into account the totality of women and thereby rejects the dichotomy between public and private spheres that have been used to devalue women’s work (Goetz & Gupta, 1996). More so, the approach is essential to understanding the ways in which men and women relate to each other in their respective workplaces.

Marxist feminists are concerned with overthrowing the system of capitalism. Socialist Feminists, on the other hand, are concerned with creating a more equal and equitable form of society (Marra, 2013). Although Marxist and Socialist ideas towards equality may be similar, they endeavour to address the challenge of equality in very different ways (Marra, 2013). Their approaches differ in that, unlike the Marxist thinkers, socialist thinkers maintain that women are not only subordinated because of economic reasons such as class but also on account of race and sex. Moreover, they argue that oppression is based on the systems of patriarchy and capitalism which encourage the cultural and economic exploitation and discrimination of women (Hanings, 2006: 24). In other words, the ideological myths associated with patriarchy and capitalism have a

strong effect and influence upon women which lead them to define themselves as housewives. Engels in his work on *The Economic Structure of the Family* argued that “within the family men are like capitalists while women are the proletariat” (Engels, 1981: 67). As such, women neither own the means of production nor earn income without their husbands (Engels, 1981: 67).

Tong (2009) goes further to say this subordination of women has greatly contributed to the nature of their work and their overall social status which critically marginalizes them from their potential roles in the society. Employers are then able to exploit their subordination with the result of lower wages at work alongside unpaid labour at home (Tong, 2009). Understanding the nature of these systems could therefore lead to understanding the continual effects that colonization, imperialism and racism have on women of the world (Marra, 2013). This outlook is considerably different from that of Marxist thinkers who hold that the oppression of women is linked to the fact that they have little access to power and privilege except through their connection to a man (Ritzer, 2000: 1854). In other words women’s oppression is as a result of their dependency on men.

In this regard, socialist feminist, maintain that the solution to women’s problems would be to overthrow capitalism and the traditional family structures, in which men dominate (Hanings, 2006). These thinkers believe that by so doing women would be equal with men (Marra, 2013). A major component to this argument is underlined by the belief that women’s work shapes their thoughts as well as their behaviour. Resultantly, both Marxist and socialist thinkers argue that in analysing the links between women’s work status and women’s self-image, one may be able to discover the character of women’s oppression (Ritzer, 2000: 1854).

The theory also emphasizes the importance of examining the gender divisions of labour in certain societies, particularly the more invisible aspects of women’s productive and reproductive work. By examining sexual divisions of labour, one might be able to appreciate the clear distinction between male and women tasks. In a study conducted by Goheen (1996) titled *Men own the fields, Women own the crops*, results showed that women worked just as hard today as they did in the past. Thus they assume more of the burden for reproducing the standard of living. For example, while Cameroonian men still doubt their women’s capacity they acknowledge that

women's farm labour as the most critical factor for production (Gosheen, 1996). Two important things can be derived from this paragraph. Firstly, men recognize the importance of the role of women in agriculture. Secondly, that this recognition of women's contribution as farmers is sufficient grounds to continue to subject them to the position that benefits men overtime. As such, it is important to look at the extent to which women are recognised as well as the motives for which are they recognised: to assess if such motives are aimed to empower them or disempowered them.

3.4 Gender, Development and Empowerment

GAD increasingly became recognised as an empowerment approach because of its interest in women's rights and involvement in development (Parpart *et al.*, 2000). Moreover, because the theory argues for the need to give power to women by giving them voice in decision making and understanding their needs in and out the household, (Parpart *et al.*, 2000). In spite of this though, GAD has been used by international development agencies such as the United Nations (UN) more as an analytical framework than as a developmental strategy. This is because empowerment is easier discussed than implemented (Burn, 2005). Burn (2000) argues that, even in supportive circumstances, when women's equality is considered an important goal of the state as in the revolutionary experiences of Cuba or China, the changes tend to be token reforms rather than major transformation.

Moreover, to ensure implementation of the empowerment aspects of the GAD approach, academic women and practitioners became aware of the need to act as facilitators to articulate the perceived needs of the poorest women (Afshar, 1998). Acting as facilitators in the development process serves to empower women because during this process women are treated as knowledgeable beings – knowledgeable in the sense that they are treated as key stakeholders who can direct the development path in ways that best suit them. In the 1970's, Ester Boserup's book on *Women's Role in Economic Development*, women became more visible in development. Women were no longer seen as uninterested or even silent beneficiaries in the development process but rather as active participants. This was amongst the outcomes GAD approach sought to achieve.

Since Boserup's contributions to issues of women's participation in development, there has been a growing body of literature "which has focused not only on the role of women in development but equally on the differential impact of development on men and women" (Singhal, 2003: 15). These contributions brought an increased awareness on women's issues and the challenges that these issues have brought on the perceptions and conceptions of women in development. According to Singhal (2003: 15), prior to Boserup's contributions, "the principle of equality of men and women was recognised in the United Nations Charter (UN) in 1945 and the UN declaration of Human Rights in 1948 when the majority of development planners and implementers did not fully address women's position in the development process". To date, not enough initiative has been put into the planning and practice of women's development needs. This serves to be harmful to women as they are affected by the developmental processes of social change. Social change affects their relations which define their social identities and the social roles they play.

The social awakening brought about by Boserup's book led the GAD approach to adopt a European model called gender mainstreaming which required gender analysis in developmental projects to make sure that gender equality concerns are taken into account (United Nations, 2004). Resultantly, gender mainstreaming became an active engagement with women in the development process although not much women's activism for gender equality was promoted in spite of GAD's own emphasis on activism (Ritzer, 2000). Gender analysis, as GAD would argue, entails that research on gender and empowerment as well as gender perspectives should ensure that all processes relevant to analysis take into consideration the contributions, priorities and needs of the entire stakeholder group of women as well as men (United Nations, 2001).

Gender equality can also be realized through gender mainstreaming because its strength lies in ensuring that social, political as well as economic structures are transformed (United Nations, 2001). Women's empowerment in development is accorded greater prominence because it reduces the role of the experts such as policy makers, NGOs in grassroots development. This subsequently allows for enhancement of human freedom, the provision of choice and opportunity for people by employing a vocabulary of entitlements and capabilities (Anand & Sen, 2000). Similarly, Chambers (1998) argues that people-centred development is a new way in which those

who are poor and marginalised can present their realities to those in power and be believed thereby influencing policy and making a difference.

To the same end, Afshar (1991) states that women empowerment serves as a remedy to 'old' development discourses that have to a great degree excluded women and dispossessed them of their control over resources and authority within the household without reducing the heavy burdens of their 'traditional duties'. This is why the project of empowerment contests that women should somehow be brought into development and become empowered to participate within economic structures of society as well as given chance to occupy positions of power in political and economic decision-making portfolios (Esef, 2012). As such, the project of empowerment can be seen as one that seeks to put vulnerable and poor members of society on the frontline, allowing them to be part and parcel of the greater whole, and thus contributing to the development of the society as well as their own lives.

Putting the lens on South Africa, the issue of empowerment came as a breakthrough to the poor and racially oppressed in 1994 (Government Gazzete, 1999). The 1994 era was an important landmark in the history of South Africa. This is so because this breakthrough was to a large extent marked by the end of white minority political rule. A progressive constitution was ratified followed by the conscious efforts of the new government to adopt new strategies to improve the access of poor to health, education, water, and housing in order to empower its citizens (Commission on Gender Equality, 2000). However, in spite of these efforts the poor are still largely powerless, particularly women, in the sense that they are unable to contribute to decision making process within their communities for their own development. Moreover, that there is not enough ownership of the resources needed to improve their bargaining power in the households. The idea behind empowerment in South Africa was to instigate a change in the existing national strategies through politics of inclusive democracy, appropriated economic growth to achieve equality inclusive of gender which was sustainable (Commission on Gender Equality, 2000). By using feminist theoretical frameworks like GAD it is possible to address the issues of gender inequality and the gender differences in relations between men and women in development.

Lastly, GAD theorists acknowledge that development is a complex social issue which can only be understood when studied holistically (Parpart *et al.*, 2010). Their argument is that approaches or paradigms that take a holistic approach in exploring the totality of social organization, economic and political life in order to understand the shaping of aspects of society are the best poised to understand the complexity of equitable development (Parpart *et al.*, 2010; Moser, 1993; Quisumbing, 2002). Holistic development is most likely to take place when women like their male counterparts are given equal opportunity and access to resources for development. Secondly, it calls for development practitioners to ensure that there's equal participation of women and men in decision making processes which will provide a balance that accurately reflects the composition of society (Mashiri *et al.*, 2005). Thirdly, transport and agricultural institutions ought to be strengthened to bolster their assistance and support to women involved in small scale farming. Moreover, by recognizing that women are not passive agents, the approach advocates for an equal approach in development and how it should be practiced to further the endeavours of women (Government Gazzette, 2012).

3.5 Relevance of GAD

Gender and Development (GAD) theory is vital to this study because it analyses the absence of women in development and also investigates the inequalities that have been instigated by socio-cultural notions or norms. It peers into the values of the patriarchal system that have promoted male dominance. Similar to the approach, the study focuses on the ways of perceiving the problems of women in terms of their gender rather than in terms of their sex (Parpart *et al.*, 2000). Moreover, the approach is relevant to this study because it is “focused on project design and intervention in development processes which transform gender relations in order to enable women to participate on an equal basis with men in determining their future” (Ratheberger, 1995: 35). The emphasis of the approach is to highlight the shift to the more strategic needs of women leading to a sharpening of the gender focus on participatory analysis. Enabling women to participate on an equal basis with men allows for equal distribution of power and resources between men and women which results in the transformation of cultural roles embedded in history and society.

Moreover, the GAD approach is relevant in studying women's issues in development because it addresses gender issues by recognizing the importance of redistributing power in social relations. The approach stresses how cultural, social and economic privileges can be directly challenged so that women are enabled to make equal social and economic profit out of the same resources (Pillai *et al.*, 1995). Unlike WID and WAD, GAD views "women as agents of change rather than as passive recipients of development assistance" (Rathberger, 1999: 38). In other words the approach opposes ideologies that suggest that women cannot participate in development initiatives. The approach takes an emancipatory focus by taking forth an initiative to transform political and economic structures to ensure that women get as equal opportunity to men. In addition, the approach is fundamental to the investigation of how relations of men and women as well as the sexual divisions of labour allocated to both sexes are based on socially and culturally determined gender roles. Furthermore, GAD has a focus to investigate the source of inequalities that exist between African men and women involved in agricultural development which is of great assistance in understanding the current position of African women. This is particularly useful in developing a narrative about their misrepresentation and misrecognition in labour production.

3.6 Criticisms of GAD

Even though the GAD framework uses empowerment approaches and grassroots development techniques, critics have argued that the approach is more top-down than it is bottom-up (Rist, 2001). The involvement of the state or the government takes away women's ability to act out their own initiatives, which therefore erases the whole idea of women being able to make conscious decisions on their own. The concept of self-reliance which is important in African development is lost to the giving in to state interventions which in turn create a sense of dependency and reliance on the state (Rist, 2001). El Bushra (2000: 12) argues that the GAD approach brings confusion by assuming that gender transformation equals women's economic betterment thereby conflating gender empowerment with neo-liberal economic agendas. Furthermore, its critics argue that integrating women in all spheres and levels of the society is not an easy task. Institutional changes at all levels of the public sphere might not be doable, because 'institutional change' requires the state have the requisite political will.

3.7 Summary

The use of GAD in development for women is necessary as it looks at many of the important components in women's lives and the issues that affect them. Although empowerment may seem a bit farfetched for many and a little bit impossible for some, it should not be neglected. Through the empowerment of women alongside the advocacy of their rights in whichever sphere they find themselves, an opportunity for equal rights and self-reliance is given to those without and seeking transformation. Neutral research which vaguely states the different roles that men and women play is to be done away with. Policies and development strategies that claim to address gender issues but lacks clear distinctions of roles and tasks are bound to fail women who fight to break free from the dungeons of culture.

Even so, studies should also not assume that all women in society despise the roles they play in their households and their workplaces. Therefore development should be directed to those who are in need of it and are ready to participate in their development. And yet again the necessity for empowerment and advocacy still remain because many might not know their rights until they are educated about them. In this chapter, the issues and factors affecting both African and South African women in agricultural development were discussed followed by some recommendations drawn from gender and development (GAD) framework.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the ways in which feminist methodologies have been used to understand women's position in transport, gender and agricultural development. The chapter provides an in-depth presentation of the processes of research undertaken for this research. Furthermore, this chapter provides a link between the research objectives and the research questions of the study. Thirdly, the chapter also engages with different research approaches and data collection methods. Lastly, the chapter highlights some of the reasons why conventional approaches for research method were not used in this study.

4.2 Feminist Paradigms

Qualitative and quantitative research methodologies are usually guided by different research paradigms (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Parahoo, 2006). Five paradigms which can be identified in research are; positivism, post-positivism, interpretivism, critical theory, modernism and post-modernism (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Parahoo, 2006). In this study, critical theory is discussed in relation to feminist research methodology. This is because the study aims to understand the experiences and mobility needs of rural women involved in farming while seeking to explore the nature of existing inequalities in farming. The research foundations of the feminist approach used in this study are drawn from critical theory. This is because the research model seeks to address inequality, perceive reality, science and research within a particular social or cultural context (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Parahoo, 2006).

Through the use of feminist research, this study seeks to highlight gendered constraints that if addressed would lead women's empowerment. In this way, the researcher plays the role of a facilitator during focus group discussions as well as interviews. Participants are allowed to identify their own challenges in farming and also identify the ways in which these challenges can be addressed to best suit their needs. Furthermore, the aim is to ensure that women's issues and needs in agriculture are documented in order to improve their practices in farming and income

generation. One way through which change could be brought about is by looking deeper into the issues affecting women in development.

Feminist ideology, presupposes that women are subjected to male domination and oppression on a daily basis and this is evident in their relations to males in and outside of the household. In this regard, critical theory which emerged from Marxism “seeks to explore a wide range of power relationships, such as those of gender, race and ethnicity”. Critical theorists argue that “critical research assumes the necessity of critique of the current ideology, seeking to expose dominating or oppressive structures in society” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Parahoo, 2006). Critical research illuminates power relationships between individuals and groups of individuals enabling the research and participants to critique commonly-held values and assumptions. This type of research requires the researcher and participant to be willing to become aware of how unrealistic expectations and understandings in society contribute to oppression and resistance (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Parahoo, 2006).

In other words, critical research is essential to feminist research as it emphasizes relationships that involve inequities and power. Hence critical research is a significant tool to empowerment because helps those without power to acquire empowerment. When put into appropriate practice critical research can equip researchers with the knowledge or the ability to figure out how the current social conditions came into existence with historic and empirical analysis (Guba & Lincoln, 2005; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Parahoo, 2006). The findings from critical research could contribute to the ways in which knowledge about women in farming is constructed as well as the ways in which resources are distributed. This could impact the lives of women in the Capricorn district in a positive way at cultural, social, and economic levels.

Lawson (2011) argued that critical research should always begin with the identification of an organization of people whose needs are not adequately met within the current system and who are willing to put research findings into practice. The researcher’s role was thus to enter the participant’s world to gain an interpretive understanding of their intersubjective meanings which is the product of the culture that had been created by all groups of actors in their world. It is from this point that the researcher figures out how the current social conditions came to exist.

Although critical theorists carry out research that creates awareness of issues such as gender bias in the work place through corporate government or policy planning and practice, critical theorists argue that it is not only enough to point out problems. Rather the research exercise itself should empower the oppressed. According to Smith (1993), critical research with an educational enquiry should integrate theory and practice in such a way that not only gives awareness to people about the distortion and contradictions of their social and educational lives but to empower and emancipate themselves. This can be achieved through the overturning and overcoming the oppression experienced.

Critical theory paradigms are set apart from the [post-] positivist, and other constructivist and interpretivist paradigms, because they are not limited to a narrow range of methods. For example, they are not bounded by the objective and value-free methods of [post-] positivism. Part of the reason for their broad range of methods lies in the perception that the whole process of research itself is not a value free process. This is because each step of the research process is influenced by the values and beliefs of the researcher. As such, there cannot be, according to critical theorists, objective research.

4.3 Feminist Ontologies

According to Campbell & Wasco (2000), many researchers and philosophers in the social sciences understand ontology as a term concerned with the nature of being as well as the nature of reality. The debates on ontology in feminist research are on-going. This is largely so because researchers and theorists find it challenging to determine how to arrive at any truth in feminist research. To date, the nature in which knowledge or truth is realized in feminist research is closely tied to realism, which is founded on quantitative paradigms which is also governed by positivist ideology. Realism, according to Campbell & Wasco (2000), is the belief that there is a world that exists independent of our knowledge of it. This position or belief consequently implies that there is an objective reality which researchers and scientist are unable to capture accurately. Furthermore, realism seems to suggest that truth is static, objective and generalizable, because it exists separate from human beings. For example, it may be argued from a realist perspective that there could be an unknown reality that exists which determines the ways in which women perceive themselves in society and development. Similarly, there could be a

reality that orders the ways in which policy designers and implementer's in transport and agricultural development fail to recognize women's participation in development. To that extent, using realist ontology to gain knowledge about women in Limpopo and their needs to develop may not be appropriate. Rather, this study has taken a more contextual, holistic and qualitative stance than it has this strongly quantitative one.

Relative ontology is thus deemed to be more appropriate even for the eventual discussions following the analysis of the data collected. The choice for relativism is encouraged by the nature in which relativist ontology appropriates the matters of truth and reality. It sees truth as ideologically instituted upon the multiple perspectives of reality, in which case reality becomes the subjective, contextual, and dynamic as well as evolving perception of individuals (Campbell and Wasco, 2000). In other words, reality is seen as not existing independently but as being constructed by all members and parties involved in knowledge construction. By extension, reality cannot be generalizable because it evolves even as society changes. This is similar to the ideas of social constructivists who argue that "reality is constructed through human activity" (Kim, 2001: 3)

4.3.1 Feminist Epistemologies

Feminists are very concerned with epistemology. Epistemology is concerned with questions about who knows what, and about whom, and how this knowledge is legitimated. This concern is apparent in the writings of early feminists such as Sandra Harding who were critical of those researchers who simply conducted their studies of women within already existing frameworks (Harding, 1999). In response, standpoint epistemology was developed in order to make the meaning of women's lives more visible. This bringing up of women's lives into higher visibility was considered necessary to analysing the lives of women from their point of view. Further still, standpoint epistemology offers the possibility of new and more reliable insights into women's lives because it is grounded on women's experiences, including emotions and embodiments (Hartsock, 1998; Harding 1999).

Standpoint epistemology has not escaped criticism. Postmodern thinkers have argued against its inclination towards generalizations and universalization categories. Moreover, they dispute the

existence of a stable and coherent self, the implied transparency of language, and the thinking that scientific rationality can produce truth (Harding, 1999). In support of their own views, postmodern thinkers further argue that “because social phenomena are only to be apprehended through the use of discourse and because the very practise of discourse serves to invoke forms of sociality, it is therefore impossible to understand the social world without also simultaneously constructing it” (Lewis-Beck *et al.*, 2000).

4.4 Positivism and Feminist Research

In the beginning of the 1970’s, and after the second wave of feminism, feminist scholars contested against traditional methodologies such as positivist scientific methods due to their inability to capture women’s experiences. The belief was that these methodologies “led to reducing women’s experiences to a sequence of incoherent variables that failed to do justice to the intricacies of social life” (Naples, 2003: 50). Such research, according to Lewis-Beck *et al.* (2000), was established as means of responding to two failures related to western social sciences. The first was propelled by the relative invisibility of women and the inability to apprehend the gender specific issues that affect women’s lives. Second was the concern with the practice of social research and the process through which knowledge is created (Lewis-Beck *et al.*, 2000). In general, feminism rejected positivism and objectivism, which argued that the researcher should be detached from his or her research subjects. The underlying arguments highlighted that the social world had been over the years, studied from the perspectives of male interest and concerns and in ignorance of the different pictures that emerged when focusing on women’s lives and ways of seeing (Lewis-Beck *et al.*, 2000; Naples, 2003 & O’Brien, 2009).

Feminists therefore proposed and advocated for the importance of “attachment” to the research process and the role of personal experience particularly when gathering data on women’s experiences. Attachment was to be a central aspect of feminist research endeavours (Hesse-Biber *et al.*, 2004). According to Lewis-Beck *et al.* (2000), Naples (2003) and O’Brien (2009), knowledge which was presented as neutral, objective and value-free was instead gender partial which could not contribute effectively to the understanding of women’s plight in research and practice. The purpose of these contestations and advocacy for feminist research was to bring women’s experiences more fully into view in research, policy and social practice (Hesse-Biber *et*

al., 2004). This would challenge conventional research practices and radically review the taken for granted assumptions about the nature of social sciences. It would also allowed for the better understanding of the nature of gender inequalities.

4.4.1 Feminist Methodology and Research

The term methodology refers to “a system of broad principles or rules from which specific methods or procedures may be derived to interpret or solve different problems within the scope of a particular discipline” (Cambridge Dictionary, 2013). In other words, methodology is concerned with how the techniques and tools in conducting research are operationalized and put into practice (Lewis-Beck *et al.*, 2000). Likewise, “feminist methodology is an approach to research that has been developed in response to the concerns by feminist scholars on the limitations of traditional methodology to capture the experiences of women and others who have been marginalized in academic research” (Naples, 2003: 1701). It is therefore a methodology whose approach is concerned with collecting information through research that analyses traditional or patriarchal understandings of how knowledge is produced and subsequently accepted as legitimate by peers in the academy, feminist activists, policy makers and the general public (O’Brien, 2009: 16).

Feminist methodology and research often focuses on research questions that are rooted in women’s lives and women’s everyday existence. Feminists using the standpoint theory argue that a hierarchal society produces different standpoints from which social life is experienced. According to Hesse-Biber *et al.*, (2004), these findings are based on the Hegelian idea that the oppressed develop a dual perspective made up of their personal and oppressor’s perspective in order to survive”. What this entails is that the structure and societal system to which one belongs plays a crucial role in the way they perceive things as well as experience social life. Furthermore, Hartsock (1983: 11) also drawing from Hegelian and Marxist theories of the master/slave relationship posits that “because of women’s location within the sexual division of labour and their experience of oppression, women would be able to give greater insights as researchers in to the lives of other women”. Hence, feminist methodology is considered as ‘research by women for women’.

In a related manner, standpoint feminism holds that members of the dominant group have only a partial viewpoint based on their privileged position. This might serve as important to the free flow of participation from women in decision making as well as their involvement in their own development. More so, Africa for many years was subjected to colonial rule and is still faces the challenges of breaking free from patriarchal and traditional ideologies of how society ought to function. Some of these challenges can be perceived as poverty, high rates of class subordination and economic marginalization. Although South Africa seems to be better off than it was in 1980's regarding women's empowerment, not much has been done to listen to the voice of rural women. African and South African policy still requires further engagement with women's issues particularly in transport and agricultural development. Doing so may help a better the understanding of rural women's struggles and experiences in their own social setting and thus enabling the freer flow of insight of women's issues across the society. It is with regard to the broader come that feminist methodologies is seen as a good starting point for the inclusion of rural women in development thinking and their subsequent recognition and visibility in Africa and South Africa specifically.

4.5 Feminist methodology and Transport policy

As it has already been noted, different scholars have argued, traditional transport policy planning has tended to focus more on meeting the needs of mainstream transport users at the expense of a significant number of existing and possible transport users especially those in rural and peri-rural areas (Mashiri *et al.*, 2005: 8). Buiten (2007), Fernando *et al.*, (2002) and Law (1997) all demonstrate that transport surveys tend to focus on transport patterns and needs in relation to access to resources while "omitting a deeper probing of the socially constituted experiences of space that impact upon transport patterns or needs".

Progressively, there has been a strong consensual agreement by feminist researchers to move towards addressing all travel needs (Mashiri *et al.*, 2005). They identified travel needs as needs that relate to servicing social and reproductive work which are types of activities that tend to be performed by women but are not adequately or sufficiently valued (Mashiri *et al.*, 2005).

Furthermore, for development to be sustainable and equitable gender needs to be mainstreamed into transport research and implementation initiatives (Bamberger, 2000; Mahapa, 2000, Porter, 2002, Sibanda, 2002; Grieco *et al.*, 2009). These ideas are underpinned by the knowledge that evaluations of the success of development initiatives seldom neglect, if not totally exclude, reflections of the gendered distribution and social reproductive work of those interventions. This would be a significant step for the design and the implementation of transport systems that are responsive to the practical needs of women, households and communities. Moreover, it is also additionally important to the empowerment of women, especially those in rural areas, to address strategic needs such as access to socio-economic activities. Conversely, others have argued, that in spite of the few gender sensitive procedures that exist in developing countries to ensure gender sensitivity and responsiveness to transport sector policies and programs, the institutional frameworks and the political will to operationalize them is weak (Mashiri *et al.*, 2005: 756).

In South African, for example, there has been a limitation in policy and planning incorporation in the area of gender and transport. Thus there's a strong need to put in place gender analytical frameworks and methodologies grounded upon a rights based approach in the transport sector. This approach would be essential for moving from the marginal policy activist position South Africa is in to a more mainstream position of policy planning and implementation. Focusing on women is thus a necessary step to reaching equality by addressing the significant gendered voids that exist in transport research and planning. This is why from a feminist perspective, "capturing the voices and interests of women is a significant, practical and political step towards equality and the awareness of serious gender dynamics" (Venter *et al.*, 2007: 18).

That notwithstanding, transport and gender research policies and strategies further need to become aware of the problematic assumptions inherent to discourses that narrowly equate gender with women alone, such as the term gender itself. Indeed, other methodological frameworks applied in "gender and transport research have managed to unpack gender relations with a view to understanding women's transport constraints through investigations into gendered access and negotiation to transport resources" (Venter *et al.*, 2007: 10).

A challenge facing many rural women in South Africa is the lack of transport which is necessary to the accomplishing their daily tasks. As shown in many feminist studies on transport both women and men require transport facilities to play out their different roles in society (Bamberger, 2000; Mahapa, 2000; Porter, 2002; Sibanda, 2002; Grieco *et al.*, 2009). Though transport is crucial to men and women, men have benefitted more from its use and provision. This unequal benefit is largely the consequence of three things. Firstly, the unequal distribution of transport facilities amongst men and women caused by traditional ideologies in South Africa which enable and legitimate male domination and views. Secondly, the invisibility and misrecognition of women in research and society has led to women's transport needs being placed last. Furthermore, these needs are often misunderstood by those who have the power to empower and change the lives of women in rural communities. Thirdly and lastly, the invisibility and misrecognition of women's transport needs lead to the inability to incorporate women closely into transport policies and practice. Going forward, this study endeavours to unpack these three constraints and subsequently present ways through which women can be better incorporated into transport policy.

From these points, it is paramount that one considers most importantly the ways in which women in rural areas have been researched over the years and how the methodologies used in studying women have contributed to the expanding of women's issues in transport. Mahapa (2003) in *Social Exclusion and rural transport: Gender Aspects of a road improvement project in Tshitwe, Northern Province* argued that practising research that uses a gender approach is necessary to guiding feminist research in the need to recognise the role that women play in subsistence and economic spheres. She thus implies that women are not adequately represented and integrated in the development economy which creates a wider gap between women and development. Furthermore, according to Buiten (2007), the cumulative acknowledgment of integrating gender into transport research, policies and strategies is emphasized by the need to improve theoretical frameworks around gender and transport, and to link that transport and gender research to a strong feminist agenda. It is from this position that further arguments about the issues underlining gendered power relations need to be assessed through a "gender lens from the necessarily political standpoint of effecting gender equality" (Buiten, 2007: 28).

Moreover, Buiten (2007) argues that through the use of gender lens, androcentric (positivist) approaches in traditional planning are called to question. This emphasizes the need for gendered transport research and policy, which has been proven through pragmatic data, pointing to the gendered differences in travel need, money spent on travel and transport. Although much on the research on gender and transport pertains to more developed countries, researchers in developing countries are paying close attention to issues of gender and transport because more work is needed to incorporate and engender transport research and planning in an effective manner to allow for poverty and oppression alleviation. Buiten (2007) in *Gender, Transport and the Feminist agenda: Feminist Insights towards Engendering Transport Research* further emphasizes that theoretical frameworks around gender and transport as well as methodologies may be improved in a way that can effectively link gender and transport research to a strong feminist agenda. Additionally, Buiten (2007: 20) argues that pressure to advance empirical research and implementation over “theoretical engagement, may politically and practically compromise strategies to effectively integrate gender into the transport sector”.

The ontological and epistemological considerations within feminist theory create room for researchers to identify women’s oppression, different gender relations and the impact of these relations on their lives. Furthermore, possible ways in through which such power dimensions in relations between men and women could be addressed are presented. This is why it has been argued that “for gender and transport as an area of inquiry and action to succeed in challenging the conditions that have led and continue to lead to gender inequalities in transport, gender and transport should not be distanced from a political feminist agenda to affect meaningful change” (Mashiri *et al.*, 1997: 15). Elsewhere Mashiri *et al.* (2006) also argues that “common gender-informed critiques launched against traditional transport planning and research include those relating to the tendency to determine and direct transport investments based largely on mainstream commuter patterns and to tackle transport issues through a top down approach concentrating on technical requirements”.

In other words, the methods used to generate or create knowledge about women’s experiences were those that did not encourage participation from the beneficiaries themselves. Such methods of inquiry only serve to put to repetition the grievances and subordinations of women since there

is no understanding or adequate knowledge as to what constitutes the issues facing women in transport. Methods seeking to bring forth change must always be grounded in a focus to accord participation to all the members involved. This would ensure that power restrictions are broken and equal decision making is enabled. Participatory methods are often qualitative and emancipatory in nature: in other words they form an important part to empowering participants since they know that their views and needs are important in development.

Using feminist qualitative methods which advocate for women's participation and emancipation brings new understandings to transport planning and practise while promising more sustainable development. Therefore, researchers in this area of have highlighted the need to include an analysis of power relations that impact upon roles to resources. Likewise these researchers argue that if a feminist agenda is incorporated into transport research, then researchers needs to unload not only gender roles and needs but also the power relations that limit women's access to transport resources and the transport roles they are assigned. For further illustration, Buiten (1997) & Law (1999) commented that gendered roles and access to resources should not be standardized but should be observed critically in the frameworks of patriarchal power relations.

Moreover, Fernando's *et al.*, (2002) literature on gender and transport in developing countries suggests that there is a strong need to further investigate into gendered experiences of space in developing countries. According to Law (1999), thus implies that more attention on having theoretical basis that originated form feminist geography which is founded on gendered sense of transport and mobility could assist in feminist methodology rendering a meaningful contribution in transport planning and policy design. Law (1999) maintains that such an approach is ensures that "daily mobility incorporates a range of issues central to human geography, including the issue of unequal resources distribution, the experience of social interactions in transport related settings and the participation in a system of cultural beliefs and practices (Law, 1999: 574). Law thus proposes that there ought to be further research in gendered subject identities pertaining to transport and mobility mainly because such kind of research build its capacity to critically analyse gendered beliefs, power relationships to technological use that impact on mobility patterns, and relations to resources (Buiten, 2007).

4.6 Research Methods

4.6.1 Introduction

Feminist methodologies like qualitative methodologies use case studies, observations, life-diaries, different types of interviews as well as ethnographic methods such as visual and audio aids in order to encourage participation from the women being studied. These methods are often used by feminists because these methods give room for critical reflections and engagements on issues and concerns raised by participants. Furthermore, these methods complement feminist methodologies to the large extent that they are founded on interpretivist epistemology using sensitive, flexible and open-ended approaches to data generation. This use of methodology is seen as being more appropriate to feminist studies than quantitative ones. According to Lewis-Beck *et al.*, (2000), such methods are more in touch with feminist principles on account of their ability to promote equality and to stay clear of objectification. Additionally, there is a stronger focus on the meanings and interpretations of people participating in the research which enables the researcher to see the social world through their eyes.

Put simply, research methods are tools by which information is gathered. They include, for example, surveys, observations, interviews and others. The accuracy of the information collected is highly dependent on the appropriate use of research methods as well as the ability to appropriately design research methods to suit a study. Bearing this in mind, this study takes interactive stance with participants in order to understand the experiences of rural women involved in farming. The aim is to acquire in depth information from the participants themselves as to how they make meaning of their experiences and how their knowledge about them comes to be.

This section will thus present how research methods have been used in this study to adequately understand the views of women in conjunction with supporting departments, pertaining to the transport needs of female-led agricultural projects in the Limpopo Province. Summarily, feminist qualitative methods were employed with aim to gain results that may be emancipatory to rural women's lives in the area of farming.

4.6.2 Ethical Considerations

Ethics concerns the morality of human conduct. According to Edwards & Mauthner (2012) ethics in social research refers to the moral considerations on the part of researchers throughout the research process. In that respect, the researcher obtained ethical clearance from the Higher Degrees Committee of University of KwaZulu-Natal prior to taking up this research. All ethical dimensions of the study were thoroughly evaluated by the Ethics Committee.

Also, permission was obtained from the respective gatekeepers as such the tribal authorities from the two different villages and the senior managers from the Department of Roads And Transport. Further clearance was also obtained from the Department of Agriculture in the Capricorn District of Limpopo.

All participants were provided a consent form before the study as proof that participants voluntarily participated in it. The aims and objectives as well as the relevance of the study were explained to participants prior to the interviews and focus group discussions. Participants were also informed that since participation in the study is voluntary, they are free to withdraw from the study at any time. The names of the participants are withheld to ensure confidentiality.

4.6.3 Sampling Procedure

Babbie and Mouton (2011) describe sampling as the use of a subset of a population to represent the whole population. This study used a non-probability sampling methodology alongside broader feminist qualitative methodology. This means that, unlike probabilistic sampling techniques, the data or information collected was not representative of the whole population (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Data collected in this study is not representative of the views of all female-led projects but rather of the two women-led agricultural projects in the Capricorn district Limpopo Province.

4.6.3.1 Sampling Method

The sampling method that was used in the selection of participants is known as purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is usually undertaken on the basis that the researcher has knowledge of the population, its elements as well as the nature of the research aims (Babbie & Mouton, 2011). Participants are thus chosen because they share the same characteristics. In this

instance, all participants in the study were (a) women, (b) from rural communities which were (c) engaged in farming activities in women-led projects. According to Palys (2008: 15), “purposive sampling can be very useful for situations where there is need to reach a targeted sample quickly and where sampling for proportionality is not the main concern”. This was indeed the case of this study, since the aim was to seek, explore and investigate some of the challenges that women in agricultural development face in view of transport in their developmental initiatives.

4.6.3.2 Sample size

The total population in the study comprised of 8 participants who were all women. The sample size was greatly affected by the lack of interest in participation from government officials. Furthermore, some of the participants were unable to show up for scheduled meetings due to unforeseen circumstances.

4.6.4 Interview methods

(a) In depth Interviews

In-depth interviews are defined as a qualitative method of analysis which proceeds as a confidential and secure conversation between interviewer and respondent (Silverman, 2000). According to Silverman (2000), the method is appropriate if the researcher seeks to gain information into individual evaluations of specific social phenomenon. It is also a necessary tool if the researcher’s primary objective is to evaluate controversial, sensitive and tabooed issues. The method when used correctly can produce precise and specific answers as well as exhaustive and varied knowledge about individually determined experiences, opinions and motives which the focus groups cannot cover. In-depth interviews also provide respondents with time to further develop their points of view without being influenced by the opinions of other respondents (Babbie & Mutton, 2010).

In this study, in-depth interviews were used for the same reasons stated in the above paragraph. The researcher held one in depth interview with three women from the Lahlapadi Goat project. The other two members were asked by their colleague to join the interviews because they are all managers of the project. The interviews were tape recorded and stored safely to protect

participants from harm. Although using this tool is useful for gaining insight into the opinions of the respondent, participants were very reluctant to respond to some of the questions. In instances where participants were asked about their relations to men in farming, they became defensive therefore feeling the need to justify their responses. Secondly, using a tape and video recorder during the interviews made participants feel uncomfortable which probably affected reliability and validity of results of the study. On the second day however, of interviews were comfortable participants comfortable with the visual and audio recording methods used. It is likely that this was because the researcher had established a relationship with the participants.

(b) Focus group discussions

A focus group is a cautiously designed discussion intended to obtain perceptions on a distinct area of interest in a permissive, non-threatening setting (Maxwell, 1996). According to Kitzinger (1995) the method is necessary and essential for exploring people's knowledge and experiences, and can be used to examine not only what people think but how they think and why they think that way. Furthermore, focus groups can reveal an affluence of detailed information and deep insight. When well-practised, the focus group creates an accommodative environment that places participants at ease and also allows them to attentively answer questions in their own words and add meaning to their answers (Kitzinger, 1995). To add more depth to the data collected in this study, the researcher conducted two focus group discussion sessions with women from the two women-led agricultural projects in the Capricorn district of Limpopo. The projects were, Lahlapapadi goat project which comprised of ten women farmers and Kwadikwaneng nursery comprised of six women farmers.

During the focus group discussion the researcher played the role as the interviewer and facilitator in order to allow all participants to take part in the discussions. This was performed to complement feminist methodologies which contest for a more emancipatory type of research.

Playing the role of a facilitator allowed participants to think of their experiences in farming, to formulate their challenges as well as the way forward for themselves. One difficulty that arose during the focus group discussions was that in many of the instances, there were some participants who had more knowledge than others about the questions being asked. This sometimes led to an uneven participation amongst the participants. Although this was so,

participants seemed to be at ease, and gave adequate information about the issues under discussion. As the interview continued more participants participated in the discussion, which may have been due to the way in which the researcher gave room for all members to participate. Participants were constantly reminded about confidentiality. Conversing with participants as one of their own having same interests and hopes for emancipation was necessary for affirming their ease.

4.6.5 Visual techniques

Other research methods, that were used in the study included photography and videography. According to MacDonald and Headlam (2013), visual techniques are well suited for participant observation, ethnography and oral history because they preserve things that are often lost even in the best research field notes. Additionally, visual techniques offer interesting, stimulating, and interactive approach to gathering information. Visual methods are appropriate for various functions as they offer increasingly accessible and popular resources for research.

In this study, visual techniques were used to evoke feelings that lead to perspectives and explanations that would have not been unlocked using conventional research approaches. The use of visual techniques, like the video camera for instance, seemed well-suited for the ethnographic nature of the study. The researcher employed a research assistant to carry out the videography. The research assistant was led around by the researcher following the lead of the participants in order to take visuals of their crops and livestock. Participants were receptive to this type of method because they were well informed about the aims and objective of study. The images captured were safely stored to ensure no data could be used against the participants' discretions.

4.6.6 Data Analysis

In this study thematic qualitative data analysis is used as method of analysis. Thematic analysis according to Braun and Clarke (2006) is “a qualitative analytic method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns of themes within data”. It simply organises and “describes data sets in rich detail, and goes further by interpreting various aspects of the research topic” (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 15).

Furthermore, thematic analysis is able to capture something significant to the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within a data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006). To complement the thematic approach, the visual data was analysed by paying attention to the facial expressions and general behaviour of participants during interviews. Other data such as photographs were analysed by displaying pictures taken during interviews to show case women's labour and efforts in agricultural production. During this process, the research assistant followed participants with a camera to their projects while they displayed their livestock as well as their vegetation. This would help create an awareness of the areas in which support was needed. It is also anticipated that this method would encourage other women to take up farming.

4.6.7 Data Representation

It is important to note that even though the data is not representative of all women-led projects in the Limpopo Province except for the two at Lahlapapadi and the Kwadikwaneng, the data can still be used as a vague mirror of other similar projects involved in women empowerment in the Province. Furthermore, results can also be used to share women's experiences which could lead to other research in this area.

Reliability and validity was ensured and maintained by asking making sure that the same questions were asked to all participants.

The researcher subsequently consulted with different sources in the form of policies, in-depth interviews, focus groups discussions and visual techniques to ensure that accurate results were arrived at.

4.7 Limitations of Methodology & Methods

The biggest challenges experienced during the fieldwork had to do with participation. Participants, in spite of being told the aims, objectives and benefits of the study, were not sure whether their responses were satisfactory to the researcher. This might have been as a result of a feeling that they were uneducated enough to respond to some of the questions asked by the researcher. In other cases, their inability to respond was due to the fact that participants did not

have enough information on how to involve relevant departments in their development initiatives, especially the Department of Roads And Transport.

Also, the feminist methodology with its numerous utilities to the study did not overcome all methodology related limitations. For one, the participants did not always feel at ease and comfortable with the researcher even though the researcher was of their sex. It seemed like participants were sometimes a bit intimidated and reluctant to respond. In instances where they were asked about their gender and how it contributes to their performance in agriculture, their responses were not consistent to those of the focus group discussion.

Lastly, the use of visual techniques in spite of its ease of conceptualisation, was as more complex in practice. The data is produced was also very complex to analyse. Sometimes, participants felt the need to cover their faces because they thought that the recorded videos would be displayed on television. This showed that participants are most likely to be self-conscious when faced with technology. Therefore, the researcher had to repeatedly remind participants that the collected footage would be confidential.

4.8 Summary

The application and proper use of feminist methodologies in transport and agricultural research should be a prominent feature in guiding research on women. This chapter has shown several ways in which feminist methodologies give opportunity to the better exploration of issues affecting women in development. The different methods have been examined and explained to show the relevance of these methods in social science research. Furthermore, the chapter elaborates the significance of feminist methodology to incorporating women in transport and agricultural development policy with the hope that better methods will be used to further investigate issues facing rural women.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESULTS & DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

Research literature shows the struggle faced by rural women in transport and agricultural development coupled with the hope of transforming the state of affairs in policy implementation. As highlighted in the literature review chapter, most African women in rural areas are still faced with challenging issues and restrictive social factors in development (Mohanty, 1987). Furthermore, studies have shown that women around Africa especially in rural areas are often deprived of opportunity and meaningful resources that could lead to the improvement of their socio-economic statuses in their communities and their own lives (FAO, 2004; Mashiri *et al.*, 2002; Chakwizira *et al.*, 2009).

This chapter describes and shows the role of transport in women-led projects and its possible impact on agricultural development. Secondly, the chapter looks at some of the reasons why women play such a large role in agricultural development/production and are not given enough recognition. Thirdly, it will show whether women receive adequate support from the agricultural and transport departments for their agricultural labour. And lastly, the theoretic arguments gender and development (GAD) will be used to look into historical ideologies around gender roles in society and how they have shaped the way in which transport resources are allocated. More specifically, the threat these ideologies pose to the development of agricultural projects will be examined.

The concern of this chapter therefore is to provide a glimpse of the lived experiences of women involved in agricultural production as drawn from the data collected at the two research sites in the Capricorn district of Limpopo.

5.2 Women's Contribution and Recognition in Development

According to Ester Boserup (1970) women have been involved in economic development since the 1960's. In many instances women have been faced with the challenge of being invisible and misrecognized in the development agenda. The cause of this being that women are often accused of being passive in development and decision making processes. The GAD theory posits that the

invisibility of women in development in general is a result of colonization and social cultural practices that consider men's labour as more important to economic development. These cultural practices restrict and subject women to their reproductive roles which emphasize that women are mothers and housekeepers. Furthermore, these ideas serve the taking for granted of women's contributions while undermining efforts for their empowerment. Below are the views of some of the participants:

Participant 6 from Lahlapapadi: *“when we started our intentions were that we want to create jobs that will not only benefit us but everyone in the community, also that we will be able to contribute in the households...our children are hungry.”*

Similarly, another participant from Kwadikwaneng stated:

Participant 1 from Lahlapapadi: *“...and also to help the community, so we can help them during times of events we can give the community; in this way even the traditional authorities can see that we are serious, isn't you know that there are often meetings that are held by tribal authorities, so in this cases we give them the goats at least in this way they see that we are doing something”*

The views above show that women have an interest in the development of their lives, communities and households just as it is asserted by the various proponents of feminism. Their statements contradict with the stereotypes that argue that women unlike men are passive in development. Women from these projects started their projects with a vision and goal to help their community members during times of need and communal events. This shows that women can be deemed as significant contributors in the development of their communities and that they possess the potential to transform their communities. Moreover, to these women, agricultural development is most important because they see it as a way towards job creation and poverty reduction in their households, through their direct involvement.

Participant one's response *“...in this way even the traditional authorities can see that we are serious”* shows that these women also want to be noticed and taken seriously. Recognition and visibility is important to them because it is seen as way of growth and development in their own

lives and the lives of their families. In this way, the failure to recognize women and their contribution to development results in the stagnation of growth for them and their communities.

If women's recognition is a central aspect of growth, then this calls for the consideration of women's contributions as well as equal treatment in the workplace. Similarly, the duties they perform as mothers and housekeepers should in no way be underestimated even as it has been seen in the arguments of much of literature used in this study (Quisumbing *et al.*, 1995). GAD's approach which calls for policy and institutional changes in issues pertaining to women in development could therefore help to empower women through the acknowledgement of their labour. Moreover, if taken seriously, women can contribute significantly to the economy of the country.

5.3 Women and Empowerment

As noted in the literature chapter, although gender equality is an important issue in development, its meaning has often been misused by those without sufficient understanding of the term. According to DFID (1998: 90) gender equality does not necessarily mean equal representation in number for men and women. Neither does it denote treating men and women in the same way. Rather it signifies an aspiration to work towards a society in which neither women nor men are unrecognized. What this means is that men and women have different needs and priorities, face different constraints given their different aspirations, thus they contribute to development in different ways, and therefore should be recognized (DFID, 1998). The goal for gender equality in policy was set with an aim to empower women and alleviate poverty.

Women empowerment according to the DFID and South African Commission for Gender Equality is a crucial component to poverty elimination. In addition equity, gender equality is achieved, which is essential to the empowerment of women. Gender equity, unlike equality is a process of being fair to both men and women (DFID, 1998). Fairness is and can be achieved by employing measures that are able to compensate for most of the historical and social challenges that hinder women and men from operating on an equal basis, in which both parties receive equal opportunities, resources and recognition. The goals of equality and equity are also said to be achievable through gender mainstreaming. In this regard, gender mainstreaming is a commitment

made to ensure that women as well as men's concerns are integrated in to the design, implementation and monitoring of policies and programmes so that men and women benefit equally. Although, it is ideal to live in a world in which men and women's needs, experiences and contributions are equally represented, a large number of the population in the world is under patriarchal systems. This follows after the passing of pre-colonial laws, which prioritized men's needs.

Moreover, results in this study suggest a different view from those which suggest that women are oppressed and exploited more than their male counterparts. Results showed that, women in this study see themselves as equal to their male counterparts in terms of their contribution and the development of their projects. More so, women from these projects, refer to themselves as farmers, without emphasizing that they are female as literature or feminists would. This is interesting because it suggests that women see no difference between themselves and male farmers. They see themselves as contributing the same labour as their male counterparts, and perhaps with more competence than them. These findings suggest that women in these projects are equal to their male counterparts, therefore, equality in terms of contribution has somewhat been achieved.

Furthermore, from the interviews it is seen that women in these projects did not feel that their male counterparts received more assistance than they did in their projects. Hence, the problem of gender inequality might not be related to male biasness or ignorance of female projects, but with the departments themselves. This was after the researcher had asked participants from both projects if they saw any differences between their projects and those of their male counterparts. The participants responded as follows;

Participant 5 from Lahlapapadi: *“Compared, to other male farmers, our project is bigger”*

Participant 11 from Kwadikwaneng: *“In comparison, to male projects I think this one is way better than those of men because they often come here and ask for advice about the work we are doing. You see even some of these men that we are working with cannot*

fertilize of fumigate the crops. Whereas I just take it that it as my job, it is not even hard anymore”

Women’s perceptions of themselves in relation to their male counterparts reveal that women are aware of the different cultural roles existing between themselves and their male counterparts. Nevertheless, women still see themselves as in no way different to their male counterparts as far as labour is concerned. This may also suggest that women receive the same if not better support services and resources for their projects as other male farmers. If that is the case then there is equal opportunity for both men and women in agriculture as far as participants in this study are concerned. Perhaps the feminist calls for equality are being considered as more room is made for women to take part in development to the extent that it is becoming increasing common in rural communities.

Using the GAD approach as a frame of analysis it is evident that development practitioners and implementers in the department of agriculture in the district is in some sense beginning to understand the use of grassroots development methods as well as the need for improving women’s rights. This is so because the views of the women in this study show that they have knowledge as stakeholders with a say in the developmental path of their communities. Women’s involvement in the decision-making process and practices of development shows that they are not silent beneficiaries who lack interest in development initiatives. This is evident in the perceptions they hold of themselves as farmers who are able to perform equally if not better than their male counterparts. Furthermore, it could also suggest that more men are becoming aware of the benefits involved in allowing women to participate in farming and income generating activities.

The same cannot be said for the Department of Roads And Transport in the Capricorn district. Women from both projects said that they received no support from the Department of Roads And Transport and have never met with the officials of that department. Furthermore, the department has no structures to support subsistence and small-holder farmers in general. Unless the department formulates support structures for farmers, especially as far as goods and services are

concerned, the issue of gender equality in the supposed farmer policies can never be tackled. Nevertheless, the department is involved in the empowerment of women in their road and maintenance programmes in which women particularly in rural areas are also employed. These programmes were formulated in order to enable women to participate in the development of their own communities. However these initiatives do not directly assist women in agricultural development.

5.3.1 Agriculture as a Tool for Empowerment

According to Prato and Longo (2012: 20), agriculture and natural resources are crucial for pro-poor growth and empowerment because they are a key factor to the success and sustainability of development initiatives in their respective areas. Agriculture, when practiced in an appropriate way, can lead to improvements in living standards, an increase in income generation as well as provide sustainable employment. Through agriculture, women albeit inadequately, have combated poverty and alter cultural stereotypes by persistently contributing to crop and livestock production in their communities. Women in both projects were asked about the extent to which agricultural development had transformed their lives. The answers were as follows;

Participant 4 from Lahlapapadi: *“we learned that when you wake up, you go to work. I mean how would we have known what we know now about the goats and their sicknesses as well as medicine if we were staying at home? We wouldn’t have known, because we know that there are other women in their home who do not know what to do when a goat is sick. We have learned a lot and we feel happy about that. We also learned what a project is; when people talk about projects we know what they mean. We know we are not a society because it is not the same”*

Similarly participant eight from the other project responded:

Participant 8 from Kwadikwaneng: *“Yes, as they have pointed out (refers to colleagues), we started only with seedlings and then we expanded to growing other vegetables. So we can see that we are not moving backward but rather that we are moving forward”*

Statements made by women from both projects show that there is a significant change that has taken place in the lives of participants. Since the start of their projects, they have gained knowledge which has improved their capacities and their ability to make choices and decisions in their households. Consequently, their projects grew bigger which reflects positively on their labour and contribution in the project.

Regardless of the challenges they have faced, women in these projects have continued with farming with hopes to educate and feed their children with the income generated from the projects. In addition, during conversation, participants mentioned that although the change was not to the magnitude they had hoped, the threat of hunger in their homes had been reduced. They also said that other women in the community looked at them differently. **Participant Four's** response quoted above illustrates further that farming had allowed women the opportunity to break free from cultural norms and beliefs that relegated them to their households while their husbands laboured. The women saw this shift as an achievement that brought a sense of happiness and fulfilment in their lives. They also felt better equipped, possessing more knowledge about livestock and vegetable farming than when they first started.

The theoretical assertions of GAD emphasize that inequalities are easier addressed when empowerment approaches are used. This is because empowerment gives power back to women in their communities as well as in their households. There is therefore a pertinent need to address the challenge of misrecognition which stands in the way of women's development. Through skills development and equitable distribution of resources and opportunities, women stand a better chance at living the lives they want to live. More so, strengthening women's rights in agricultural development calls for designing programmes that value women's labour which in turn allows them to participate freely in any type of farming. This kind of empowerment comes as a result of gender mainstreaming which gives birth to gender equality. When development benefits those it is meant to benefit, the accompanying traits of empowerment become evident. And gradually, the practice of grassroots development is appreciated more in rural communities.

5.4 Farming as Primary Employment for Rural Women

Women as majority contributors in the agricultural sector see it as a source of employment. This is mainly due to the fact that women in rural areas do not have skills and resources for employment in other sectors. Historically, women's dependency on the agricultural sector was a result of men migration into urban places for employment. Presently, women in rural areas continue to battle rural unemployment and poverty in the presence of their husbands. **Participant Four's** response about how they as women had meant to wake up in the morning and go to work because of the project reveals that farming is the primary source of employment for women in rural areas. Other respondents also gave the following similar responses:

Participant 2 from Lahlapapdi: *“We work only some of the days in our homes but we spend most of our time working on the project”*

Participant 8 from Kwadikwaneng: *“No we work here only”*

Results showed that women in the study are primarily involved in agricultural production. To these women, farming is seen as a form of employment because it is a means of generating income and fighting poverty in their households. Outside of farming women in these projects are not involved in any other type of employment that generates income. This shows that women fight poverty through agricultural means possibly due to the lack of opportunity into other forms of employment. Another factor to consider is that women in rural areas are often excluded from better work spaces and opportunity that could serve to improve their employment status.

5.5 Socio-cultural Perspectives and their Effect on Women

According to Magaret (2004) stereotypes are highly influential and are able to affect the very conceptualization of women and men in establishing their social categories of gender & professions. Some of these categories signify the thoughts and believes of people and therefore vary from reality (Beasley, 2005). Powerful stereotypes can affect individual or group performance which is why it is important for one to understand the history, structure and function of stereotypes and their impacts on gender (Magaret, 2004).

In agricultural development, the role of women in the agricultural sector is often undermined and hardly recognized. This according to Radel (2011) is mainly because women have little resources distributed to them for agricultural purposes and that farming is perceived as a male attribute. Furthermore, Liepens (1996; 1998) and Pini (2005), argues that the representation of farming as a male domain is legitimized by the discourses in agricultural media. They argue that agricultural media serves to perpetuate the false constructions of farming as requiring masculine strength, control and action.

In addition to stereotyping there are many factors that could lead to the lack of development in women's projects and their ability to generate income within their households. These factors pose a threat to the ways in which women-led projects grow as well the way in which women see themselves in development. Some of the factors identified in this study from the interviews with participants included socio-cultural factors, lack of support and transport and lack of markets. Furthermore, another challenge affecting women in agriculture is the challenge of invisibility. Feminist literature accounts for women's misrecognition as largely a result of farming and farm ownership which is passed down to male children by their fathers in the family (Radel, 2011). By so doing, cultural legacies, roles and norms are maintained within households because of the eagerness to sustain strict cultural customs rooted in patriarchal discourse.

5.5.1 Livestock Farming Perceived as a Domain for Men

The construction of farmer identity is largely associated with the economic status of the individual as well as the resources that they own. Men in most patriarchal societies inherit their economic status from their families and therefore stand a better chance to possess family wealth and resources, leaving women to work on their land for longer hours without pay. Literature has proven that in most rural societies such as the ones in Limpopo, women involved in farming are less likely to own land and material possession because of the roles that they play in their households and their gender. The response below illustrates this point;

Participant 1 from Lahlapadi: *"I am a woman, now that is the problem, and that is because a man has many ideas and he knows what to do when a goat is about to give birth so in that case we get confused then you get stuck, so you see many times we look*

for a shepherd that is male that he may be close to us so that he can help us with those issues.”

Participant one’s response arose from a focus group discussion with women in the Lahlapapadi Goat Project. From this response, it is evident as the literature showed that women feel that livestock farming is associated with maleness. This is so because when the participant was asked if their productivity levels are the same as those of their male counterparts, the participant argued that there is a notable difference. The participant followed on her statement by defining herself as a ‘woman’ and then expressed her gender as a problem to the type of labour she performs. This often results in the participants, seeking help from a local male shepherd under the impression that only a male farmer or shepherd can handle the issues that they can’t handle. Furthermore, because goat farming is associated with maleness by these women, they argue that they do not have the knowledge necessary to perform these duties the same way their male counterparts would. The participant’s view was supported by her colleague who stated the following:

Participant 2 from Lahlapapadi: *“A man can even see the goat when it is still in the kraal that it is about to give birth or that this one is sick today and therefore should not be taken out of the kraal. So we usually struggle because it takes time for us to understand that this one is sick today and should remain in the kraal”*

Moreover, from the responses of participants one and two women from the Lahlapapadi Goat Project hold a perception of themselves as having less knowledge than their male counterparts. Their perceptions of themselves include that they are inexperienced farmers in goat or livestock farming which is also perceived as a result of their gender. The fact that these women see their gender as a constraint in knowledge acquisition – which is significant to improving their performance levels – shows that farming is indeed a difficult task for them. Furthermore, from the responses of participants one and two, it can be assumed that women in this particular project feel that they do not have sufficient knowledge essential to managing their project. Also the above statements show that there is a strong link between culture, knowledge and productivity levels within women-led project. As impossible as it seems, these ideologies that give preference

to males in development, according to GAD, can be alleviated through recognizing the importance of the distribution of power in social relations.

5.5.2 Knowledge and Competence in Livestock Farming

The responses of participants also suggested that female farmers in the Capricorn district have little knowledge about livestock farming. This could be seen as an indication of the lack of skills and development training in the area. Their lack of knowledge could also be a result of the lack of experience in the field since participants only started their goat projects in the year 2009. Therefore, the knowledge gained since 2009 to 2013, may not be sufficient for the efficient and effective operation of the project. Therefore, resulting in women seeking advice from their male counterparts, who have been involved in goat farming for a longer period.

According to Brown (1991), the lack of knowledge could be as a result of male biases that exist within extension services. As reflected in the findings conducted by Dumor (1982) in Ghana, extension services have focused mostly on supporting male farmers by providing them with training, information access to inputs as well as information services (Farnworth, 2010). Dumor's findings when compared with those of this study show that women in Limpopo are facing the similar problems as their Ghanaian counterparts. Perhaps these similarities have to do with conditions under which Sub-Saharan women women's engage in farming. Farnworth (2010) surmises that women's inability to attend training and information access programmes is the result of their daily workload.

In as far as human development is concerned knowledge acquisition can only be achieved when people are informed. The fact that women in these projects do not have the vital knowledge to develop their project shows the lack of equal distribution of knowledge resources in the area. Furthermore, their seeking of advice and knowledge from their male counterparts shows that women are keen to know more about livestock farming, which is essential to overcoming their lacks. Also, the imbalances in the possession of knowledge for the same type of labour reflect the extent to which women's labour and contribution is compromised and devalued. Furthermore, such imbalances show that because there is unequal distribution of knowledge, there is little faith

placed in women-led projects. This is further evidence of stereotypical beliefs that women are passive and have no contribution to make at work.

Therefore, arguing that there is need for a stronger focus into women-led projects especially as far as skills and development is concerned well founded. There is still need for a stronger push towards growth and empowerment in women's farms. GAD as an approach supports this by arguing that women should be treated as stakeholders who can direct their own path in ways that best fit them. Thus the approach recognizes that there's still a strong need to give power to women by including them in development.

5.6 Men Seek Advice from Women in Crop Farming

Several studies show that the majority of people involved in farming are women. As earlier noted women produce up to 80 per cent of food crops in Africa (FAO, 2010-2011). Women in rural areas involved in crop farming contribute to around 90 percent of the food consumed in their households and communities (FAO, 2010-2011). Questions were asked to respondents who worked in the Kwadikwaneng Nursery with regard to these massive contributions. These respondents mainly practiced vegetable farming. Their responses were as follows;

Participant 8 from Kwadikwaneng: *“In comparison to male projects I think this one is way better than those of men because, they often come here and ask for advice about the work we are doing.”*

From this view, it is clear that women in the Kwadikwaneng project possess sufficient knowledge which is reflected in the growth of the project and their ability to educate other farmers. Unlike the women in the Lahlapapdi project, lack of knowledge does not seem to be much of a factor because women have more knowledge about vegetation in the project than their male counterparts. This could suggest that both men and women possess equal knowledge about this type of farming, or that extension services focus more on women-led projects that are involved in crop farming. Furthermore, their response to the question shows positive differences between this project and the Lahlapapadi-Goat project. This is because women in this project are

recognized enough to give advice to their male counterparts. Moreover, other accounts to these findings could be founded on the premise that vegetable farming in most rural communities is better performed by women, therefore giving them an advantageous position in this particular type of farming. Vegetable farming is often practiced by women in rural homestead as a means of subsistence and livelihood strategy against poverty. As such, even in commercial farming, women might find it easier to work as vegetable farmers than in livestock farming.

Although positive, these findings show GAD's arguments that women to an extent still subscribe to their reproductive roles are accurate. Such as, breaking free from cultural divisions of labour is not as easy as it is made out to be in most South African policies and development plans. The long history of unfair labour relations as a result of patriarchy and colonialism is still evident in the ways in which women conduct their labour and the ways in which they relate to men in their labour. Furthermore, it could also be that women enjoy the labour they perform in their projects to the extent that sexual divisions of labour do not appear unfair and discriminatory to them. In which case, it becomes important that feminist agendas that force women out of their traditional roles should not do so without seeking appropriate information about the ways in which women perceive their labour and cultural roles.

5.7 The Influence of Sexual Divisions of Labour on Agricultural Projects

Sexual division of labour is defined as the roles that men and women play in the society. For example, in the household, men provide income and women take care of the children. Sexual division of labour is also largely influenced by cultural expectations, norms and status. The more liberated the society, the fewer the boundaries regarding the choice of labour. In addition, the better the status of the individual, the better the chances for that individual to function in that society.

In this section of the study, the influence of the sexual division of labour in agricultural projects is considered. Since participants' responses highlighted that there is a lack of knowledge in livestock farming, the researcher asked participants why they didn't ask their male counterparts when they did not understand. This is what one participant said:

Participant 2 from Lahlapapadi: *“Because there are things that we just take that they are for men, just like when I’ m doing the laundry the man would take that it is for women. But we now know that we can do all jobs if we have the passion for it”*

This response illustrates that women in these projects are also aware of the different roles that are required of them in their communities by their husbands and themselves. These roles seem to also govern the divisions of labour between men and women in their households. From the participant’s response, it is evident that women in this project believe also that goat farming is predominantly for men than it is for them. This belief causes them not to ask when they lack knowledge about aspects of goat farming. Furthermore, it can be said that the inability to ask advice from their husbands shows the magnitude to which old traditional norms in rural areas still affect the relationships between men and women. Instead of asking, women would rather work with social assumptions conscribed by their cultural beliefs on gender roles. These responses show that cultural notions and roles serve as limitation to the growth and development of female projects in agricultural development.

To further elaborate, **Participant Five** stated the following;

Participant 5 from Lahlapapadi: *“What she (refers to participant 1) means is that when we women are at home, and there are goats in the kraal, we often do not ask the men the reasons why the goats are sick. So when we started having goats we are able to see that that goat died because it was swollen from within the stomach or it miscarried because it ate from that tree because if a thing repeats itself you begin to want to find the causes of the thing then that’s when they (**men**) started to explain that there is tree that is poisonous to goats”*

These views from the women in Lahlapapadi Goat project add weight to the arguments made by social feminists that that often patriarchal ideologies gave reason for men to be perceived as farmers and women as helpers (Mohanty, 1987). Similarly, theoretical arguments of GAD contest that such perceptions and notions represented or perceived by these women are largely grounded within gender stereotypes. These gender stereotypes, according to GAD, are also grounded within traditional discourses that subject women to performing their reproductive roles

in society. Moreover, this goes to show that through the examination of the sexual divisions of labour, the distinction between of male and female tasks in farming is clear.

The arguments proposed in GAD, in view of the participants' responses, have substance. The arguments made within the GAD approach suggest that, the reproductive roles, of women in the households affect the ways in which women are able to function as well as participate in the work place. That is, the social constructions of production and reproduction can rightly be seen as the basis for women's oppressions. Looking back at the definition of gender stereotypes made by Hancock (1998), it can also be seen that the socially constructed roles and perceptions of one's gender contribute to their ability to function as a normal member of society. It also facilitates their own ability to see themselves as important to the economic development of their society. A participant from Kwadikwaneng has the following to say on the matter;

"...even some of these men that we working with, cannot fertilize or fumigate the vegetation, so I just take it that it is my job, it is not even hard anymore."

What this shows is that women in this project have been subjected to particular jobs because they are better at it than their male counterpart to the extent that they seem natural to women. The statement also suggests that women in this project have internalized their duties even though those tasks were formerly ascribed to men. This, however, raises a health concern for women working in this particular project because they often handle poisonous substances during fumigation.

The views of participants suggesting that women in this particular project see themselves as lacking knowledge does not eliminate their believe that they are able to do whatever job they want to do if they have the passion for it (**Participant Two**). This is a positive point drawn from the discussions because it indicates that women are eager to see improvements in their lives and projects. In addition, such voices and responses show that women are willing to participate further in their developments regardless of the challenges of inadequate knowledge possession. If educated and provided with the knowledge required to develop their projects, there could be a change or transformation that will be evident in their lives and communities. Doing so would

also allow room for women to partake in decision making processes as well as helping development practitioners to better identify the needs of women.

5.8 Inadequate Support for Women-led Projects

5.8.1 Institutional Support

Participant Seven from Kwadikweneng had this to say about support;

“The Sekhukhune district gives seeds to their farmers on an annual basis but it could be because they are under the offices in Polokwane. One lady from there once came here and told us we are supposed to be getting seeds from the department of agriculture on an annual basis but they don’t do that; if they have given us anything this year next year they won’t give us. Maybe it can go for as long as three years without them assisting us with anything”

Knowledge dissemination coupled with appropriate support from relevant government departments are significant tools to growth and empowerment. Extension support in agricultural development is a much needed service because without it agricultural projects fail to be sustainable. Studies have not only revealed the significance of such support but more importantly the institutional loopholes which are often ignored by those responsible for providing those services. Hames (2005) discusses in detail that agricultural development planning, research and extension services have been overlooked particularly in smallholder farming, while smallholder farming itself is overlooked because policy planners and implementers believe that the sector is unable to make meaningful contribution. And yet, the majority of smallholder farmers, at least in SADC, are women.



Figure 1: Women from Lahlapapadi Goat project and their livestock

Figure 1 is a picture of two women standing near a goat kraal. They are members of a project of ten members. The kraal on the left was hand-built by them in 2009 when they started their goat project. Later in 2010, with the assistance of the department of agriculture, they built a more advanced goat shelter which is particularly useful for livestock immunization. Project's growth has been slow due to its location in a rural area with gravel roads that limit the amount of traffic going in and out of the community. This study holds that the provision of agricultural skills, resources and services by extension workers on the field to both male and female farmers empowers and educates them about existing structures that are available for farmer cooperatives.



Figure 2: Vegetation shade built by farmers from Kwadikwaneng Nursery

The shade in Figure 2 above was built by the farmers at Kwadikwaneng Nursery which also located in Lebowakgomo under the Lepelle-Nkumpi Municipality in the Capricorn district. It was built after the plastic shelter provided by the Department of Agriculture fell off leaving the seedlings exposed to sunlight. Below is an extract of what respondents had to say when asked about assistance and support from the Department of Agriculture;

Researcher: *“Do you receive any assistance from the department of agriculture? How”*

Participant 6 from Kwadikwaneng: *“Yes, this project was funded by the Department of agriculture and then they were supposed to help us with the shade for the seedlings. They gave us plastic roofing, but when it fell, they stopped. So we had to buy our own shades. I think they have pulled out from us because I don’t see their support anymore”*

Other responses to this question were as follows;

Participant 1, 3 & 4 from the Lahlapapadi: *“Agriculture helps us. When we see that we are struggling with the food for livestock we ask them (**the Department of Agriculture**) but this year there has been a problem because their cars don’t have kilometres. So they can’t come here. So when we come across a problem we get overwhelmed”.*

These responses were retrieved from interviews with participants from both the Lahlapapadi Goat and Kwadikwaneng Nursery projects. Results show that although participants receive agricultural support from the Department of Agriculture, they were not satisfied with their provision. The departments according to the participant's views were more involved in the formative stages of the projects. But after the projects had grown, the department withdrew from the projects. Their lack of consistent support to these projects potentially threatened the viability of the projects. Their unavailability left the women in these projects feeling overwhelmed with their duties. This might explain the slow development of the projects. These conclusions were drawn due to the responses women in both projects gave during interviews, according to them the department of agriculture withdrew from them while they were still in need of their assistance. Unfortunately, because of the unavailability of the Department of Agriculture officials for interviews, conclusions about these matters can only be discussed and withdrawn from participant's perceptions.

The women in the Lahlapapadi however explain that the withdrawal by the Department of Agriculture from the projects may not have been intentional. In their view, it was because of the unavailability of transport to visit the projects on a regular basis. This is different from the view held by the farmers in Kwadikwaneng who saw the lack of support as a sign of negligence by the Agriculture Department which is located next door to their project.

The researcher then turned to the matter of transport. Participants were asked about the nature of assistance, if any, that they received from the department of roads and transport. The following were their views;

Researcher: *“Do you receive any assistance from the department of transport? Have you ever met?”*

Participant 3 & 4 from Lahlapapadi: *“No we have never met them; we've never worked with them....”*

Women from both projects said that there was no support from the Department of Roads And Transport. Although the Department of Roads And Transport in the district has engaged in

empowerment programmes through road construction in rural areas for women, the views of these women reveal that the Department of Roads And Transport has never been and is not involved in their projects. This could mean that the department is not aware of these projects or has no appropriate policy that deals with the incorporation farmers. Also, that the department has not yet considered the importance of empowering women in agricultural development through supplying them with transport services. The department has not shown as much interest in small holder farming as it has in road construction. As GAD has proposes, addressing these issues may include calling for institutional transformation which is essential to the understanding of the mainstreaming of gender in policy. Also, incorporating gender and agricultural development in transport policy could be crucial to mobilizing government departments into the provision of support resources, knowledge and information to allow for greater empowerment through and with institutional change.

5.8.2 Communal support

Although farmers in the district still encounter challenges from the lack of institutional support services, their views showed that they receive most of the support from their community members. This support is expressed when men and women in the community buy of goods for the welfare of their projects. As much as women in the goat project argued that they did not have sufficient knowledge about this type of farming, they acknowledged that they often received male assistance in their projects. Men's support was through shepherding their flock as well as tending to their livestock without expecting any pay from them. Moreover, it is the men who helped these women with building their first shelter or kraal for the goats. In instances where women did not have the adequate skills and information, the men in the community offered their assistance and knowledge by educating them about the life of a goat. In addition, their husbands were their pillars during the transportation of goods and the selling of products.

In contrast to what they said about institutional support, the participants in the nursery did not receive as much support from their communities at the onset of their projects. Some participants even recounted that some of their community members broke into their projects and stole their tools. They then faced challenges to replace them since they did not have money to buy new ones. Nonetheless as the project developed more community members began to develop interest

in working with these farmers. Also, community members began to buy vegetables and seedlings from the women while passing on recommendations to other members of the community. The project also employed men during these processes.

5.9 Women's Competition for Space to Sell Goods

Literature on women in agriculture has shown that the availability of markets in agriculture is an important incentive for farmers (Mashiri & Mahapa, 2010). This is mainly because the availability or the lack thereof of markets determines farmer's economic development. Without an economic market where female farmers can sell their produce, their economic situation may remain the same with lower levels of poverty reduction in their families and communities. This could also lead to the inability to maintain food security while undermining their households' nutritional security. In short, without markets women involved in agricultural production find it extremely difficult to generate income.

5.9.1 Local markets

On local markets, a respondent had the following to share;

Participant 1 from Lahlapapadi: *"...one other thing is that a goat might not be as valuable so they expect us to sell it at a lower price. For them, a goat is of no importance, so they sell for lower prices. We might choose to sell for R600.00 and then someone sells for R400.00, then we end up fighting because it then causes us to reduce our prices. So the customer ends up having to take one that is better priced."*

Other women in this study said that the availability of markets was not a huge burden; their only concern was the distance to those markets and the consumer needs. The respondents said they often went for long periods without selling due to small markets as well as competition from other farmers in their local community. They felt that their competitors were often not concerned about profit; hence they threatened the business viability of those who were selling their produce for profit. As such, respondents said they had to travel further away from their community to sell their products at better prices. They however need transportation to those markets where prices were better than in their own communities. Below is a response from a participant Lahlapapadi regarding this aspect of accessing markets:

Participant 4 from Lahlapapadi: *“Well yes, we really have a problem when it comes to selling. We really don’t have a market, we were hoping that agriculture will help us find a market. But unfortunately we couldn’t, maybe because we do not necessarily have a lot of livestock so, they can’t find us a market or people who can come and buy from us”*

This response shows that not much change has taken place in the development of agricultural markets. Female farmers are still experiencing a challenge in locating and finding markets where their produce can be sold. Moreover, the lack of markets may also be part of the reasons why women are unrecognized for their labour to the extent of remaining invisible. Putting agriculture on the development map for rural women could play a large role in ensuring that women’s values and needs are considered thus leading to a real transformation through knowledge distribution and empowerment. Evidently, socio-cultural factors are not the only reasons why women’s labour is unrecognized. The lack of markets also contributes the lack of visibility of women’s labour as hampers their effective contribution to the economic development of the country.

5.9.2 Public Markets

Participant 6 Kwadikwaneng: *“Usually we sell our foods to the food bank, and boxer, and in this cases we can sell in bigger numbers and make meaningful money from this selling”*

Participant 5 from Lahlapapadi: *“Belfast is the only place where we feel that the goats get bought, because we looking at the prices”*

According to these findings from both women-led projects public markets are preferred more than local markets. In spite of their distance from the village, public markets are preferred over local markets because participants feel that they make more money if and when they sell at public markets. At public markets, participants can call for higher prices because there is a larger market than there is in their own communities. Furthermore, public markets often have a lot of people seeking to perform traditional ceremonies such as initiations, funerals and ancestral worship. Farmers set their prices according to the prices of other farmers who often sell at a higher price than in local markets. Additionally, by traveling to markets further away,

respondents reduced competition and disputes amongst themselves and other community members. Prices in public markets only declined during bad seasons which affected their ability to generate income.

5.10 The Role of Transport and Its Impact in Women- Led Projects

Transport apart from other factors in development is identified as a vital tool to the mobilization of people and goods from place to place (Bryceson, 2003). With adequate and appropriate transport facilities for agricultural development, the goal to reach economic development can be more easily achieved. Although this is so, the transport sector has not been shown equality in the distribution of transport resources and assistance. The transport sector to date is still male dominated and pays little attention to women's needs. Regardless of its importance to development not enough initiative is has been done in assisting famers, be it male or female. Moreover, the sectors incapability to respond to women's and farmer's needs show a lack of interest in the agricultural development of the province, the country and the continent at large.

Bryceson's (2003) definition of transport refers to transport as a means in which people, goods, commodities and services can be conveyed from one place to another. Research on transport, gender and development, has shown that the availability of transport is very important to the development of rural communities especially for agricultural development (Changzhou, 2002: 26). Furthermore, transport is significant because it is one of the key mechanisms of reducing distances between farmers and markets (Mahapa, 2003; Mashinini *et al.*, 2009; Salon & Gulyani, 2009). Transport modes and infrastructure help farmers to access markets for the selling of produce. In turn, their socio-economic statuses as well as their standards of living appreciate (Mahapa, 2003; Gavaria, 1991; Bickerstaff, 2002). As important as transport is for agricultural development, this study's findings reveal that there is a serious lack transport for farmers within the Capricorn District. Consider the response provided by a respondent below.

Participant 9 from Lahlapapadi: *"You see right now because there's no transport, we are unable to visit other cooperatives to gain knowledge, because when you go outside of your community you learn new things... you learn how to deal with your own problems by looking at what others did. But if I don't go anywhere, which is the first problem, you*

will never learn anything. So sometimes you have to take out your own money, and go to projects in Venda which has made big improvements and are better. So you take the knowledge and bring it home with you and going to Venda is not cheap”.

Women from both projects see transport as a crucial component to the development of their projects. Hence it is evident that without transport, goods produced on the farms cannot be transported to areas where sufficient income can be generated. Also transport is important to farmers for information access which is essential to the building of knowledge for their own projects. Additionally, without transport, these women, spend large amounts of money in order to participate in agricultural programmes that could lead to their own edification. Furthermore, limited engagements with other women-led projects in the province or anywhere else in the country may discourage the development of their projects. Meeting other farmers may prevent such happenings as that may become a source of comfort. It may also facilitate the sharing of information as farmers express their difficulties as well as their skills and ideas with other farmers in the same field.

5.11 Knowledge Acquisition

The provision of transport does not only reduce the distance between the farmer and her market but also the distance between the farmer and information access. In any sphere of development information is cited as crucial because of its ability to enlighten, liberate and emancipate persons from exploitation, oppression and other cultural factors that serve as a hindrance to social mobility. In times where participants gained opportunity to travel to other communities, more ideas conceived amongst them which later motivated them to want to do more in order to grow their project. Thus the significance of transport to information access should be greatly emphasized. Information sharing ought to be seen as an important tool for women's empowerment and project development. Gaining such knowledge from other female farmers gives farmers comfort and good breeding grounds for success and improvements in their lives and communities. Hence, it is clear that these women have a hunger for growth and for a better life than the one they have. In this regard, they ought to be taken seriously by the relevant departments in ensuring that transport is provided for their development as farmers.

5.12 Getting there? A Challenge for Women

As argued by Bryceson (2003) in her definition of transport, moving from place to place is an important element to the development of the projects identified in the study. A good farmer is one that is able to manipulate situations and use available resources for maximum profit. Farming is amongst the most volatile sources of income generation particularly due to environmental as well as economic factors. The market is a place to which a farmer is able to sell their produce or goods to consumers for reasonable prices. It is a place where goods are sold in order to accumulate profit which is in turn used to sustain their families. Furthermore, it is at the market place where the farmer is able to familiarize themselves with other farmers while making themselves known to others. Hence, it is as much a place for recognition and visibility as it is sphere of economic transactions through which contributions are made to the broader economy. The market therefore is crucial to a farmer's survival, recognition and socio-economic development. Granting farmers support services such as transport resources can improve the economic statuses of female farmers (Ajiboye & Afoloyan, 2009).

The response below adds weight to this argument;

Participant 7 from Kwadikwaneng Nursery: *“The issue of transport is a serious one. Last time we had a meeting with other farmers and most of them were complaining about the lack of transport because others even fail to post their things because they do not have transport”*

This statement says emphatically that failure to transport goods to the market may result in a total waste of agricultural produce. Afoloyan & Ajiboye (2009), emphasizing the same point, state that when transport services are infrequent or of poor quality farmers are at a disadvantage when they attempt to sell their crops because damaged crops do not fetch good prices.

Women in both the projects argued that when they are unable to transport the goods to the market, they resolve to sell their products on their projects which are further away from the consumer. In other cases, they use wheelbarrows to transport the goods on the side of the road. In the end, women sell their goods at lower prices than usual which eats into their potential profits. Moreover, their views reflect that transport is a very crucial component in ensuring that their

goods are sold to markets both near and far. What emerged from the interviews was this: because of the lack of transport, respondents end up having to spend large amounts of money on transportation alone which leaves them with little to take home. The profit accumulated is spent on the hired vehicle. The rest of it goes back into recapitalising the business through the purchase of seeds and pesticides for their gardens, and food and treatment for their livestock.

5.13 Transport Reduces Labour within Women-Led Projects

Transport resources are also important in ensuring that labour is reduced. The number of times the farmer spends traveling between the farm and the market is reduced when there is appropriate transport. The advantage of this is that the farmer is able to make more profit from making frequent trips to the market. The use of wheelbarrows is labour intensive because the farmer carries the weight of goods while walking to the market place. When farmers were asked about the importance of transport, they said that transport is important to them for reducing labour since they do not have to take their wheelbarrows to markets. As already shown above, women carry heavy loads on their shoulders and in wheelbarrows on their way to markets. Such burdensome work is a threat not only to women's productivity but also their health. Appropriate transport can help reduce this burden very significantly. A respondent had this to say about transport and markets;

Participant 8 from Kwadikwaneng: *“If you have a bakkie, you can fill it up with vegetables and then go and sell at the pension pay points. You will come back with good money, but if you don't have money then you will never make more than what you are making”*

Similarly, when participants were asked about transportation in Kwadikwaneng, the wheelbarrow was mentioned as the second method of transportation after motor vehicles. The response was as follows:

Participant 10 from Kwadikwaneng: *“Well, we just take them and sell them here in the project or we put them in a wheelbarrow and take them out on the streets. And when they are finished I can just come back again to fetch them”*

Unlike the women in Kwadikwaneng Nursery project, the women in Lahlapapadi Goat Project, cannot sell their goats to other people except those who are in their communities. This has an implication on the ability to make ‘good money’ because often when they sell to their own community members, participants are forced to sell at a lesser price as most members in the community already own livestock. The availability of transport is important to them it represents an opportunity to increase their income. It also occasions them with the opportunity to expand their markets to where ‘good money’ can be made. Transport is thus key to incorporating women into sustainable auto-centred development.

Allowing women to participate in decision making processes that have direct positive outcomes in terms of their income is essential to the developments of their own communities and families. Furthermore, the provision of transport is important for reducing the burden of loads and the number of trips made to the market to sell produce. Bigger loads of produce can be carried and transported to the markets when transport is available. Since transport serves as a bridge connecting farmers with agricultural and non-agricultural markets, investments in rural road constructions and maintenance can bring about important changes in the prospects of women-led projects (Chakwizira *et al.*, 2010).

5.14 Transport Costs and Agricultural Profits

According to Creightley (1993), “transport has a crucial role to play in economic development”. Therefore, the provision of a high quality transport system is necessary for the full participation of rural communities in the benefit of national development (Creightley, 1993). Studies on gender and transport have shown that a larger population of women than men use transport for household duties as well as agricultural activities. Transport is thus a requirement for women for the transportation and marketing of agricultural crops.

Regardless of its importance to development, transport as an initiative for assisting farmers, both men and women, is still in its formative stages. Moreover, the sector's incapability to respond to women's and farmer's needs is indicative of a lack of interest in the development of the province, the country and the continent at large. The lack of access to transport has led to the reduction in the potential profits that could be gained by women farmers. During interviews the following responses were given with regards to instances where transport is not available and the associated effects absent.

Participant 8 from Lahlapadi: *“so we take them from here, hire a car, which will charge us per goat, R100 each. Then we take them to vandising in Belfast to which we have no returns because if you have 40 goats, and take our R100.00 per goat, then there's nothing to take home. We just say that we are working but we have no returns”*

Similarly, a participant from Kwadikwaneng said;

Participant 7 from Lahlapadi: *“The issue, of transport is a serious one, last time we had a meeting with other farmers and most of them were complaining about the lack of transport because others even fail to post their things because they do not have transport”*

Women from both the projects in the study shared their frustrations as well as their concerns regarding the issue of transport. Their views reflected that transport is a very crucial component in ensuring that their goods are sent and sold to markets near and far. Furthermore, because of the lack of transport, they end up having to spend large amounts of money on transportation alone which leaves them with little to take home.

These findings tally with those Creightley (1993) in his study on *the role of Transport in Economic Development*. It was found in that study that transport can lower the costs of inputs to the producer. This is, according to Creightley (1993), “important for agricultural as well as industrial production” because agricultural output can be increased by at least 40 per cent through better transport arrangements alone (Creightley, 1993).

Although the GAD approach argues that development should not only be concerned with the provision of services but should also challenge the subordination of women in households and societies, it is imperative to note that service provision could better the chances of women in development and decision making processes. Providing services could impact positively on the empowerment of women and their communities. In the particular case of transportation, service provision for women in agriculture should be stressed until women's labour is recognized as a service provider to the communities and societies. The theory, in this instance, is essential to transport policy planning because subordination and oppression can be reduced when services are provided. Services allow women the space to stand and have an equal chance achieving empowerment and subsequently development.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Conclusion

6.1.1 Socio-cultural Norms and their impact on women farmers

The study's results have revealed that women from the two agricultural projects in the Capricorn District are still trapped within their cultural roles. These roles define the ways in which they see themselves and how they function in their projects. These cultural roles also determine the ways in which they acquire necessary knowledge to develop themselves. For example, the reflections of women in the Lahlapapadi Goat Project showed that their project suffers instability because of the lack of knowledge about goat farming. Their lack of knowledge is mixed together with cultural ideologies that designate goat farming as an activity for men and domestic activities as roles for women. This has shown that cultural notions play a significant role in the ways in which men and women perceive themselves. They also designate roles to be played by men and women in households, communities and the workplace.

Cultural notions, thus have power over the ways in which an individual perceives themselves as well as the ways to which an individual functions in society. The more strict the notions and expectations are in society, the lesser the chances for individual freedom and development. Greater restrictions are counterproductive with the notions of human development generally, and gender specifically. Additionally, the inability to break free from these ideologies especially in rural areas has the potential to leave women in the same social-economic position for long periods of time. Like many feminist would argue patriarchal discourses and prescriptions form a significant component of social relations which affects the ability to acquire goods and control resources as well as participate in everyday activities in the community. This is why the theory selected for this study is one which argues that empowering women, through equal distribution of opportunities and resources, helps in ensuring that women in the two projects of this study participate in their development.

6.1.2 The Need to Do More

Although the results show that women viewed themselves as inferior in terms of knowledge in relation to their male counterparts, women are also evidently eager to continue in development regardless of these circumstances. Therefore, educating and developing the skills of women in agricultural development can also be seen as an important tool to securing women's development going forward to the end of improving their socio-economic position. Education may also bring with it the ability to acquire skills that are necessary to the running and sustainability of their project. In the final instance, education would indirectly contribute to household food security.

When women are empowered they are enabled to move away from traditional gender stereotypes and discourses which often militate against their productivity and contribution to development. Women in this study have shown that stereotypes in rural areas can be slowly broken and that women as a result of that can participate more fully in development. Additionally, although the participants said they had little knowledge over the management of their livestock and crops, their projects nonetheless grew bigger than those of the men in their community. The incomes generated from their produce enhanced their ability to contribute to their households which also increased their bargaining power within their families.

6.1.3 Empowered Women

Contrary to the views of some feminist research, women are gradually being incorporated into public policy development. This is not to say that there are no challenges in this process. Indeed, misrepresentation which leads to misrecognition continues to riddle that process. However, there is still hope for rural women in agricultural production as a result of greater incorporation. And indeed some of this hope emanates from the advocacy obtained from feminist research which contributed to ensuring that women's voices are heard and that their needs considered.

Moreover, women themselves are actively participating in development in order to empower members of their society through job creations, poverty eradication and community development. This is particular seen in how women from the two projects demonstrate a hunger for growth and expansion. Empowerment is therefore an important tool to helping women break free from cultural norms and restrictions that limit their ability to reason and function in their

communities. Empowerment is also important in developing decision-making abilities and the boosting of women's confidence.

6.1.4 Women's Misrecognition

The need for transportation in the development of agricultural projects is also emphasized in this study's findings. Without transportation, women are unable to reach markets where significant profits can be made. Due to poor transportation women have to pay large sums of money in order to sell their goods to commercial markets. This greatly affects their ability to keep their projects sustainable. Transport thus plays a huge role for women and their developmental efforts.

In addition to this, it is also clear that the availability of transportation to communities and projects is crucial for the selling of goods and the efficient use of time. Overall, transportation seems to promise the benefits accrued from expansion, the achievement of recognition, and business viability of women-led projects. Efficient transport frees farmers from other labour-intensive modes of movement which reduce the time and energy available for production which in turn hinders the amount of income produce by households and communities.

6.1.5 Inadequate Institutional Support survives

This research has also shown that women from the selected projects receive inadequate support from the Department Of Agriculture and even less support from the Department Of Roads And Transport in their district. Participants expressed that they only received assistance from the department of agriculture in the formative stages of their projects. Further developments were made by themselves with little or no assistance from the departments. They reported losing livestock to diseases as well as spending their own money and other resources to compensate for interventions which were prior earmarked for departmental assistance. The sustainability of their projects is greatly threatened by such intermittent assistance.

The Department of Transport was particularly found wanting in their support for farmers in general and women-led agricultural projects in particular. Their failure to support communities seems to be the result of a lack of policy geared particularly towards farmers within the district. More importantly, they also lack policy frameworks with specific emphasis on incorporating

women into transport development. Without a gender sensitive policy, transportation in agricultural development will not adequately assist the plight of women in rural areas.

6.2 Recommendations of Study

Following the data analysis and the subsequent discussions, the researcher proposes the recommendations below. These recommendations may not apply to all projects and institution. Nonetheless they do provide important insights for those seeking to advocate for women's rights in the agriculture and transportation sectors.

6.2.1 Provision of Resources

As far as the results in the study are concerned, there is a great need for the provision of transport resources and services for women-led agricultural projects. Encouraging the relevant departments to be involved in the development of these projects may yield greater results in ensuring that women continue successfully in the fight against hunger and poverty in the district. This involvement may include the provision of information about the availability of support services to farmers, and consultations in policy-making process that culminate into transportation services that reduce the burden on women's labour in agricultural vocations.

In cases where support is not available, it is highly recommended that policies that deal with incorporating farmers are formulated since agricultural production plays as an income generating activity in most of the rural communities in the district and province. The gender and development (GAD) approach or framework could be essential to ensure that gender is considered so that men and women are equally represented in agricultural development as far as the allocation of transport resources are concerned.

6.2.2 Support Services for Women

There is need to foster stronger support systems for women involved in agriculture. This will assist women in identifying departments that are essential to their development. Granting support to women would improve their interest as well as participation in agricultural development in the province. Moreover, support services can close the gender gap between men and women in the province in several ways. Support services such as extension services, transport allocation, skills and development, as well as funding to purchase land are important to the socio-economic

development of the province. If the government along with private institutions played their supposed roles as highlighted in their policies, men and women as well as other stakeholders such as traditional authorities would support women in a much stronger way than has been the case.

6.2.3 Expansion of Agricultural Markets

Facilitating the creation of agricultural markets would enhance opportunities for the recognition of women's labour and improve women's participation in commerce. The availability of markets is crucial to agricultural development because markets are opportunities for income generation. By extension, the availability of markets is therefore important to ensuring that development is sustainable in rural areas.

6.2.4 Use of Grassroots Development Strategies

Strengthening the use of participatory methods of development as Robert Chambers (1983) insists is necessary for grassroots development to take place. Through participatory methods, the challenges and needs of women can be identified and resolved in an effective manner. This is because participatory methods ensure that the knowledge of needs and challenges is arrived at through achieving an understanding of each other's experiences. In this case, the policy positions that are eventually taken speak to actual experiences and needs as voiced by those women involved in farming.

6.2.5 Skills and Development Training

Offering educational services to women in their fields of farming can further develop their skills in managing and keeping their projects sustainable. This requires a deeper look into the policy positions of the relevant departments. Such research into policy could assist the development of plans that ultimately support women in their agricultural and developmental endeavours.

Also skills and development training can help women overcome cultural barriers that hold them captive. This can be achieved through the inclusion of men in the development of women in order to educate them on issues that involve women. Educating men about the empowerment of women and its significance would help in the breaking of counterproductive cultural barriers that stunt development and hinder transformation. Cultural and traditional ways of thinking about

men and women can be challenged in this way to the end of facilitating the achievement of economic justice for women and men. The lives of women and men would be valued equally.

6.2.6 Gender Mainstreaming

Policy makers should make a more deliberate effort at mainstreaming gender into policy. In this way, they would be creating gender sensitive policies that speak to the different needs between men and women. Furthermore, before policy is formulated adequate steps should be taken in order to better understand the contexts within which agricultural production is practiced and the challenges prevalent within those contexts. This would allow for a context specific understanding of the challenges facing women as well as creating policies that will directly address these challenges. Adding such a deliberate research angle to policy formulation would facilitate accurate identification women needs and appropriate interventions.

Moreover, agricultural policies which are gender sensitive ought to be considered in conjunction with the transportation policies being pursued by governmental departments of the concerned localities. In this case, agricultural policies tailored to achieve gender development are to be synergized with policies such as the Limpopo in Motion and the Limpopo Provincial Growth and Development Strategy. This would allow various policy documents to speak to each other. The fact that gender is not mentioned in transportation policies in Limpopo maintains inherent possibilities for the perpetuation of gender inequality as well as gender blindness and bias in development programmes.

6.2.7 Gender Research

There is need to study women alongside men in development in order to achieve an understanding of the nature of gender inequalities and how to effectively eliminate them. This would allow for the alleviation of gender inequalities from their root causes. Studying women alone provides room for error that could compromise the very emancipation and empowerment of women such interventions seek to achieve. Knowing that women are oppressed is not equal to knowing the manner in which they are oppressed.

In this way gender relations involving analyses into women and men remain important because they show the different roles and expectations incumbent upon the sexes and how they are

embedded in culture. If feminist goals are to become an active voice and movement for women, it is imperative that the contextual roots of inequality are investigated and defined.

Recommendations for Further Research

6.2.8 Research Methods

Researchers seeking to engage on issues facing women need to use participatory research methods to better integrate women into interviews. Methods such as focus group discussions are better because they give room for a greater scope of discussions. Participants also feel more comfortable in the midst of their colleagues and peers. Although in-depth interviews also produced interesting results, sometimes participants held back in their responses because they lacked the support and affirmation of their peers.

6.2.9 Time

Researchers looking to get into this field of study must apportion adequate time for interviews with officials from governmental departments. This is because agreed schedules often shift with government officials. Also, because ethnographic research would likely lead to a fuller picture of what goes on in these communities. Other researchers might want to consider allocating extended periods of time to conduct such kinds of research, by living with the respondents, the researcher would experience their daily circumstances and have an authentic perspective of their challenges.

Additionally, the researcher would acquire hands-on knowledge about the social and cultural expectations that organise community life. Facing challenges of transportation that women face, the burden on their unrecognised labour in their agricultural endeavours, and their domestic chores could deepen the richness of the research data. Participants would have sufficient time to familiarize themselves with the researcher, as well as the research aims and objectives further contributing to the richness and accuracy of research data. And lastly, researchers would perhaps become more vigorous in their advocacy for women's rights and development.

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APPENDICES

7.1 Appendix A: Interview Schedule for Focus Group Discussions

ID: __

Project title: Transport, Gender and Agricultural Development: The case study of the Capricorn District in Limpopo Province South Africa

1. About the project
2. What are your goals as an individual/group?

2. Formation of project

- 2.1 What led to the formation of the project?
- 2.2 How did you start the project?
- 2.3 Did you experience any challenges in the formation of the projects? Can you state a few?
- 2.4 What do you think brought about these challenges?
- 2.5 What are some of your project highlights, success points?
- 2.6 How important is this project to you? Why?
- 2.7 Why did you specifically choose to be a women only project?
- 2.8 Why is it important for this to be a women only project?

3. Transport and market

- 3.1 Who is your market? Who do you sell your produce to?
- 3.2 Which markets does the group have access to? (Formal/ informal markets)
- 3.3 How far are these markets from your project?
- 3.4 How important is accessing the markets to the project?
- 3.5 Do you require transport in accessing them (markets)? Do you use public or private transport?
- 3.6 Do you think you have adequate transport facilities to transport your goods? Why is this so?
- 3.7 Would you say you have similar access to transport for agricultural labour with your male counterparts? Why do you say so?
- 3.8 Are there things you receive that males in similar projects don't?

3.9 What areas do you receive adequate support from the Department of Transport as far as agricultural production is concerned? Where is this support lacking?

3.10 Do you receive any assistance from the Department of Agriculture? What type of assistance?

4. General information

4.1 Do you get remunerated for the roles you play in the project? Why?

4.2 What other socio-economic activities are you involved in except farming?

4.3 What impact does agricultural production have in your lives (individually and family)? How?

4.4. If you could make any changes to your project, what would they be?

4.5 What advice would you give to women who wish to follow the same route as you?

7.2 Appendix B: Interview Schedule for Project Managers

ID: __

Project title: Transport, Gender and Agricultural Development: The case study of the Capricorn District in Limpopo Province South Africa

1. About the manager

- 1.1 Can you please tell me about yourself?
- 1.2 What are your goals as an individual and in terms of the project?
- 1.3 Who are the project owners?
- 1.4 How many members are in the project?
- 1.5 What led to your formation of the project? Why is there a preference for women only?
- 1.6 Are you involved in any other economic activities except farming?
- 1.7 Do you receive payment for the role you play in the project?
- 1.8 What structure exists to oversee the project?
- 1.9 Do you think farming would've been any easier if you were not a woman? Why?

2. About the project

- 2.1 Who is your market? Is there any specific market you looking at?
- 2.2 Are they accessible to you? How?
- 2.3 How important is accessing the markets to the project?
- 2.4 Do you require transport in accessing them (markets)? Why?
- 2.5 Do you think you have adequate transport facilities to transport your goods? Why is this so?
- 2.6 How important are transport facilities to you?
- 2.7 How is the Department of transport involved? For how long has this been so?
- 2.8 How is the Department of Agriculture involved? For how long has this been so?
- 2.9 How are the productivity levels compared to those of your male counterpart involved in the same production?

3. General questions

- 3.1 Where do you see yourself 10 years from now?

3.2 What developments would you like to see for the project and the women involved?

7.3 Appendix C: Interview Schedule for Project Managers

ID: __

Project Title: Transport, Gender and Agricultural Development: The case study of the Capricorn District in Limpopo Province South Africa

Departments Interview Schedule

1. About the Department

- 1.1 What are the goals of the Department of Transport/ agriculture?
- 1.2 How long have you served as the department of transport/agriculture?
- 1.3 How do you think the goals relate to development?
- 1.4 What policies has your department put in place to ensure that these goals are reached?
- 1.5 What challenges have you faced in accomplishing these goals?
- 1.6 What are some of the successes you have achieved as a Department in relation to gender?

2. Gender and transport/ agriculture

- 2.1 Do these policies incorporate gender? Yes/ No (why)
- 2.2 What aspects of gender do they address?
- 2.3 Are the specific policies that are formulated to meet women's needs in agriculture?
- 2.4 In your experiences with farmers, how would you say gender and gender inequality is conceptualized?
- 2.5 How does your department conceptualize gender and gender inequality?
- 2.6 How does your department ensure that there is an equal distribution of services and resources to male and female projects? Yes/ No Why?

3. Support to agricultural projects

- 3.1 What type of support services do you offer to farmers?
- 3.2 What programmes are put in place to support female farmers in rural areas without transport facilities?
- 3.3 How are women's needs catered for? What methods are used to ensure participation of women in transport/agriculture?

3.4 Who designs these programmes/policies?

3.5 How is the involvement/participation of women in these intervention strategies?

3.6 How is involvement/participation encouraged?