

**Some Demographic Aspects of Women's Access  
to Land for Farming in South Africa:  
A comparison from 2004 to 2007.**

**By**

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**A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
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statistics, University of the Western Cape**

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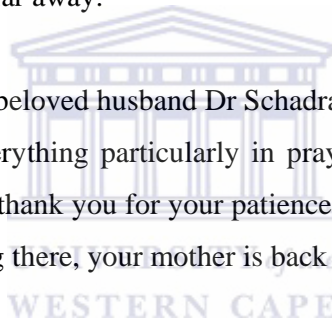
## AKNOWLEDGMENT

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**DECLARATION**

I declare that the work on *Some Demographic Aspects of Women's Access to Land for Farming in South Africa: A comparison from 2004 to 2007* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

*Philomene NYIRASAFARI*

*November 2009*

*Signed.....*



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## **Abstract**

The issue of women's access to land is a developmental issue. From a fundamental research view point, this study aims to explore the circumstances in which women access land in South Africa. The study examines the inequalities that may arise in the context of land access, land acquisition; land use, activities taking place on land and closely related issues focusing specifically on women in general, and women headed households in particular. The study is based on demographic characteristics such as age, gender, marital status, occupational groups, education, province of residence and ethnic groups. Bringing together the demographic variables and land related variables, the study captures the structural changes between 2004 and 2007. Using 2004 and 2007 GHS secondary data requested from Statistics South Africa, cross tabulation and bivariate statistical analysis by means of SPSS software was performed. The results obtained indicate that the inequality against women's access to land still persists. Some women have access to land for agricultural purpose but few own it. The findings suggest that a number of factors including age, place of residence, marital status, ethnic group, literacy, educational level, of women are associated with the ability of women to access and acquire land. The sustainable livelihood framework is a theory that guided this study. Diversification is commonly used to prevent time of risks and shocks. In general, the study shows that the proportion of women who had access to land was 16% in 2004. This figure dropped to 14% in 2007.

  
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## **Keywords**

Land tenure, Land use, Land access, South Africa, Rural women, General Household Survey, Marital status, Demographic characteristics, Households, Sustainable livelihood

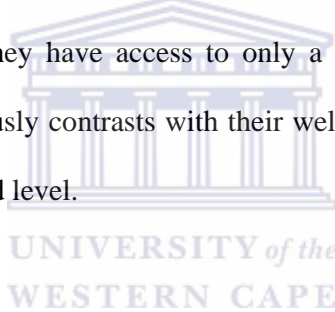


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# CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

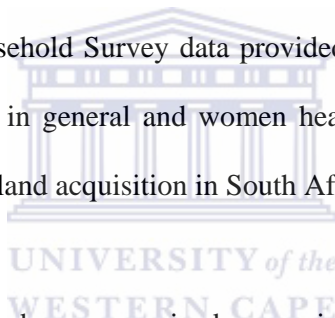
## 1.1. Background of the study

Land is a central issue in the transformation that South Africa is going through. Land is regarded as an important asset for household subsistence as enormous number of female heading households rely heavily on land for food production and consumption. National statistics show that, referring to the most recent population census held in 1996, females constitute the majority of the population in South Africa, It was estimated in 1999 that 51.6% of the population is female and that 52.5% of the rural population is female (Mokgope, 2000). Although women make up the majority of the population in rural areas, they have access to only a small proportion of the land (Meer, 1997). This is obviously contrasts with their well documented involvement in food production at household level.



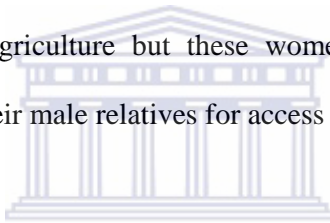
Besides the responsibility of providing for the families falls on women's shoulders, the restrictions of them in terms of land access and other scarce resources means they have too few resources to do so. It is often held assumption that only men in Africa hold land rights in their own rights whereas women do not. Giving credit to this allegation, male bias might visibly operate against the significant rise in the number of households in South Africa headed by female. Some discourses have documented how discrimination results in women's subordination to men in land acquisition (Tati, 2004). The same discourse has underscored the mechanisms of social exclusion embedded in the existing traditional institutions in addressing women needs in regard to land for small-scale farming. Women's access to land is predominantly narrated in terms of difficult access to customary land tenure. From gender perspective,

differentials in socio-demographic characteristics of women who access land for small-scale farming have received little attention in the discourse. At the household level, land is not well elaborated as far as small holdings are concerned. The focus is mainly upon big farming estates. Statistically, little attention has been given to the profile of women who are accessing land in South Africa. In other words; in the context of South Africa, many researchers do not clearly indicate manner in which the factors of age, gender, education, place of residence, ethnic group, and occupational statuses predispose women to land access and land acquisition in comparison with others. For example, educated female heads of household may cope fairly well when negotiating with traditional leaders in terms of land allocation for farming. This study takes stock on General Household Survey data provided in 2004 and 2007 to assess the extent to which women in general and women heading household in particular resort to various methods of land acquisition in South Africa.



Throughout history, land has been recognized as a primary source of wealth, social status, and power. It is the basis for shelter, food, and economic activities; and hence, the most significant provider of employment opportunities in rural areas and is but an increasingly scarce resource in urban areas (Cox & Magel, 2002). The reliance upon access to land dates back to the pre-historic time when people were hunters who survived on animals for food. These animals needed a lot of land space for their survival. Hence, as the population increased, people begin to cultivate land to support or augment the means of livelihood of their families. Over the years, different systems have been developed to supply the population with land. These systems and policies of land allocation have evolved over time and differ from country to country. However, the basic objective still remains the same i.e. satisfying a growing

population with enough space for food production and shelter (Erickson, 1999). For most rural women in particular, land is predominantly a means of survival and subsistence, and a productive resource against during times of poverty and high unemployment (Meer, 1997). However, in most societies women have unequal access to land and associated natural resources (Meer, 1997). Women's access to land is a very critical issue as land is the most fundamental resource in any society as it plays a crucial role in women's livelihood. Africa, particularly South Africa portrays the challenges women face with respect to land access. Given that land is a vital resource for rural livelihoods, access to land by women should be a key concern in today's world. Like men, there are many women who are active farmers and their means of survival is dependent on agriculture but these women are made to rely on the existence and goodwill of their male relatives for access to land (Allendorf, 2007).



In recent years, the gender gap in land access has received enormous attention from development practitioners and women activists. International women conferences held in Mexico City, United States of America; Nairobi, Kenya and Beijing, China around 1975-1995 were measures aimed at achieving political, social and economic equality between men and women (Michel, 2008). More so, important gender issues which were vital to the well-being of millions of women and girls around the world received attention after these conferences (Woldetensaye, 2007 & Michel, 2008).

Furthermore, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations, the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, and the United Nations Human Rights Commission have all called for equal treatment for women and men in access to land and agrarian reforms (Michel, 2008). More so, multilateral

and bilateral development agencies, such as the World Bank (World Bank, 2001), the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID, 2000), and the British Department for International Development (DFID), have also noted the importance of women's rights particularly in regards to land access.

Despite all the efforts made to fight against this inequality, women have remained disadvantaged in many ways. Gender equality has not been achieved and women do not enjoy equal rights with men in accessing land and even controlling other productive resources (Woldetensaye, 2007). Access and control over resources and other benefits are still being determined by socio-cultural norms which have significant impacts on gender relations. Social relations of production and consumption (access to and control over means and benefits of production) show constraints on women in many communities (Davison, 1988). These inequalities to opportunities in accessing land and exerting control over resources have made women more vulnerable to poverty than men in many parts of the world. The effect of the past South African racial land laws and policies were gender-related, particularly among majority of the population living in the rural areas (Mokgope, 2000). Hence, the system of land tenure in rural South Africa revealed disadvantages over women of the same race and class than their male counterparts with regards to land access and control.

## **1.2. Geographical context of the study area**

This study on women's access to land was carried out in South Africa and it was limited to nine provinces. South Africa is situated at the southern tip of Africa forming part of the Southern African region and is bordered by Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Swaziland. Lesotho is situated within South Africa's

borders. There are nine provinces namely Gauteng, Western Cape, Kwazulu Natal, Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, Limpopo, Mpumalanga, Free State and the North West. Pretoria is the executive capital and Cape Town the legislative capital. Other major cities include Johannesburg, Durban, Port Elizabeth, Bloemfontein and East London. The country's climate varies from region to region. The Western Cape experiences a Mediterranean climate and the interior has a semi-desert climate with cold, dry winters and summer rainfall. Kwazulu Natal has a subtropical climate with humid conditions. Snow is uncommon and is limited to the highest lying regions of the country (Mbendi, Information Services). The estimated South African population for 1999 was between 41.9 million and 44.7 million. Out of the over 41 million people in South Africa in 1995, over 31 million were blacks. This represented about 76% of the population. White South Africans constituted only 13% of the population. About 57% of all black Africans lived in Kwazulu-Natal alone and accounted for almost 23% of the black population with Gauteng accounting for 41% of white South Africans (Thwala, 2003).

According to the most recent population census held in 1996, females constitute the majority of the population in South Africa, in eight out of the nine provinces. It was estimated in 1999 that 51.6% of the population is female and that 52.5% of the rural population is female. Moreover, the poorest provinces in South Africa, at the same time contain the largest rural population and have the largest number of females relative to males. In the Northern Province which has the largest rural population and is the poorest province, 54.2% of the population is female. In the Eastern Cape, which is the second poorest province and has the second largest rural population, females comprise 53.8% of the population. Kwazulu-Natal, the most populous province, has



over 4.4 million females which makes 53% of its population. Gauteng is the only province where females are a minority (48.9%) of the population. It is also the wealthiest and most urbanized province with 97% of its population living in urban areas (SSA, 2000).

This study is therefore carried out in the nine provinces of South Africa where women constitute the poorest part of the socio-economic sector of the population (Mann, 2000). According to the National Land Committee (NLC), 60 % of women compared to 40 % of men in South Africa live in poverty. Approximately, 75 % of female-headed households (accounting for at least 40 % of the total number of South African households) are classified poor (NLC, 1998). Furthermore, 60 % of rural and 48 % of urban South African women is unemployed (Central Statistics Service, 1998).

### **1.3. Statement of the problem**

From a developmental perspective, access to land remains a key issue. This is indicated by the enthusiasm of many national governments in entering into commitments through the ratification of various women's rights conventions and hence, the issuance of national policies supporting the rights of women accessing land in many countries. Despite the adoption of the Convention of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1979, The Rome Declaration on World Food Security and the World Food Summit Plan of Action in 1996, macro- and micro-level gender disaggregated data showed that majority of the landless humankind are women (Woldetensaye, 2007). Madebwe & Madebwe (2005) revealed that women have title to only 1 % of the world's land; yet paradoxically, they produced over half of the world's food.

Furthermore, women are over-represented in agriculture, producing up to 80 % of all food stuffs in Sub-Saharan Africa, 50-60 % in Asia, 46 % in the Caribbean and 31 % in the Middle East (FAO, 2002). Yet, rural women continue to have unequal access to productive natural resources such as land, credit facilities, appropriate technology, agricultural extension and decision making positions. The ability of the rural women to access and use scarce land is often constrained by social exclusion, population pressure, and gendered land rights. However, the number of female-headed households is significantly increasing in rural areas of many developing countries, which have been shown to be amongst the poorest in all societies as rural men migrate due to the lack of employment and other income-generating opportunities (Smith & Cohen, 2000).



Nonetheless, South Africa is faced with multi-dimensional challenges regarding access to land by women. Firstly, there exists little or no statistical profile as regards access to land by women. Secondly, there is dearth of official statistics across the nine provinces of South Africa regarding female beneficiaries showing differentials in land access. Thirdly, the social demographic characteristics regarding land accessibility and the method of allocation in South Africa were not documented. Fourthly, little information is available concerning the manner by which the lucky few who have access to land obtained these lands and the difficulties encountered in the process. Fifthly, little is known about what purpose the land accessed were used for, and if in case of farming, what farming activities were carried out on the land. Lastly, the literature has not helped to determine the profile of women who eventually accessed these lands. Hence, this research will explore these demographic dimensions regarding women's access to land for farming, vis-à-vis provide a detailed

comparison with which to measure whether there is any structural change from 2004 and 2007.

### **1.3.1 Research Questions**

The following research questions were investigated through this study:

- What are the channels through which rural women access land for their livelihoods?
- What are farming activities carried out by South African rural women carry on the lands in their possession?
- In which provinces of South Africa is land easily accessible to women?
- What are educational levels of women who access land?
- How do women who access land differentiate in terms of marital status?
- What are the main sources of income of South African women who access land?
- What are other activities do South African women engaged in to generate income besides farming?
- Has there been any increase in acreage in terms of women land ownership between 2004 and 2007?
- What are the socio-demographic characteristics of women who are involved in land use?

### **1.3.2 Hypotheses**

The following hypotheses will be tested:

- Inheritance is the major way of accessing land.
- Women are more likely to turn to farming activity for their living.

- Besides farming, women are more likely to do other activities generating income
- Lack of education constrains women to access land.
- Age is a factor constraining women from accessing land for small-scale farming.
- Land is more used for crops production than any other activities.
- Marital status is an important factor that helps women to access land.

### **1.3.3. Aims and Objectives of the study**

#### **1.3.3.1. General objective**

This study explores the circumstances in which women access land in nine provinces of South Africa (Western Cape; Eastern Cape; Northern Cape; Free State; Kwazulu-Natal; Northern West; Gauteng; Mpumalanga; Northern Province). In details, it further examines inequalities that may exist in the context of land access, acquisition, use and closely-related land issues which primarily focus on women in general; and women-headed households living in both rural and urban areas in particular, given the fact that this category of women constitutes the most vulnerable group in the society.

#### **1.3.3.2. Specific objectives**

- To ascertain ways in which women obtain land and the challenges they encountered in doing so.
- To determine what the lands accessed by rural women are used for.
- To explore different farming activities taking place on these lands.
- To assess the demographic status of women in regards to land access.
- To assess if there is any increase in land access for women using the GHS data of 2004 and 2007.

#### **1.3.4. Significance of the study**

Gender issues are very sensitive but have an essential role to play in policy formulation, scientific research on women's access to land based on statistical analysis will provide insightful indications on the notion of women in land access. From a policy viewpoint, it will assist in promoting gender-sensitive development process in general and in South Africa in particular. Furthermore, the study on demographic aspects of women's access to land for farming will contribute to the growing body of the existing literature. South African demographic information shows that women constitute the majority of the population. Yet, the disparity in accessing land between men and women will impact on rural development process of the country. This study on a large scale will further contribute to the socio-economic empowerment and to the sustainable livelihood of the country at large. Nevertheless, this study will broaden knowledge and provide an insight about the challenges that South African women face in accessing land, and hence, provide a better understanding on this gender-related social problem.

#### **1.3.5. Definition of Keywords**

The concepts used often throughout the thesis but are not as such directly linked to instrumental variables are defined in appendix 8. These terms are the following: *Tribal authority; traditional societies; household headed by women; ownership of land; household; village; rural and urban; Bantustans; homeland; reformed landholding; patriarchy; ownership; sharecropping; rental*. Only concepts that were measured by use of instrumental variables GHS (questionnaire) are defined in this section.

**Access to Land:** Refers to the ability to use land and other natural resources, to control and to transfer the rights to the land and take advantage of other opportunities.

According to the study carried out on Improving Access to Land and Tenure Security

policy, three main aspects have been highlighted in order to enhance access to land: (1) strengthening land tenure security and land rights, (2) increasing the amount of land that someone has access to, and (3) improving the productivity of land alternatives to enhancing access to land for agriculture may include promotion of non-farm activities and urbanisation.

**Demographic characteristics:** These are variables within a population such as age, gender, income level, marital status, ethnic origin and educational level.

**General Household Survey:** The General Household Survey (GHS) is an annual household survey specifically designed to measure various aspects of the living circumstances of South African households. The key findings reported here focuses on the five broad areas which include: education, health, activities related to work and unemployment, housing and household access to services and facilities (GHS, 2005).

**Land tenure:** It refers to terms and conditions under which land and other related resources are held and use. A tenure system reflects who hold what land under what conditions. Land tenure systems vary from community to community and are influenced by historical development of each community. It could also be referred to as the terms and conditions, under which rights to land are acquired, retained or used.

**Land use:** This essentially deals with the spatial aspects of all man's activities on land and the way in which land surface is adapted, or could be adapted to serve human needs.

**Livelihood:** This encompasses the capabilities, assets and activities required for people to obtain a secure living to meet their needs for food, shelter, health, belonging and wellbeing (Mokgope, 2000).

**Marital status:** This is defined as the current marital status of the person or a civil status of each individual in relation to the marriage laws or customs of a country i.e.

never married, married, widowed and not married, divorced and not remarried, married but legally separated or de facto union.

**Province:** A province in South Africa is a territorial unit, almost always an administrative division.

**South Africa:** South Africa is divided into nine Provinces: Eastern Cape, Free State, Gauteng, Kwazulu Natal, Limpopo, Mpumalanga, Northern Cape, North West, and the Western Cape. Each of these Provinces has its own Legislature, Premier and Executive Council (Department of Welfare, 1998). The country has a population of 40.1 million, with more than a third of the population (34 %) aged less than 15 years, implying that South Africa has a young population.

### **1.3.6 Thesis outline**

Chapter 1 of this thesis provides introduction to the research, starting with the background to the study, and statement of the problem underlying women's access to land. It further outlines research questions, hypotheses, objectives of the study, significance of the study and the working definitions. Chapter 2 presents a body of literature which discusses the theoretical review underlying the study and the empirical review. Chapter 3 discusses the policy framework. Chapter 4 outlines research design, sampling and data collection, method used in analysis, delimitation and description of variables. Chapter 5 presents data analysis and results, while Chapter 6 critically discusses the findings. Chapter 7 presents conclusion and proffers some recommendations from the study to the policy makers.

## **CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL LITERATURE**

This chapter provides theoretical review and specifically, the conceptual framework guiding the research work. The chapter also discuss empirical evidences as regards what result or inferences other scholars and researchers have laid out about women's access to land. Above all, policy formulation and implementation as regards the study is reviewed.

### **2.1. THEORETICAL REVIEW**

Over the past years, some theories related to women's access to resources have emerged. However, emphasis in this study is placed on access to land used for farming at the household level. Two of the theories discussed in this work are Women in Development (WID) theory and, Women and Development (WAD) theory. Some feminist approaches would also be discussed, while the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) suggested to be appropriate theory related to the study on women's access to land because it involves women's livelihood diversification would be reviewed as well.

#### **2.1.1. The WID and WAD approaches.**

Feminist approaches to women and development have drastically changed the conceptualisation of women's relationship to the development process (Walker, 2006). The Women in Development (WID) approach sought to address issue of poverty and inequality by emphasizing on women's productive roles in agriculture and their participation in development projects as a way of alleviating poverty and empowerment (Walker, 2006). Along this line, investigations into the relationship of



women to land and have led to research perspectives namely Women in Development (WID) and Women and Development (WAD) research. These two perspectives have had a critical influence on the body of knowledge on women's access to land, which is in line with the general reassessment of ((Miller & Razavi, 1995 & Tati, 2004). WID recognizes that women are active participants in the development process, who through both their productive roles provide a critical and often unacknowledged, contribution to the economic growth. Hence, as regards this participatory claim, it can be argued that as an untapped resource, women must be brought into the development process (Tati, 2004)).

Some justified criticisms have been expressed as regards conceptualizing the place of women within the development process, and these predominantly stress the over-emphasis of women's problems in relation with their particular attributes as a separate socio-demographic group (Tati, 2004). However, limitations in the WID concept has led to the Gender and Development (GAD) concept which emphasizes on the gender relations between men and women, and the specific manner in which women are subordinate to men within such asymmetrical relationships with less access to or control over resources (Tati, 2004). In the WAD concept, solutions to women's problems is no longer viewed as that of an isolated group but instead, are built upon by means of creating a balance in such asymmetrical relations which can be shifted or changed. The overall goal of the GAD approach is women's empowerment. Empowerment entails increasing women's access to knowledge, resource and decision-making power to change their disadvantaged positions to the level of having control over their own lives (Miller & Razavi, 1995). This goal can not be achieved easily and hence, gender inequality still persists. This is reflected in many aspects of

women's lives including their acquisition of resources. Women's struggle emerged to remove these inequalities and to bring change in women's lives hence, feminism was born (Walker, 2006).

### **2.1.2. Feminist approach**

Different issues raised by feminists led to the formulation of many theories. One of the theories discussed in this thesis is feminist economics. The concern of the feminist economists across the field of economics was based on its relationship to gender and on firm rejection of gender marginalization in traditional economic theories. These feminists developed an economics that serves the interests of large and different group of people. Feminist economists brought new insights to economics thought, which resulted in positive difference in the lives of women. They argued against traditional economics which depicted women as dependent on fathers, husbands or males partners by considering the family as a basic economic unit. They affirmed this assumption enforces women's dependence on men, their secondary status within the family and the community, and their exclusion from decision-making (Woldetensaye, 2007 & Michel, 2008). Feminist economists insisted on economic indicators that measure women's well being. They argued that economic growth which basically considered the amount of money flow into the country's economy has little concern to social well-being of people. Hence, they rationalised that economic growth do not basically lead to resource distribution within a country. Feminist economists have also shown evidences that economic discourses had perpetuated masculinity biases in theoretical and empirical researches. Woldetensaye (2007), showed that gender biased research outcomes create low status, low power and less rewards for women since economic theories and discourses influence political, economic and social policies. Feminist economists had contributed to economic theory and methodology and

created alternative approaches such as the 'capability approach'. Feminist economic methodology was categorised into domestic systems, economic success, human agency, ethical judgements, gender, race and class.

Feminist economists asserted that the household should be treated as an important economic institution and unpaid work performed by men and women in a domestic setting ought to be valued. In addition, emphasis was placed on issues of power relation and inequalities within families and households, as such, it is important to analyse women's access to land at the household level. In feminist economics methodology, economic success should consider individual needs and entitlements on top of production of goods, distribution of wealth or income hence, alternatives to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) such as the Human Development Index (HDI) and the Human Capability Index (HCI) were developed (Edith and Jolande, 1995).

Strong emphasis was given to the agriculture sector as a major area of development, in which feminist economists revealed that the agricultural sector and economic concepts should consider effects of gender relations in the system. They further showed economic approach in the agricultural sector and farming systems reflect gender ideologies in society (Woldetensaye, 2007 & Michel, 2008). More so, the farm is seen as a purely economic unit managed by a male farmer who is often considered active on the agricultural economic development. They argued that in the farming households, women's involvement in land use for production purpose is rarely accounted for. This is in agreement with the promotion of small land holdings of the household level (Woldetensaye, 2007). However, women are associated with the domain of the family and the household hence, they are invisible in agricultural

production regardless of their contribution to the sector and the rural economy. Feminist economists asserted that family farm should be conceptualized in a different way because of its characteristics. They conceptualized the family farm as a farm where capital, labour and management are mostly provided by the family who owns/uses the land.

Family farm is primarily based on family labour and there are interlinks of economic activity and family life. Existing economic concepts could not be applied to study gender relations on family farms. Woldetensaye points out that the underlying reasons for these feminists view was that family farm is an area where labour and property relations are based on marriage and kinship and that power relation between men and women in society are reflected on farm activities through marital arrangements. They further emphasized that farm activities are outcomes of household decision-making processes although women and men farmers do not always have the same needs and interests, whereby both differently influences the decision-making process. More so, they underscored the need for more actor oriented approaches to incorporate women's roles in economic analysis and to address their issues effectively (Woldetensaye, 2007).

### **2.1.3 A SUGGESTED THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

The livelihood sustainable framework (there and after SLF) as a theory underlies this study on women's access to land for farming. This framework reflects the livelihood strategies that are considered useful for this study on women's access to land. Before formulating the proposed conceptual framework, it is important to present here the salient arguments of the SLF as discussed in the literature. Some of its gaps are identified and these serve as the rationale for the conceptual framework of this study.

#### **2.1.3.1. Livelihood Sustainable Framework (LSF)**

According to Ellis's work on Household Strategies and Rural Livelihood Diversification, livelihood diversification was defined as a phenomenon that characterizes the survival and income strategies of individuals and families in rural areas of developing countries. It can also be defined as the process by which rural families construct a diverse portfolio of activities and social support capabilities in order to survive and to improve their standards of living. Diversification is merely a transient phenomenon or one associated with the desperate struggle for survival in declining economies, and it may be associated with success at achieving livelihood security under improving economic condition as well as livelihood distress in deteriorating conditions (Ellis, 1998).

Mokgope (2000) in her study on Land Reform, Sustainable Livelihoods and Gender Relations sees sustainable livelihoods approach as holistic. She points out that livelihood involves various factors, including the context in which people live, their access to livelihood resources, their ability to use these resources, the process which shape and determine people's access to resources, and their ability to use resources to make a living (Mokgope, 2000). Livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets

(including both materials and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stress and shocks; maintain or enhance its capabilities and stress, while not undermining the natural resource base. Rural livelihood diversification emphasizes especially on household coping strategies, intra-household relations, rural growth linkages, rural non-farm activity, and rural-urban migration. Diversification may occur both as deliberate household strategy and as an involuntary response to crisis (Ellis, 1998). Livelihood diminishes and accentuates rural inequality. It acts both as a safety valve for the rural poor and as a means of accumulation for the rural rich. More so, it can either benefit farm investment and productivity or impoverish agriculture by withdrawing critical resources. Livelihood diversification can be said to be neither a rural nor only a developing country phenomenon, but found to be a survival strategy of urban dwellers in developing countries, and is becoming increasingly prevalent amongst farm families in these countries as agricultural price and other supports to farming are remote.

Furthermore, livelihood is more than just income which refers to the cash earnings of the household plus payments in kind that can be valued at market prices. The cash earnings component of income includes items like crop or livestock sales, wages, rents, and remittances. Livelihood encompasses income, both cash and in kind, as well as the social institutions (kin, family, compound, and village), gender relations, and property rights required to support and to sustain a given standard of living. Social and kinship networks are important for facilitating and sustaining diverse income portfolios. Livelihood also includes access to, and benefits derived from,

social and public services provided by the state such as education, health services, roads, and water supplies (Ellis, 1998).

Livelihood diversification is not synonymous with income diversification (Reardon *et al.*, 1992; Adams and He, 1995). Nevertheless, many, but not all economic studies of diversification focus on different income sources and their relationship to income levels, income distribution, assets, farm output and other variables. Different categories of income have been distinguished such as farm, off-farm, and non-farm income sources (Reardon, 1997). Farm income includes livestock as well as crop income and comprise both consumption in-kind of own farm output and cash income from output sold. Off-farm typically refers to wage or exchange labour on other farms (in agriculture). It also includes labour payments in kind, such the harvest share systems and other non-wage labour contracts that remain prevalent in many parts of the developing world (Ellis, 1998). Non-farm income refers to non-agricultural income sources. Several secondary categories of non-farm income have been identified, and these include non-farm rural wage employment, non-farm rural self employment, property income, urban to rural remittance arising from within national boundaries, and international remittance arising from cross-border and overseas migration (Ellis, 1998).

Most research done on income diversification utilizes the household as the unit for empirical investigation. Moreover, this study on women's access to land uses the household as a unit of analysis. It is a fact that households headed by women are more vulnerable compared to their male counterparts. In South Africa, many households are headed by women meaning responsibilities in families fall on their shoulders. The

household may be conceived as the social group which resides in the same place, share the same meal, and makes joint or coordinated decisions over resources allocation and income pooling (& Ellis, 1993). The farm household economic model treats the household as a single decision making unit, maximizing its welfare subject to a range of income earning opportunities and a set of resource constraints. Intra-household economic approaches based on bargaining theory do not necessarily yield different predictions about patterns of engagement by household members in different labour

Urban migrants are commonly observed to continue to maintain strong rural family connections, even after several generations of urban residence. Circular migration in which family members work for periods in the urban economy, then return to their family farms is taken into account. Seasonal migration related to cyclical work opportunities in different locations is also common (Agarwal, 1990; Breman, 1996). Other school of thought sees diversification as matter of choice and opportunity involving proactive household strategies for improving living standards. Here, diversification for survival has been contrasted with diversification for accumulation.

The composition of rural household income is relatively poorly researched compared to other aspects of rural livelihoods in many developing countries especially in sub-Saharan Africa (Ravallion, 1992). In particular, there is an almost total lack of datasets that are comparable across time intervals greater than two or three years. More so, available evidence is from small-scale, location specific, sample surveys that are not representative of aggregate populations. Added to this, there appear to be little consensus across surveys concerning the definitional categories of income



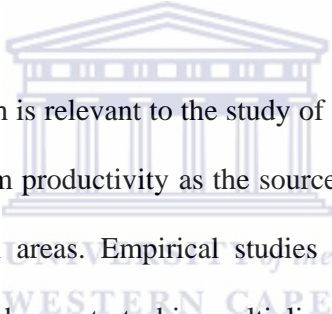
components, so that individual income streams may be assigned to different sub categories in the data analysis of different surveys (Ellis, 1998).

A range of different motives and pressures of diversity that contribute to explaining why diversification occurs and the patterns of diversity that are observed are well-explained in literature. Some major determinants of diversification are seasonality, differentiated labour markets, risk strategies, coping behaviours, credits market imperfections, inter-temporal savings and investment strategies (Ellis, 1998). All rural households confront seasonality as an inherent feature of their livelihoods (Chambers *et al.*, 1981). Seasonality on its own explains many of the patterns of diversity in rural household income, especially those involving on-farm diversity and off-farm agricultural wage earnings (Adelman & Sahn, 1989).

Income instability and consumption smoothing are real problem confronted by households and hence, an important motive for income diversification associated with seasonality is to reduce income instability. Nevertheless, capability to diversify is likely to be particularly important for poor families that have little or no margin to withstand. There is agreement that the capability to diversify income is critical for the survival capabilities of the rural poor, because they are vulnerable to seasonal and risk factors than better off households (Chambers, 1989). It also because poor households lack assets, they may be landless or near landless, and possess few or no livestock. Without the capability to produce enough food on their own, the poor must diversify income sources in order to survive. Therefore, enabling the rural poor to earn enough in order to survive is one thing, reducing income disparities between poor and rich

quite another (Stark, 1982; Stark & Bloom, 1985). Risk is often discussed as the primary motive for income diversification.

The concept of coping involved with the vulnerability of rural families to livelihood collapse in the face of disaster such as drought, flood, and cyclone (Chambers, 1989; Davies, 1996). The notion of vulnerability is further captured by resilience and sensitivity of the livelihood system, where resilience means the ability of the system to absorb change or even utilizes change to advantage, while sensitivity refers to the susceptibility of the natural resources base to change following human interference (Blaikie & Brookfield, 1987).



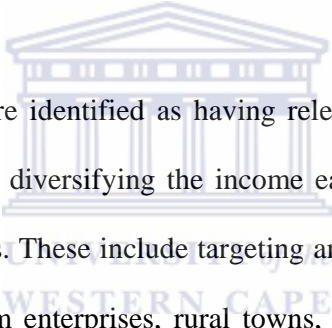
Rural growth model approach is relevant to the study of livelihood diversification due to its emphasis on rising farm productivity as the source of diversification of income earning opportunity in rural areas. Empirical studies utilizing the growth linkage approach have appeared to demonstrate big multiplier effect in the rural economy resulting from growth in agricultural output (Ellis, 1998). The direction of causality in the growth linkage model is always from farm growth to non-farm growth, and not the other way around (Delgardon *et al.*, 1994). The implication is that the primary focus of anti-poverty policy should be growth in farm output. The younger, more innovative, better educated members of farm families are the ones that leave the farm to engage in rural non-farm activities or to undertake distance migration. Hence, they may also divert scarce capital from the farm into rural self-employment or job search funding for would-be migrants. Furthermore, non-farm income sources are seen as the agent of positive change in agriculture, rather than agriculture being the agent of rural non-farm growth (Ellis, 1998).

Collective models of the household based on individual welfare maximization and bargaining theory provide more scope for examining how the social status and independent decision-making capabilities of women are affected changing their access to work and income outside the home (Ellis, 1998). Taking gender to mean socially-defined roles of men and women, gender will often be found to constrain the patterns of income diversification pursued by the household.

The constraints may be direct due to the prohibition of women working outside the home, or indirect resulting from girls being permitted less access to schooling than boys. Baring this constrain, the widespread social assignment of women to domestic duties means that their ability to participate in income earning opportunities outside the household or farm is likely, in most cases, to be more circumscribed than is the case for men. Thus, the feminization of agriculture was a significant feature of income diversification in sub-Saharan Africa caused by the predominantly male involvement in long distance migration to cities, mines and plantations (Ellis, 1998). The predominance of males, and often younger males, in many different types of seasonal and circular migration has also been noted. Therefore, gender affects diversification options, in terms of which income earning opportunities are taken up and which are discarded. It also affects diversification patterns, as manifested by unequal male and female participation rates in different branches of non-farm activities (Ellis, 1998).

Gender affects diversification outcomes for the welfare and status of family members as individual. As seen in households headed by women, other main sources of income (wages/salary, remittances, and pension and grants) may be an additional support to the household in time of crisis. A greater share of cash income accruing to women

result both in more of the household budget being spent on food and improvements in family nutrition. The engagement in independent income sources may raise the social status of women within the household, and improve their negotiating position across a range of household decisions, although the outcomes are not guaranteed merely from women's engagement in non-farm income generating activity. Consequently, gaining a better understanding, in different contexts, of the gender-differentiated impacts of alternative income sources within the household could result in improvement in the design of local level policies intended to ameliorate or reduce poverty, improve nutrition, and enhance the ability of individuals to improve their own living standards (Ellis, 1998).



A number of policy areas are identified as having relevance either for the survival portfolios of the poor or for diversifying the income earning options of individuals and households in rural areas. These include targeting and reducing risk, microcredit, rural services, rural non-farm enterprises, rural towns, infrastructure, and education (Evans & Ngau, 1991).

#### **2.1.3.2. Some identified gaps in the LSF with special reference to socio-demographic variables**

Livelihood is defined as the means through which people obtain a secure living which meet their needs for food, shelter, health, belonging and wellbeing (Mokgope, 2000). A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets and activities required for people to obtain a secure living which can meet their needs for food, shelter, health, belonging and wellbeing (Mokgope, 2000). Livelihood strategies are determined by the availability of resources, in terms of access to and control over these resources, and as determined by institutional frameworks. Scoones (1998) identify main livelihood

strategies which are agricultural intensification/extensification, livelihood diversification and migration. These strategies cover the range of options open to rural people. It is either more livelihood is obtained from agriculture (including livestock rearing, aquaculture, forestry) through processes of intensification (more output per unit area through capital investment or increases in labour inputs) or extensification (more land under cultivation), or a diversification to a range of farm income earning activities, or a situation of moving away and seeking a livelihood, either temporarily or permanently, elsewhere. Better still, a combination of strategies together or in sequence can be pursued.

Land is an asset which may generate wealth and wellbeing of people through agricultural intensification (gaining more livelihoods from agriculture). Livelihood diversification may also consist of engaging in a range of off-farm activities. Acquisition of land asset remains an element of contestation because land constitutes a major basis of social relations where it affects land access by individuals and communities due to issues around competition. Issues of women's access to land are not well emphasized given that in order to diversify; there should be access to resources.

Ellis (1998) understanding of sustainable livelihoods revealed some gaps and limitations in which little or nothing have been emphasized about women's characteristics and their capabilities to land access. Increasingly, women resort to alternative livelihoods strategies such as off-farm activities to generate income and the income category have not been related statistically to land access as emphasized by Ellis in his work. Statistically, little or nothing has been said about the profile of

women as opposed to men, who qualified for smallholdings and the activities taking place on agricultural land. Having reviewed the literature on sustainable livelihood framework, it emerges that little has been provided regarding the magnitude of households headed by women who assume so many responsibilities and play a crucial role in sustainable livelihood. Hence, the capabilities, aptitudes through which the actors acquire land were not discussed.

## **2.2. EMPIRICAL REVIEW ON WOMEN'S ACCESS TO LAND**

This section focus on relevant review of literature of what has been highlighted by other scholars and researchers on some demographic aspects of women's access to land for farming in general and in South Africa in particular. However, attention will be on gender issue and land access, international view of women's access to land, methods of land acquisition, off-farm activities, main sources of income, household composition, and education and age. The section ends with a suggested conceptual framework.

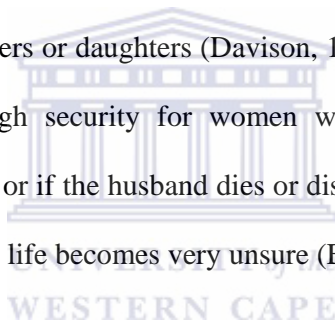
### **2.2.1. Gender issue and women's land acquisition.**

Rural women have begun to struggle for and assert their rights to land over the past 30-40 years, largely as part of the struggle against apartheid and the institutions of the former homelands created by that system. The results of this struggle have been slow to emerge, however, largely due to the reluctance of men to accept the informal and legislative changes which have provided the space for the allocation of land rights to women. This would result in women gaining autonomy and independent citizenship rights, thus reducing male power within the household and the community (Cross & Horby, 2002).

In the former homelands which comprise 13% of the land reserved for African occupation by colonial and apartheid policies, access and use rights to land are largely confined to male heads of households, though women-headed households are predominant (Cross & Horby, 2002). Women's access to land and their control over its usage has largely, although not exclusively been mediated through their relationship to a male household head, whether a husband, brother, son or other male relative. The particular deprivation of rural women as a social category relative to men has been exacerbated by the legacy of the migrant labour and Bantustan policies that were developed by the apartheid white minority government (Walker, 1998). Both custom and law have generally underpinned women's economic marginalization. In addition, the growing general land shortage and land hunger have increased women's vulnerability. Today, like most rural men, most rural women see land primarily as a social rather than an economic resource and look to the urban sector and to urban jobs as the route to household economic survival and advancement (Walker, 1998).

Gender inequalities are pervasive across many dimensions of societal life including households, social, economic and political institutions. The United Nations recognized that gender inequality resulting from women's low status persist in many societies although the extent of the gap varies across countries, culture and time. The UN presented the burden of this inequality by saying that: "*Women, who comprise half the world's population, do two thirds of the world's work, earn one tenth of the world's income and own one hundredth of the world's property*" (Woldetensaye, 2007).

Cox & Magel, (2002) also contributed to the gender issue by explaining that without specific attention to gender inclusiveness, important segments of society may be excluded from the benefits of land administration, management, and development schemes. They further explained that in many countries, there still exists a lack of adequate provisions for women to hold land rights independently of their husbands or male relatives. Where women gain land-use rights through male kin, men may still control key aspects of land use; women's rights often end with divorce, forcing women to return to the native home, often with no access to land. Mostly, women's direct access to land is often limited in traditional societies. Women have indirect access to land in terms of use rights acquired through kinship relationships and their status as wives, mothers, sisters or daughters (Davison, 1998). Nevertheless, these use rights may not grant enough security for women when family structures break especially in case of divorce or if the husband dies or disappears, a women's situation becomes totally changed and life becomes very unsure (Erickson, 1999).



Furthermore, the gendered face of poverty makes gender an issue in women's access to land (Woldetensaye, 2007). A study carried out by United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in developing countries showed that poverty has a gendered face and that women are poorer than men. The UNDP study on selected countries of sub-Saharan Africa showed GDP (Gross Domestic Product) per capita for women were less than of men. Comparative figures in 1998 were US\$1, 142 per woman and US\$2,079, per man (Woldetensaye, 2007). Therefore, Cox and Magel (2002) suggest that there is a need for land policy recommendations and implementation frameworks that explicitly address gender inclusive access to land for future personal, economic stability of women in South Africa. Without specific attention to gender



inclusiveness, important segments of society may be excluded from the benefits of land administration, management, and development schemes.

### **2.2.2. Women and land tenure systems in South Africa**

South Africa is a very patriarchal country with different tenure systems operating in different areas (Mhango & Samson, 1998). The literature outlines tenure options for women under the main rural tenure forms found in South Africa today. Land tenure can be understood as the process that defines the kinds of households that qualify socially and politically for land. From Meer's point of view, this point is important for gender, since many of the families run by women do not qualify to hold land, and therefore do not have any official existence as separate households (Meer, 1997).

Thus, various forms of tenure exist in South Africa today for African communities and individuals. Although there is a variety of tenure systems found in South Africa is very large, there are probably three basic kinds of legal tenure in rural African areas. These are the state-administered tenures, tribal or communal tenure, and privately owned land.

#### **2.2.2.1. State land system**

These systems are the actual allocation of residential and arable land was often controlled centrally for each district or community by the headmen and the council, the chief or the agricultural officers, who act on behalf of the district magistrate or the national minister. Meer, (1997); Mokgope, (2000), and Letsoale (1987) point out that through this system, land was pegged and divided into arable, grazing and residential areas. Grazing was shared, but arable field and residential plots were allocated to individual families. In practice, land was often inherited, but such inheritance

required approval from the locators. Today it is thus extremely difficult for women to gain land under these systems.

#### **2.2.2.2. The former reserves**

Under this system, fields are informally lent and subdivided and may be switched to residential use in accommodating married children. In this system, some chiefs now seem to regard land as their private property and this trend further marginalizes women. Inheritance of communal land by male heirs is usually automatic, and families may give land to married or widowed daughters, but inheritance by women is still not usual and can present problems (Meer, 1997 and Mokgope, 2000).

#### **2.2.2.3. Freehold tenure**

The freehold tenure includes individual and company owned farms which are mostly in parts of rural areas, residential and commercial plots in declared urban areas. The use of Title Deed Land subdivision of farms within urban areas is controlled by a designated ministry. Women's access to freehold land is determined by their marital status and the type of marriage contracted of a woman determines whether or not she can have control over land in her own right (Meer 1997, Mhango & Samson, 1998, Mokgope, 2000).

#### **2.2.3. International perspectives on women's access to land**

Women's access to land is not only an issue challenging South African population but the world as a whole (Deininger, 2003). In many societies, women's land rights are of a secondary nature, acquired through their husbands or male relatives. An example can be seen in Kenya, where title to land was given only to heads of households (almost always men) (Palmer, 2002). Consequently, women's ability to have independent land ownership in case of the death of their husband or divorce was

limited. Divergence between ownership and control rights can have negative effects on productivity. A situation where the husband controls the proceeds from cultivation, reduces women's incentives to exert efforts, and thus lowers agricultural productivity. This is particularly relevant in African countries, where women are the main agricultural cultivators, and in many Latin America and Asian countries, where men migrate or women are traditionally heavily discriminated against (Deininger, 2003).

In Burkina Faso, household output could be increased by 10-20 % by re-allocating currently used agricultural inputs more evenly between men and women (Deininger, 2003). The household income, if it comes from women's assets holdings may improve child health, nutrition and education. In Bangladesh, Ethiopia and South Africa, assets in the hands of women significantly raise the share of households of women expenditure on education. Extra income, including assets income, accruing to women rather than men in several countries is linked to more outlay on, and gain in, child nutrition (Deininger, 2003).

The argument that women's access to land is not enough in order to sustain livelihoods. Cross (1999) supports this argument by saying that giving women individual and autonomous rights to land do not necessarily guarantee that these may not be taken away later or misappropriated by the powerful within society. Deshingkar (1995) supported Cross's argument by saying that giving women access to land cannot ensure that they are able to utilise it productively and earn a living from it because they may not necessarily have the inputs, labour or knowledge and skills. Mokgope (2000) further points out that having access to land does not necessarily mean that rural women will be able to use it to effectively to improve their

livelihoods. She outlines the limiting factors such as institutional frameworks that shape their access to economic powers, skills and knowledge, information, and decision-making powers and structures, the lack of financial means to be able to join purchasing groups. Hence, women usually do not have powers within the household to make decisions on land acquisitions and land use.

However, Mokgope, (2000) provided substantial reasons why women must have access to land for agricultural purpose by referring to Asian experience. She argues that giving women individual private rights will ensure them access to production resources. In addition, anecdotal evidence suggests that giving women title to land will allow them to use the security this provides to access credits, possibly to start up a number of farm enterprises. In Honduras and Nicaragua, the amount of land women own has a significant and positive impact on food expenditure as well as on children's educational attainment. The risk of poverty and the physical well-being of a woman and her children could depend on whether she has direct access to land, and not just access mediated through male family member, especially for female-headed households with no adult male support (Mokgope, 2000).

Given the importance of land in the asset portfolio of the average rural household in many developing countries, increasing women's control over land could therefore have a strong and immediate effect on the welfare of the next generation and on the level and pace at which human and physical capital are accumulated (Davison, 1998; Toulmin & Quan, 1999). The household income, if it comes from women's assets holdings have been shown to improve child health, nutrition and education in Bangladesh, Ethiopia and South Africa (Deininger, 2003; Davison, 1998).

Giving women rights to land also gives power, helping them to take more control in existing relations, not least by improving women's reservation within marriage. Such empowerment reduces their vulnerability within the household. In Birla, India, allocation of title to men but not women led to increased drunkenness and domestic violence. Similarly in the Mwea irrigation scheme in Kenya, failure to guarantee women's rights to land led to a reduction in their well-being (Davison, 1998; Deininger, 2003). If a woman has the reserved option to work and earn on her own land, it may also give her power in social and economic relations, and makes participation in local political institutions more likely (Meer, 1997; Davison, 1998). Hargreaves suggests that if the South African government effectively aims to eradicate poverty, then independent land access and control for rural women is appropriate strategy in line of women's wellbeing. However, the study of Deininger, (2003) from Cote'Ivoire highlighted a bias in the allocation of land rights against women farmers is not justified, as the literature provides no evidence of inferior efficiency between men and women.

#### **2.2.4. Some differentials in methods of land acquisition**

Most women do not have rights that allow them independent access to and control over land. Men are the link between women and land irrespective of whether or not their needs, responsibilities, concerns, interests and life experiences are the same as those of men (Rose, 1987). Customarily, a woman cannot inherit land in her own right. She can only do so through a man who may be her husband, son, brother or male cousin. However, it has been argued that there is no disparity between women and men's access to land in the system of inheritance because a man cannot inherit

without a wife. In other words, the presence of the wife is only required for purposes of allocating the land but it is not binding enough for the woman to challenge her expulsion from the land.

#### **2.2.4.1. Marital status and land acquisition**

Marital status is a demographic feature that determines the way women access land through traditional authority and custom (Meer, 1997). In South Africa, and elsewhere in Africa, marital status determines access to land as women differ in terms of their location within the household structure as wives, divorced, widows or single daughters, and expended the brief to include specific consideration of these differences, and the impact of these differences on women's ability to obtain land in their own right, to obtain secure tenure afterward, and to use their land to develop livelihoods and earn income for themselves and their families (Meer, 1997; Cross & Hornby, 2002).

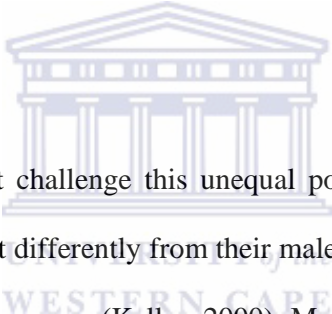
In rural areas, married women obtain land for farming through their husbands (Keller, 2000), but a survey conducted in the Eastern Cape found that communities considered the allocation of land rights to married women is impossible. In contrast, such rights are vested in husbands who are considered household-heads. Drawing on the work of Turner & Ibsen (2000), the National Land Committee argues that this is a nation-wide tendency. Reluctance to allow married women access to land in their own right is intimately tied up with maintaining patriarchal inheritance rules and rights: *“Male children maintain the family names...female members of households are always bound to be married. Therefore, if they inherit property and thereafter get married, the property of the deceased is left in the hands of a stranger”* (Cross et al., 1995).

Moreover, a married woman may gain access to land if she has her husband's authorization but is likely to lose this in the event of a breakdown in relation through divorce or in widowhood. Her rights may also change if her husband remarries within a polygamous arrangement (Izugbara, 1999). Hence, there are suggestions that women face discrimination with respect to the allocation of individual fields. When access to a plot is granted, this may be on land which other male relatives do not want because, for example, it is not very fertile, difficult to work, or not suitable for animal traction. Izugbara in her study points out that in some areas of Africa like Northern Cameroon, it was found that women could get relatively easy access to bush field land, given its abundance, but were mostly excluded from land which is perceived to be of considerably greater value. Furthermore, a study in Burkina Faso compare the position of women and younger men with regard to access to land confirmed that women generally receive plots that is further away and is less-protected from erosion than land gained by young men. The study also revealed, however, that there was fairly equal access for both women and younger men to the fertile plots found in lowland areas (Izugbara, 1989)

#### **2.2.4.2. Women headed households and land acquisition**

Jane & Gale (2007) stressed that women's lack of access to land rights becomes especially severe in situations of conflict and reconstruction, where widows and single women may be extremely disadvantaged. Without husbands, women survivors of wars or disaster may be unable to secure their own place to live. When they cannot inherit either their parents or their husband's property, they are condemned to live in refugee camps as seen in Rwanda and Burundi in the mid-1990. Erickson (1999),

explains the unfair access to land of women headed households by giving reference to widows. She says that widows are quite often totally dispossessed immediately after the death of the husband. Erickson argues that a widow is not even recognised as a person who earned part of the property or contributed to its existence. Erickson also says that the situation is bad for abandoned women and young widows when they decide to leave the in-laws. In all cases, they leave without any compensation. In-laws believe that women come to their homes without land, so they must also leave without anything. They do not have any share of the reclaimed land of the family in-law. She concludes that the local chief may allocate a plot to single women, particularly if she has children, but it would be unthinkable to allocate a plot to married women in her own right.



Nevertheless, women do not challenge this unequal position under customary law. Even female chiefs do not act differently from their male counterpart in administering land to the disadvantaged of women (Keller, 2000). Many widows accept the loss of property, a share of which is rightfully theirs because the emotional costs of challenging in-laws are too high. Given that women do not have equal right to property ownership, widowhood usually means loss of the right of access to field where their labour has been invested and to their homes (Keller, 2000).

Keller also noted that across a range of many communities, it is fairly common practice for a widow to hold land until she dies, at which time it passes on to the male heir, or to hold land until the heir comes of age. Hence, the core assumption underpinning widow's rights to land is that it is transitional which means a temporary arrangement in the transfer of authority from husbands to sons. However, in some



circumstances, most divorced or widowed rural women return to their natal families, where they are dependent upon male kin for access to land (Keller, 2000). Widows can not formally acquire land in their own right, but they can inherit land. Van Averbeke (1995) posited that older unmarried women seem to have been able to gain access to land in their own right through mediation by male family member.

Walker (1994) and Cross *et al.*, 1995 carried out a research in Kwazulu-Natal and the Southern Cape which suggested a contrary view about females/daughters' rights to inherit or gain unmediated access to land. Most, uphold a son's prior claim to property over that of a daughter's as natural and right. Hence, they support the general opinion that daughters inherit as a last resort, when there are no sons and no other close male relative. Consequently, one can assume that the lack of access to and rights over land among African women reflects inequality and a very strongly patriarchal society.

#### **2.2.4.3. Differentials in socio-demographic characteristics**

Not all women-headed households are equally disadvantaged by tenure. Hence, certain tenure systems are more open to women than others. The literature highlighted that categories of advantage and disadvantage are also closely connected to poverty (Meer, 1997). Those categories of women are widows with grown children, younger widows with younger children, single mothers with children and married women with absent husbands.

##### **2.2.4.3.1 Widows with grown up children**

Under most rural tenure systems, older widows with grown children are the best-positioned group (Walker, 1994; Cross *et al.*, 1995). This is because widows under both state tenure and informal tenures are normally allowed to keep a usufruct right to the land holding of their late husbands. Meer (1997) pointed out that widows with

grown or adolescent children are also the category of female-headed household which can most easily move to a new area. Since the household was originally structured around marriage and because children are present, the family is usually viewed as respectable and acceptable, correct in value terms. An older widow who wants to move her family closer to town or into an informal settlement can often obtain a tenure right in the name of her son or grandson (Meer, 1997).

#### **2.2.4.3.2 Younger widows with younger children**

The second ranking-category of female-headed households in relation to land access is that of younger widows or abandoned wives with young, pre-adolescent children. Research has shown that when the woman head of household is the only adult, or when she has only daughters; her household is seen as weak, though not incorrect, because she has no male heir to hold the right to land, and no resident male adult to speak for her in public process (Meer, 1997). Today, younger widows and abandoned wives, therefore, seem to be much more vulnerable than older widows, both to loss of land and to impoverishment. Without adolescent son, even respectable widows have great difficulty in obtaining a landholding of their own in most areas (Meer, 1997). Such category of women are given little protection or assistance by their husband relatives. In these circumstances, they may give up to marry or to return to their homes, especially when their brothers still alive and willing to accommodate her.

#### **2.2.4.3.3. Single mothers with children**

The most disadvantaged category of women-headed household is that of single mothers with children. If these mothers are not in the process of marrying the father of her children, women in this category are not considered to be head of proper families and are not usually seen as eligible for land rights (Meer, 1997). Although single

mothers are a very large demographic category, they are unlikely to obtain land at all unless they live in their per-urban periphery, where rates of formal marriage appear to be relatively low. Moreover, unless these single mothers have older sons, their right to land is likely to be contested by male neighbours and remote relatives (Meer, 1997).

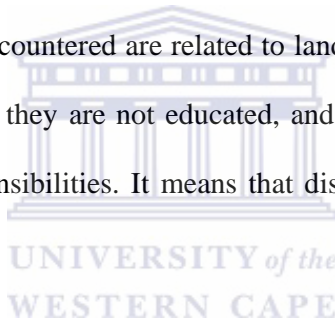
#### **2.2.4.2 Education of women**

Erickson (1999) notes that lack of education can be a limiting variable in terms of women's land access. She says that lack of education, information and communication are the main obstacles for female-headed households to be aware of their rights. Cox & Magel (2002) argue that illiteracy rate is often much higher among women than men, and higher for rural people than urban populations hence, this may be a barrier for women in the way they obtain land. Without this awareness women are only some objects that can be traded off by family (Erickson, 1999). Petrie and co-workers (2003) found that most of the land owners had tertiary education, and about one third had some college or professional training. Some were retired teachers, and some were running the farm in addition to other businesses in town.

However, a research conducted in the Amazon by Keshari and co-workers (1996) gives evidence that women's education is a factor that limits women on her participation in farms activities. Therefore, more educated women are less likely to work on farms. They further confirm that one more year of education would reduce the odds of women's participation in farm activities by 15 %. Thus, educated women are generally less likely to participate in agricultural activities because they can easily find off-farm jobs. Weidman (2003), confirmed that agricultural development policies tend to recognise men, not women as potential contributors to agricultural

development. They claimed that policies are developed to integrate men into commercial agricultural production while women remain in small-scale subsistence farming.

Endely (1991) suggested that a possible solution would be to invest in women's education. Moreover, Sender & Smith (1990) also suggested an association between female education and the development of progressive farming. Weidman (2003) concluded that policy measures to improve women's access to land should include the provision of education and training, health services, legal aid, child care facilities and human rights education. According to Erickson (1999) point of view, it is obvious that the problems women encountered are related to land access and are connected to lack of information because they are not educated, and consequently women do not know their rights and responsibilities. It means that dissemination of information is therefore necessary.



#### **2.2.4.4. Age of women**

The literature is silent about specific age at which women access land. However, Fabiyi and co-workers (2007) showed that from the socio-economic characteristics of respondents in the study area, majority of the women farmers in the study area were young women. The results revealed that 88 % of the respondents were within 20-49 years of age, 12 % were 50-70 years of age. Hence, regarding the effects of the women's individual characteristics, the study shows that the age of women limits her participation in farm activities. Thus, women are less likely to work on farms as they age (Keshari *et al.*, 1996) probably because they have no energy to participate actively in farming activities. Furthermore, Chapton and co-workers (2007) showed to

some extent, older women seem have some protection against loss of land compared to younger widows. They revealed landholding size declined by -29.9 % for widows aged 50 and above, compared to -54.8 % among households headed by a widow aged 16-38 years. It means that younger women are more likely to remarry and gain access to the new husband's land, thereby alleviating her need to keep most of the deceased husband's land. In contrast, older women are considered less likely to remarry and might have more social capital in the community that protects them from losing rights to land hence more likely to retain most of the land formerly controlled by the deceased husband (Chapton and co-workers, 2007). Besides the issue of land access, age and marital status may influence the activities on the land. Hilhorst (2000) showed older women with daughter-in-laws and women with unmarried teenage daughters have more time and resources available in order to work on the land. Hence, women in a polygamous marriage may find more time for farming, since domestic tasks can be shared amongst a broader set of female members of the household.

#### **2.2.4.5. Land acquisition through various mechanisms**

A woman may have to explore alternative means of access to land for cultivation when she cannot obtain land through her affiliation to her husband (Izugbara, 1989). Izugbara notes that one of such potential means of access to farmlands is through farmlands market transaction. Rural farmland market transactions which are active throughout sub-Saharan Africa have been recognised as offering critical scope for landless rural farmers, including women to directly access agriculture farmlands. Thus, besides the traditional way of accessing land through customary, women can also purchase land often by using capital accumulated while working in rural or urban areas. Another is the acquisition of rights through possession or prescribed period of

time. In some countries, this may be the only method for small farmers to gain formal access to vacant or abandoned land and to bring it into productive use. Women can acquire land by leasing, or gaining access to land by paying rent to the owner (Izugbara, 1989).

#### **2.2.4.5.1. Land rental and share cropping**

Sharecropping is another way of access to land in return for paying the owner a percentage of the production. Letsoalo (1987) opined that sharecropping is the system wherein function/duties, factors of production and products are divided between the non-cultivator and the cultivator. The cultivator contributes inputs (labour, seeds, equipment), while the non-cultivator contributes little else than the land. Rentals, leases and loans do not involve the permanent alienation of land, and provide benefits for both lesser and lessee. Letsoalo explains that land borrowing arrangements provide a mechanism for landholders to dispose, temporarily, of land they cannot utilise. Moreover, sharecropping as a form of payment in kind for land access is not necessarily as exploitative as have been supposed. It offers a means by which the poor can gain access to land and in Africa, it often provides an important form of risk sharing and mutual aid in times of crisis strongly rooted in social and kinship relations. Thus, land rental and sharecropping markets have mixed impacts on poverty and inequality depending on the terms (Izugbara, 1989).

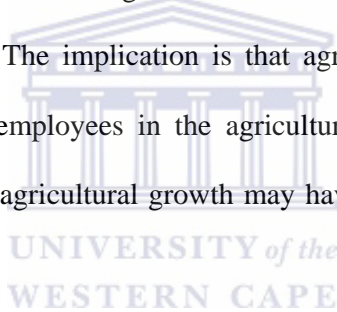
#### **2.2.4.5.2. Social network**

Apart from formalised tenure regimes, there are informal ways of gaining access to land and other resources which are socially recognised, but are often legally unrecognised. Social networks provide one way of gaining access to land and these network links may include kinship, affinity, co-residence, friendship and patron-client

relationship (Mokgope, 2000). However, the rights to access land gained in this way are weaker in the sense that they cannot be legally protected. Social protection of these rights varies and is not particularly strong, given that the rights can be revoked by the owner (Mokgope, 2000).

#### **2.2.4.6. Land use and acquisition.**

Land, whether it is inherited, allocated, purchased or seized, is the most basic resource of agricultural production (Davison, 1998). In rural development, agriculture is considered as the best vehicle to reduce rural poverty (Machette, 1981). In most developing countries, agriculture and agriculture-related activities provide most of the employment in rural areas. The implication is that agricultural workers are poorly paid and that most of the employees in the agricultural sector are unskilled. The indication is that increasing agricultural growth may have a large positive impact on poverty (Machette, 1981).



In Africa, women are currently the major food producers. Women's relation to land, as conceptualised in different societies, is a critical factor in their ability to produce food for themselves and their families. Recent developments regarding land use in South Africa revolves around two critical types of land use: use of land for residential purposes and agricultural and grazing use of land (Oosthuizen, 1993). In South Africa, the general consensus is that small-plot agriculture remains important for most rural households, mostly for domestic consumption. It is also claimed that people look to farming or natural resource harvesting as source of livelihood (Palmer & Sender, 2000).

Many women need land for residential purpose. They also need land for fuel and some women are interested in poultry farming and vegetables production on communal gardens. Referring to the experience of the Eastern Cape, where few women perceive themselves as or are interested in becoming farmers, but need land for residence, fuel and micro farming (Marcus *et al.*, 1996). Nevertheless, the role of farming as a source of security and as a safety net for poor and vulnerable groups is still emphasised by some analysts (Palmer & Sender, 2000). For example, it is argued that the availability of own-farm produce for consumption provides a fallback in times of need. Palmer & Sender (2000) claim that the psychological value of land-based goods and services as a safety net is far greater than the physical value of the goods and services. The perception of farming income as reliable seems misplaced, given the high risks associated with farming. Historical evidence showed the survival of almost all types of farm in South Africa has regularly been threatened by severe droughts, recurrent crop and livestock diseases, and extreme price fluctuations (Palmer & Sender, 2000). The argument that agricultural incomes do not add much to the total incomes of the majority of rural households, but that they are also important for those with no other sources of cash income becomes relevant (Palmer & Sender, 2000). May (1996), show that agriculture comprises 81 % of the income of a category of people that he classified as marginalised. This group including women accounts for 4 % of households and has no access to wages, remittance or public transfer. He concluded that agriculture represent an important safety net. However, as noted by Standing and co-workers (1996), the conclusion that the marginalized group including women are heavily dependent on agriculture is tautological i.e. by definition; they do not depend on other income sources. Besides, while income from self-employment in



agriculture may be regarded as providing a means of survival for a small minority of destitute households, it is unlikely to provide a path out of poverty.

May (1996) and De Swardt (2003) concluded that additional support to small-scale agriculture is important in order to improve the security of the poorest, most vulnerable households. However, policy-makers could also consider the possibility that the destitution of these marginalized rural households is the outcome of failures in the distribution of public transfers in South Africa. Hence, a major effort to improve and simplify the distribution of social security transfers would achieve more sustainable security for the poorest than continued neo-liberal advocacy of the benefits of entrepreneurial efforts in small-scale agriculture.

However, Cross and Hornby (2002) concluded that these small holdings provide future settlement opportunities only for the family's own children, if for anyone. These relatively small plots usually do not fall under the authority of traditional institutions. It is these small holdings in areas close to towns and not governed by conservative rural institutions that probably carry the lowest risks of dispossession for women land holders.

#### **2.2.4.6.1. Size of the land**

Rural women are typically allocated small pieces of land, usually about 1000-5000 m<sup>2</sup>, which are used to produce food crops such as vegetables, chickpeas and groundnuts for home consumption and, to a very limited extent, for sale (Kongolo and Bamgose, 2002). The family plot used to grow cash crops takes first priority, leaving the women only limited time to work on their plots, either very early in the morning or in the afternoon when they are not cooking, tending to the children, gathering

firewood or otherwise engaged by their husbands. Letsoalo (1987), pointed out that there is a dilemma for policy makers/development agents as to the choice between small and large farms. The crucial factors are technology and inputs. From the rural development point of view, small farms are preferable because they use much less capital equipment than large farms, and their total employment is higher (Dorner, 1972).

Middleton (1997) showed the differences between men and women's preferences in relation to land access. Men tend to opt for larger landholdings of a size sufficient to support extensive cultivation and stock grazing, but which could also be converted into a resource for settling relatives and connections to create local patronage. This kind of holding is usually found in outlying rural areas, and requires strong institutional standing to defend. Conversely, Cross and Hornby (2002) argued women preferred smaller holdings located near transport routes and/or urban settlements. This kind of settlement option gives better access to infrastructure and services, which minimizes labour time and transport costs required to obtain basic resources such as water and energy, as well as health care and access to schools.

As shown in the former Ciskei region, it became apparent that women demanded small garden or small fields on which to grow vegetables. Women's demand for land is tied to their social reproductive function in society. In Kwazulu-Natal, it was revealed that land accessed by women is used for garden for subsistence and income generation, infrastructure, residential use and growing grass (Middleton, 1997).

#### **2.2.4.7. Income generating livelihoods among small land holding.**

Additional support to small-scale agriculture is important in order to improve the security of the poorest, most vulnerable households (May, 1999; De Swardt, 2003). Pension, grants and remittances are other ways through which women earn income. In terms of pension scheme, all South Africans whose yearly income does not exceed a certain minimum amount are entitled to a state pension when they reach retirement age. Retirement age for women is 60 years and for men 65 years. Although pension is not very large, it serves as lifeline for many elderly people who have never been in a position to make provision for their retirement years (Oosthuizen, 1997).

The importance of this state pension can hardly be overestimated, since for thousands of elderly people it is the difference between survival and starvation. Often, especially in rural areas, this pension is stretched to also provide in the most essential needs of several other family members who live with the pensioners. Oosthuizen argues that although this pension scheme places enormous burden on the state budget, it is one of the most important means of combating abject poverty among the rapidly growing elderly population of South Africa. However, with the impending collapse of the current pension system in South Africa, it is unlikely that pensions will in future remain an important source of income for rural populations. Smaller pensions will most likely also force thousands of elderly people out of rural and into urban areas where alternative support systems will have to be developed for them (Oosthuizen, 1997). Palmer and Sender (2000) found that although pensions and remittance make the largest contribution to household incomes, most men and women identified farming as their most important income source, because pension and remittance income were irregular, but farming could be relied on.

Non-agricultural income diversification not only refers to the fact that households are diversifying into non-agricultural activities but that they are often pursuing more than one, sometimes several, different non-agricultural activities simultaneously or at different times throughout the year (Bryceson, 2002). As more household members are entering into agricultural production, donor agencies in the 1970s and 1980s generally assumed African rural women lack involvement in cash-earning (Bryceson, 2002). Income diversification's pervasive expansion has overturned this assumption. Rural women are earning cash, although their work is generally less remunerative than men's because women remain largely restricted to income-earning activities based on their home-making skills. Farming almost always requires significant start-up capital, as well as access to working capital to purchase inputs and smooth shocks. Historical research showed the importance of access to cash income sources in differentiating those South African farmers who farmed intensively and achieved the highest incomes (Ellis, 1999; Bryson, 2002 & Oosthuizen, 1993).

#### **2.2.4.7.1. Income generated from salary and wages**

Besides farming, rural women are involved in different activities generating income. Just like many rural men, they look at the urban sector and urban employment as a route to household economic survival and advancement (Weidman, 2003). Walker, (1998) highlighted that in the context of high unemployment rates; women are less likely to secure employment and are paid less when they do. Consequently, most rural black women are found in poorly paid domestic labour and micro enterprises which do not offer job security and benefits or much by way of legislative protection. Kornegay (1996) claimed employed women are concentrated in low-paying occupations. Therefore, access to land thus remains a crucial factor in the economic

survival of female-headed households in rural areas (Walker (1998). Moreover, the study on gendered livelihood strategies in rural South Africa and Appalachia showed many women engage in a tradition of cooperation through informal support networks. Some studies in the gender and development have paid increase attention to the growth of small businesses and entrepreneurship-generating income among women in rural areas (Oberhauser, 1998).

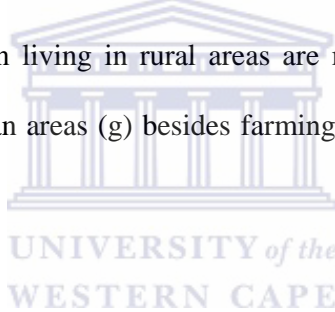
#### **2.2.4.7.2. Self-employed women**

The study on Gendered livelihood strategies in rural South Africa and Appalachia revealed an estimated three-quarter of household income in the former Bantustans is from remittances and 10-15 % is from informal activities such as crafting and street vending (Oberhauser, 1998). The crafting and street vending activities are largely undertaken by women and children since remittances from migrant labour are not always reliable and are frequently controlled by the males. All these activities are done in addition to their primary responsibility for domestic tasks and agricultural production, burdens which place significant pressure on their time and physical well-being. McIntosh (1991) examined the importance of such cooperative action in generating income, especially among women, and the ability to alleviate poverty and pursue rural development goals in the Transkei and Kwazulu-Natal. It was demonstrated that rural women generate income through women producer groups. However, many of these activities are limited by inadequate training, finance, and technological inputs. Oberhauser, (1998) argues that Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) also play crucial role in helping rural women to generate income by supporting their activities e.g. 'operation blanket' is a non-profit group that oversees the sewing group of women in the North West region. The mission of this NGO is to promote sustainable growth and development for marginalized communities in rural

areas especially women in order to earn income for their livelihood. The sewing group receives technical training and some financial support to purchase equipment and raw materials (Kundu, 1996).

#### **2.2.4.8 A suggested conceptual and analytical framework.**

On the basis of the arguments developed by Ellis (1998), the specific hypotheses examined in the empirical analysis are as follows: (a) inheritance is an important way for a woman to access land (b) rural women are more likely to turn to farming activity for their living (c) besides farming, rural women are involved in other activities generating income (d) lack of education is a factor that constrains women to access land (e) age of women is a feature that constrains women from participating in farming activities (f) women living in rural areas are more involved in small-scale farming than women in urban areas (g) besides farming, women derive income from other sources.



More so the proposed conceptual framework focuses mainly on individuals and land plot characteristics. The study expects to have large number of black women living in rural areas who rely heavily on land by subsistence farming. Women are also expected to acquire land indirectly through husbands or their male kin. Women who do not have enough size of land for agricultural purpose resort to off-farm activities whether as self employed or working in public spheres as managerial, domestic workers or entrepreneurs. Access to land will be determined by physical being of individuals such as place of residence whether living in rural or in urban areas, and by physiological state of individual as well such as sex, age, literacy, and educational level. Physiological being (age) might be a limiting factor or facilitate women to have access to land. Educated women are assumed to have access to information regarding

land acquisition and they have their capabilities and manner to manipulate traditional leaders who have land in their possession i.e. the highly educated the woman is, the greater she has access to land.

Women also differ in their social attributes, where married, widow, divorced or separated women experience land access differently. Even if divorced or separated women do not have support, they can work on their own and earn a living. It is predicted in this study to see the variations where land is used for different agricultural purposes. Intra-household relationships must be taken into account, since one expects to see the difference between women who are living alone as compared to the ones who are living with children as dependents. The hypotheses suggest two relevant comparisons. Firstly, to compare 2004 and 2007 GHS data by land access, methods of acquisition to their social characteristics in order to ascertain the extent to which women are relatively more disadvantaged in the different modes of land access and the ways in which they obtain small plot for farming. Secondly, to compare the importance of land in rural women's subsistence and diversified income on the basis of land related variables and women's social characteristics variables.

## **CHAPTER 3: REVIEW OF SOME POLICIES**

In response to challenges women encounter in land access, activists are struggling to introduce or strengthen laws intended to give women more secure access to land and are combating social norms and practices in their way. Despite many obstacles, they are making headway here and there and the position faced by women is receiving increasing attention in land policy reform process.

### **3.1 International land policy framework**

International law has framed gender equality as part of global concern on human rights and basic freedoms for social, economic and political rights. These include claims on access to and control over productive resources like land. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted in 1948 (UDHR, 1948) and various international laws and conventions developed afterwards have a number of provisions to address gender equality. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) prohibits any distinction, exclusion or restriction on the basis of gender that harms or nullifies women's human rights and fundamental freedoms (Woldetensaye, 2007). It establishes women's rights to be equal with those of men to political, economic and social participation and benefit.

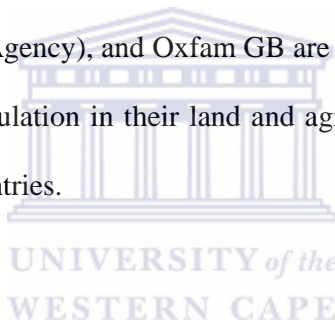
The Beijing Declaration in Article 35 states that governments should ensure women's equal access to economic resources including land, credit, science and technology, and vocational training as a means to further the advancement and empowerment of women (Woldetensaye, 2007). Governments are required to incorporate gender perspectives in all policies and programs to bring about political, economic and social development through women's empowerment and gender equality. It should be noted



that Zambia is a signatory to a number of international instruments including the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against, the SADC (Southern African Development Community) A Gender and Development Declaration of 1997 and the 1995 Beijing Declaration (Machina, 2002). These were considered critical areas of concern because feminization of poverty had become a significant problem in developing countries. Women's limited access to productive resources and inequitable decision-making power was put as major reason for feminization of poverty. Governments are required to re-formulate macro-economic policies that address gender disparities in economic power sharing to alleviate poverty and advance economic growth. Gender mainstreaming was considered a major strategy to be followed by states to alleviate poverty especially among women living in rural households (Woldetensaye, 2007).

The United Nations Higher Commission on Human Rights passed resolution on women's equal ownership access to and control over property and land (UNHCR 2003/22). International conventions ratified by governments including international human rights instruments and women's equal rights conventions were bases for considering women's access to and control over land as human rights issue in the resolution. African Protocol to the African Charter on the Rights of Women in Africa adopted by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) called upon all African states to eliminate discrimination against women and to ensure women's rights as set in international declarations and conventions (Woldetensaye, 2007). It demanded African governments to combat all forms of discrimination against women through appropriate legislative and institutional measures. The protocol includes a number of articles on women's social, economic and political equality and gives particular

emphasis to the rights of widows and divorcees. UN agencies and international organizations play significant roles in supporting women's equal rights on access to and control over land. The Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) of the UN led international efforts to overcome hunger. FAO draws special attention to rural development and facilitates debate forums on land policy issues. FAO established ILC (International Land Community) that focuses on women's access to land and gender relations in land tenure. ILC runs 'Gender Relations in Tenure Project' on women's rights to land which focuses on key issues regarding women's access to land (Woldetensaye, 2007). Furthermore, several international agencies such as the World Bank, USAID, (United State Agency for International Development) SIDA (Swedish International Development Agency), and Oxfam GB are taking gender issues as major concern in land policy formulation in their land and agriculture related development programs in developing countries.



### **3.2 National land policy**

Under apartheid, land was distributed purely on racial basis and apartheid policies dispossessed many black people of their land (Williams, 2007). Since the dawn of colonial occupation, native people were dispossessed and robbed of their land, and were paid to work on what was formerly theirs. Apartheid policies merely reinforced and accelerated the process of land dispossession in the race for white dominance through providing them with access to wealth and power, and oppressed a majority through economic isolation and racial subordination (Mokogpe, 2000 and Williams, 2007). Since the dawn of colonial occupation in South Africa, native people were disposed and robbed of their land, became occupiers of it, and were paid to work on what was formerly theirs. The most conspicuous of these policies was probably the Native Land Act of 1913 (Monster, 2002). Other racially discriminating land policies

were the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act, the 1939 Control and Improvement of Livestock in Native Land Act as well as the Group Area Act. Many people were forcibly removed from their land and concentrated on land that was either not suitable for agricultural use or inadequate for both residential and agricultural purposes. Under the apartheid policies like the Native Act, a minority (12,6% of the population) owned 87% of the land, and the majority of South Africans were concentrated on overcrowded pieces of land reserved for black people (Budlender and Latsky. (1991). Many of these areas were geographically remote and marginalized. The most popular of these gave rise to areas known as “Bantustans”, located in the former homelands. The removal of black people from their land was also largely accelerated by the so-called “betterment schemes” which promised agricultural growth if people were to move to compact villages (Mgwigwi, 1999). Even though the promise of betterment planning never materialized, McIntosh and Vaughan (1999) noted that there exists evidence to suggest that it had genuine objectives to promote conservation and increase agricultural productivity. They further note that government resisted providing the range of resources, services, and infrastructure needed resulting in its downfall.

With democratic legislation now in place, government soon realized the need to remedy land dispossession resulting from past discriminatory laws. Legislation included the process of land reform which is aimed at poverty alleviation, through the improvement of rural livelihoods and targeting the poor. Mokgope (2000) points out that access to land in the past was unbalanced because the rural poor and particularly Africans were prohibited from owning land. The land reform programme also recognises the fact that women have also been discriminated against in terms of

having access to land. In addition to giving the rural poor access to land, the land reform programme also recognises that there is a need to target women specifically.

A research done in the Queenstown district of the Eastern Cape showed specifically targeting women would have helped them, given that women are financially weaker and constitute majority of the poor. Therefore, targeting women should be complimented with access to services, including credits and other financial services, and skills and knowledge training (Mokgope, 2000; Cross & Hornby, 2002). As already stated, majority of the country's landless population are poor rural women. Thus, an effective land reform programme must recognise the centrality of women's needs and interests. The former homelands comprise predominantly women-headed households, and irrespective of household type, women bear the additional burdens of domestic and reproductive responsibilities. For this reason, Cross and Hornby (2002) suggested both national and household level objectives are dependent on the improvement of women's access to and control over resources, including land. If women's access to and control over land can be increased through land reform, it becomes an effective anti-poverty asset for poor rural women in particular, and hence, rural development can begin to occur from the bottom up (Cross & Hornsby, 2002).

More so, the Act does not address individual rights to security of tenure and the accountability of forms of land administration. The important issue that the government needs not to ignore is whether or not the three streams of land policies serve to address gender roles. There is visible transformation of gender policies and the role amongst the poorest women is lagging behind and these rural women are most likely to be in government offices (the assumption is lack of education). It is the

policy option adopted that the government seems to restrict poor women from being involved in the programmes.

The Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD) programme designed to represent the redistribution criteria to the allocation of land for sustainable growth by community seems to be the only instrument making progress in addressing access to land for women. LRAD provide an excellent vehicle for redressing gender imbalances in land access and land ownership by allowing agricultural projects under LRAD given that even women can associate themselves to assist each other. The sub-programme will serve as a means of creating opportunities to enable women to develop skills thus giving them security against poverty and providing them with an independence economic status, by just ensuring women participate fully in asset redistribution and agrarian reform (Cross & Hornby, 2002). Women rights in regards to property rights are a sensitive debate under customary law. Bjuris & Daniels (2009), note that in October 2008 the constitutionality of the communal Land Rights Act (Act 11 of 2004, herein after the CLRA) was challenged in the Pretoria High Court and the outcome is keenly awaited. In this case, four communities (Kalkfontein, Makuleke, Makgobistad and Dixie) appeared before the court to challenge the constitutionality of CLRA. Thus, according to Bjuris & Daniels (2009) some of those challenges are summarised as follow:

- 1) The Bill was rushed through parliament before the 2004 elections and public hearings, required by the Constitution, did not take place.
- 2) By giving traditional leaders undemocratic and unprecedented powers, the CLRA actually undermines security of tenure rights must be strengthened, protected, protected and guaranteed.

- 3) The CLRA allows traditional councils that are not democratically elected to become land administrators and sell land with the permission of the land rights board.
- 4) The CLRA discriminates against black owners of property as white owners in a similar position have full title to their land.
- 5) The executive function given to traditional councils falls outside the limited role and function given to them by the Constitution and The CLRA will make tenure of women more insecure.

### **3.3 Obstacles in achieving policy outcomes**

Longway (1999) and Ovonji-Odida (1999) showed more affirmative action is needed to ensure that women's voice is properly heard. Affirmative action is required to ensure that women are represented in commissions which are set up to advise on land issues, land administration body, resettlement scheme authorities and land dispute mechanisms. Land reforms cannot be ignored in the process of women's rights to equal treatment. Decentralization of land management is essential for improving people's access to land. Local government is the most appropriate level of government to handle land management in favour of local populations. Toulmin & Quan (2000) suggested where gender balance has not been achieved, a more considered analysis should be made in order to reveal hidden constraints which prevent women from coming forward as representatives, and making their voices heard within policy making.

Knowing that ensuring implementation of women's rights within the village setting is one of the more intractable problems of gender balancing policies, revision of the constitution, land laws and other laws will not automatically change practices. Law merely provides a framework within which rights and relationships are to be negotiated. A stronger legal status does not automatically afford women more

independence but it may provide a stronger bargaining position (NEDA, 1997). For women to be able to exercise their rights, sufficient support must be given to them in order to assert what rights they have, including being able to resist strong pressure to relinquish them. Quadros (1999) and Dzumbira (1999) suggested provisions could usefully be made to inform women of their rights in relation to land and provide training in legal literacy.

The land-delivery systems that are in many countries remain centralized, inefficient and expensive. These cause problem to any citizen who try to acquire land, but the poor especially the women, are the ones that suffer most from it. A review of land-delivery systems is required to make them more efficient. Women have to get better access to information about land transactions including stages of land purchase and transfer, the required documentation and charges (Habitat, 1994). Land information systems in every country should be examined from a gender point of view. It should be possible to register more than one owner in the system. Co-ownership registration must be introduced and promoted, reflecting both names in case of a couple, all names in a family, community or co-operative. The information system must also facilitate registration of different kinds of ownership and tenure. What is generally missing among women is awareness of their legal rights and of the opportunities that are available to them. In order to create awareness of women's rights vis-à-vis tradition non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and women's groups should be important actors at community level. They should provide education, legal support, advice and information on women's rural and urban land rights (Lee-Smith, 1994). Networking among women's groups is another essential step to support and promote equal gender rights to land and property. Groups of women can meet and exchange information and

skills, and formulate joint action programs. When women are more organized and well informed, they have more power and courage to demand their rights (Habitat, 1996). A dialogue should be created between professional women and grassroots women.

Women are often excluded from education, which put them in a disadvantaged position in the world of work and political life. Even those who can read have problems understanding the technical language used in documents on shelter development (Habitat, 1994). There is an urgent need to increase women's educational opportunities, from literacy campaigns to scholarship. A study conducted on security of widows' access to land in the era of HIV/AIDS in Zambia, suggested efforts to safeguard widows' rights to land by mobilizing support among traditional authorities to better understand the social and economic impacts of existing land inheritance institutions may have high economic, social, and health payoffs (Chapton, Jayne & Mason 2007). In other words, clear policy and practical intervention to transform traditional institutions and their practices, is critical to ensure that all rural women living under communal tenure systems benefit. Evidences existed showing women are significant users of land and the income that they derive is critical to the sustainability of their rural households (Mokgope, 2000 & Cross & Hornby, 2002). However, an important blockage is that women do not have independent legal evidence about their interests in their husbands, brothers or father's property. Thus, the need for such emerges at crisis moments in women's lives such as divorce or the death of a spouse, when the rights they had as a result of their relationship to the household through their husband are placed under stress. Hence, this confirmed the need for some policy thrust such as the need for property records that reflect women's interests in land as



well as changes to legal impediments to women's access, such as marriage and inheritance laws. In terms of policy implementation and practice, the land interests of individual household members need to be unraveled and ways need to be found to protect these against internal household claims (Cross & Hornby, 2002).

Moreover, Davison (1988) suggested solution to women's lack of tenure security require decisions at the national level that put into practice laws that guarantee a woman's right to inherit land as a daughter. Further, legislation is needed to ensure that widows, who currently have no legal protection, receive the right to inherit their husband's property. Finally, policies must be advanced that make available to women, regardless of marital status, capital for the purchase of land. Furthermore, increased government commitment to ensure security of widow's access to land is another approach to safeguarding widow's access to land, but initial evaluations of government efforts provide mixed evidence (Izumi, 2006). Government decrees will likely have little impact if local community authorities are not part of the agreement (Chapton & Mason, 2007). But certainly, national governments, donors, and NGOs have an important role to play in developing programs to work with local authorities to protect widows and children against property grabbing by relatives of the deceased as well as to institute property rights that are more compatible with social protection and antipoverty (Chapton *et al.*, 2007).

Palmer (2002), in *Gendered Land Rights, process, struggle, or Lost clause* made some very useful policy recommendations to advance and protect women's rights in land access, summarized thus:

- (1.) Constitutional commitment to gender equality must be a fundamental principle.
- (2.) The statutory provision for joint registration of customary household land rights

for spouses and the adoption or retention of the spousal consent requirement in the case of land transfers.

(3.) Provisions to protect communal resources from privatization and alienation should be safeguarded.

(4.) Government investment in non-farm rural development as an urgent priority should be supported.

(5.) Provisions to ensure that women are represented on local level land administration bodies and training for government officials tasked with the implementation of land policies on gender issues and women's rights.

(6.) The review and repeal of all personal, family and customary law, including provisions on inheritance, which discriminate against women, as well as the review and repeal of any other legislation that prevents women from owning land or entering into contracts in their own right.

(7.) Strengthening the capacity of local-level institutions to administer land and adjudicate disputes in a gender-neutral way, through the recruitment of women personnel, the training of personnel, and the review of existing practices.

(8.) Initiating a major review of all land policies in the light of HIV/AIDS, looking at district-level, demographic, economic and social impacts on land access and land use.

## **CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS OF DATA ANALYSIS**

### **4.1. INTRODUCTION**

Throughout this chapter, numerous stages of the research methodology used in this study are discussed. Scope and perspective with respect to the nature and type of research conducted is the first part to be discussed. The second part to be discussed relates to the study design. The sampling techniques and methods of data collection are also discussed. The data analysis and its stages regarding how the data are organised, reduced, analysed, and displayed is discussed. Data analysis which also involves the description of variables such as the descriptive name, position, source, valid range, and valid range of variables constitutes an important part of this study. The procedure involves measuring demographic variables and land-related variables (bivariate analysis) to test association are provided. In this context, hypotheses also are tested to see if they are true or false and the conclusion is given. The chapter ends with the discussion on the limitations of this study.

### **4.2. SCOPE AND PERSPECTIVE**

The research on women's access to land is quantitative as it makes use of variables; hypothesis testing and scientific sampling. From a statistical view point, little is known about the profile of women across the nine provinces of South Africa. The study is based on demographic characteristics such as age, gender, and marital status, occupational groups, education, and household composition, province of residence and population groups.

The study will also focus on land use, land acquisition and land tenure, by looking at variables such as size, methods of land acquisition, activities taking place on the land and land ownership. In this study, household is used as a unit of analysis. By bringing together the demographic variables and land-related variables, the study has captured the structural changes between 2004 and 2007.

### **4.3 STUDY DESIGN**

The type of research design is cross-sectional study, where a sample survey conducted as a personal interview by means of household questionnaire. The same questions were asked to respondents to get information concerning people's past experiences regarding access to land. This is the reason why the use of the General Household Survey since it provides coherent information and a true picture of data which is assumed to be of good quality. However, as the interest of the study lies in the how, from statistical view point, land is accessed by women across nine provinces, by using demographic variables and land related variables, the study allows the researcher to see the differentials in terms of land access, land use, different types of activities taking place in land, and the study shows in which province women access land easily. Statistically, the study has captured the structural changes by comparing the findings of 2004 and 2007.

### **4.4. SOURCE OF DATA**

Full data sets (2004 and 2007) were obtained by requesting them from Statistics South Africa. Knowing that GHS provides comprehensive information, a multi-stage stratified sample was drawn using probability proportional to size principles. The sample was drawn from the master sample, which Statistics South Africa uses to draw samples for its regular household survey. The master sample was drawn from the data base of Enumeration Areas (EAs) established during the demarcation phase of census

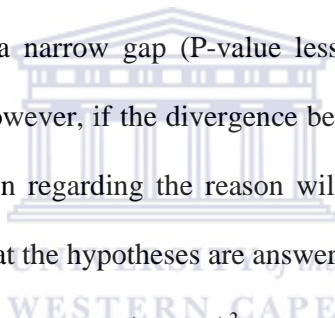
1996. As part of the master sample, small EAs consisting of fewer than 100 households were combined with adjacent EAs to form primary sampling units (PSUs) of at least 100 households, to allow for repeated sampling of dwelling units within PSU (SSA, 2004). The sampling procedures for the master sample involved explicit stratification by province and within each province, by urban and non-urban areas. Within each stratum, the sample was allocated disproportionately. A PPS sample of PSUs was drawn in each stratum, with the measure of size being the number of households in the PSU. Altogether approximately 3000 PSUs were selected. In each selected PSU a systematic sample of 10 dwelling units was drawn, thus, resulting in approximately 31400 dwelling units and the sample was representative throughout the nine provinces of South Africa. The instrument was the household questionnaire designed for GHS for 2004. A personal interview was conducted, and every head of household was interviewed. General Household Survey of July 2004 contains four files namely person, worker, tourism, and house files. The files which interest this study are person, worker, and house files.

#### 4.5. METHODS OF DATA ANALYSIS

The main objective of data analysis is to compare observed findings with expected findings as it has stated in hypotheses for empirical observation. To perform the data analysis, the use of a computer is helpful because of large data sets and variables. In so doing, SPSS, as an appropriate statistical software package, was used. The data analysis of this study consists of three operations such as description of all variables, quantification of relationships between variables, and then comparison of observed findings with expected findings.

Bivariate analysis to test association between variables is performed. Chi-square is used to test the association between two variables. Independent variables are cross-tabulated with dependent variables according to the level of measurement. The variable regarded as independent (demographic variables) is filled in the column and the one believed to be dependent (land related variables) in the row. Tables are produced in SPSS.

Comparison, observed and expected values are compared to check if the hypotheses are supported or rejected. A big gap (P-value) suggests that the hypothesis formulated is not significant, whereas a narrow gap (P-value less than 0, 05) shows that the association is significant. However, if the divergence between observed and expected findings occurs, investigation regarding the reason will be checked. The tables are constructed in such a way that the hypotheses are answered.


$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(o_{ij} - e_{ij})^2}{e_{ij}}$$

Moreover, statistical significance testing such as Lambda, Cramer's V and Kruskal tau are used to measure the strength. All this was done to consider both the difference between the observed and the expected findings regarding access to land of those women living in rural and urban areas in general (married) and women headed household in particular (widows, divorced/separated and single daughters/ mothers) across the nine South African provinces. The study measures the circumstances in which women access land and the inequalities that may exist in the context of land acquisition and closely related issues, given that women are among the marginalised groups and invisible in terms of land access, land ownership and land tenure.

#### **4.6. DELIMITATION TO THE STUDY**

The study on women's access to land focuses on small-scale farming and is limited to the nine provinces of South Africa. Only women aged between 15 and 85 years and above are the main focus and household serves as a unit of analysis. The study compares 2004 and 2007 data sets, and the structural changes in terms of women and land access across the country are provided.

#### **4.7. DESCRIPTION OF VARIABLES.**

In this study, variables were selected according to variables used in GHS.

The variables used were divided into three categories based on the following characteristics: socio-demographic, socio-economic and location variables. The variables being analyzed are categorized as follow:

*Socio-demographic variables:* (age, gender, marital status, population group, education, and household composition). These variables are coded in a person file which includes data from Flap and section one.

*Land related variables:* (land use, land access, land acquisition, land size, land tenure). These variables are kept in a house file and contain the data from section four.

*Socio-economic variables:* (occupation, income, economic activities) these variables are coded in a worker file and contain the data from section two

*Location variables:* (residential area, rural and urban) this variable is recoded in person file.

#### **4.7.1. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES**

Instrumental variables are defined along the lines of the level of measurement used by Statistics South Africa.

##### **4.7.1.1 Age groups**

This question was asked to find out the age of the household members (the person's). The question was asked of each member of the household. The enumerators had instructions to write complete years in whole numbers and not in words. Then, the age was captured and re-coded into groups using SPSS as follows: 15-19, 20-24, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, 40-44, 45-49, 50-54, 55-59, 60-64 and 65-69, 70-74, 75-79, 80 years and above. The age group that interests this study starts at 15 because it is assumed that from the age of 15, every member of the household can own land.

##### **4.7.1.2 Gender**

The question "Is (the person) a male or female" is asked each household member to determine his or her gender. The enumerators were not supposed to assume the gender of the members of the households by simply looking at people's names or physical appearances. Then the gender or sex of participants was recoded as male, female or unspecified.

##### **4.7.1.3 Marital status**

The question about marital status of the members of the household was "what is (the person)'s present marital status". This question combines both modern and traditional marriages considered in this question. Marital status of the participants was categorized as follow: (1) Married or living together, (2) Widow/Widower, (3) Divorced or separated, (4) Never married. Moreover, the question such as "Does the person's spouse/partner live in this household"? Yes or No. This question was applicable to people who indicated that they are married or living together as husband



and wife. Furthermore, the question such as which person is the spouse/partner of...was applicable for those people who said “Yes” to the question above. It confirms that the information on the previous question, which seeks to determine whether couples within the visited household, live together or not.

#### **4.7.1.4 Source of income**

The question regarding the main source of income, “What is the main source of income for this household”? It was applicable to all household members for interest in their main source of income. The enumerator was required to ask for the main source of income, even in cases where more than one is applicable. Other non-farm income was income from the sales of a business, other than a farm, operated by a household, also begging, and selling of illegal items. The information obtained referring to this question was recorded as: (1) salaries and/or wages, (2) remittances, (3) pensions and grants, (5) sales of farm products, (6) other non-farm income, (7) No income,

#### **4.7.1.5 Household composition**

With household composition variable, we will know how many widows with adult children, younger widows with young children, and single mothers with children. Hence, the questions such as “What is the person’s relationship to the head of the household”. This kind of question was asked for each member of the household to determine their relationship to the head of the household. In this regard, the respondent was asked to give the information on how each member is related to the head of the household. Thus, the household composition was recorded in nine categories: (1) Mark the head/acting head; (2) husband/wife/partner; (3) son/daughter/step child/adopted child; (4) brother/sister; (5) father/mother; (6) grandparent/great grandparent; (7) grandchild/great grandchild; (8) other relative (e.g. in-laws or aunt/uncle); (9) non-related persons.

#### **4.7.1.6 Population groups**

The question “What population group does (the person) belong to”? It was asked to determine the population group of the persons from the selected dwelling. In this case, the respondent had to answer for each member without any assumption. In this circumstance, the enumerator was not supposed to make any conclusion influenced, for example, by using people’s names during the interview. This question seems very sensitive but very important since we need to find out the composition of the South African population. Thus, the population groups were coded in four groups: (1) African/black, (2) coloured, (3) Indian/Asian, (4) White.

#### **4.7.1.7 Ability to read**

The following question was asked “Can the person read in at least one language”? This question was on literacy of the members of the household. It was applicable to each member of the household who is considered to read simple sentences. That means, a person who can only read his name and surname is not regarded as being able to read. Thus, the information regarding this question was coded as “Yes” or “No”.

#### **4.7.1.8 Ability to write**

The question on literacy also was asked “Can the person write in at least one language”? This question was on literacy of the members of the household. It is applicable to each member of the household. A person who is considered able to write must be able to write simple sentences. That means a person who can only write his or her name and surname is not regarded as being able to write. The information on this question was coded as “Yes or No”.

#### **4.7.1.9 Educational level**

The question about the highest educational level was asked was "What is the highest level of education that (the person) has completed"? This question is applicable to all household members. The question focused on the qualifications already obtained should be entered. This means that the current level with which a person is still busy with was not applicable. In this regard, diplomas and certificates should be of six months duration.

Thus, the levels of education were recorded as follows: (1) no schooling, (2) Primary school from Grade 1 to Grade 6; Grade 7/Standard 5; (3) Secondary school: from Grade 8/Standard 6/Form 1 to Grade 11/Standard 9/Form 4; (4) Grade 12/Standard/10/ Form 5; Matric with NTC (National Tertiary Certificates), certificates with lower than Grade 12/Standard 10, certificate with less than Grade 12/Standard 10, (5) Certificates and Diplomas with Grade 12/ Standard 10; (6) Tertiary education: Bachelor degrees and diplomas, Honours degrees, (7) Highest degree: Master's and Doctorate.

#### **4.7.2 LAND-RELATED VARIABLES**

##### **4.7.2.1 Land use or activities in agricultural land**

This variable is applicable to households with access to agricultural land or could be used for that purpose. The main purpose for this question is to find the nature of activities done on agricultural land. With regard to this variable, categories are recorded (1) field crop; (2) horticulture; (3) livestock; and (4) poultry (7) orchard.

##### **4.7.2.2 Land access**

In order to get information on land access variable, the following question was asked: "Does this household has access to land that is, or could be, used for agricultural

purposes”? This question was asked of all household members who have access to land for agricultural purposes or could be used for that purpose. In this regard, the enumerator must exclude communal grazing land if the respondent answers “Yes”.

#### **4.7.2.3 Land size**

The question regarding land size was asked in terms of number of hectares. This question was “How many hectares of land, for agricultural purposes, if any, does the household have access to”? This type of question was only applicable to the households with agricultural land or land that could be used for agricultural purpose.

The idea behind this question was to get information about the number of hectares of land the households have access to, excluding the communal land. In case the respondent do not know or is not sure of how many hectares, then the enumerator may use the following example as a guideline: a hectare is 10 000 square meters, thus category one means less than one half of a hectares. However, the size of the land was estimated in six categories: (1) less than 5.000 m approximately one soccer field; (2) 5.000-9.999 m; (3) 1 but less than 5 ha; (4) 5 but less than 10 ha; (5) 10 but less than 20 ha; 20 ha or more.

#### **4.7.2.4 Basis of land access or methods of land acquisition**

Land acquisition is a land related variable used to identify the methods of accessibility. Then the question was asked like this “On what basis does the household have access to the land”. This question is applicable to households with access to agricultural land or could be used for that purpose. The objective of this question is to know about the degree of security and control that the household has in respect of the land. If the household has more than one plot or piece of land, then the respondent has to answer for the largest. Hence, the information in regard to this

variable was recoded in four ways: (1) own land; (2) rent the land; (3) share cropping; (4) tribal authority.

### **4.7.3 SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES**

#### **4.7.3.1 Income category**

The question regarding income category was applicable to household members who have been performing certain economic activities in the last seven days. Given that this kind of information is personal the enumerator must inform respondent that the information will be confidential. Then the enumerator would draw a range of money in Rand and the respondent would point on one of those incomes, and state whether it is weekly, monthly or annually. In this regard, income was categorized as 1) none; 2) weekly (R1-R46); 3) monthly (R1-R200); 4) annually (R1-R2400)

#### **4.7.3.2 Main occupation**

The following questions were asked of all household members aged 15 years or older to identify the type of work the person does. The information was recoded into 10 categories. 1) legislators, senior officials and managers; 2) professionals; 3) technical and associate professionals; 4) clerical; 5) service workers and shop and market sales workers; 6) skilled agricultural and fishery workers; 7) craft and related trades workers; 8) plant and machine operators and assemblers; 9) elementary occupation; 10) domestic workers.

### **4.7.4. LOCATION VARIABLES**

#### **4.7.4.1 Residential area (Stratum)**

Concerning location variable, residential area was the main focus. Residential area is a derived variable derived from the type per province. Thus, it was recoded according to the nine South African provinces as follow: (1) Western Cape rural or urban; (2) Eastern Cape: rural or urban; (3) Northern Cape: rural or urban; (4) Free State: rural

or urban; (5) Kwazulu-Natal: rural or urban; (6) Northern Cape: rural or urban; (7) Gauteng: rural or urban; (8) Mpumalanga: rural or urban; and (9) Limpopo: rural or urban

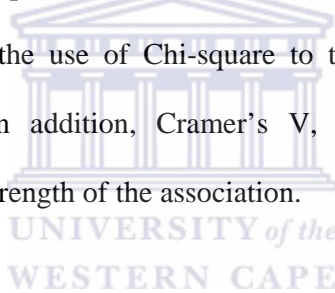
#### **4.8 Data analysis**

Firstly, the rate of women's household headship is computed to assess the magnitude of women heading households across the nine provinces of South Africa.

The formula used is the following: Total Households headed by Female \*100

Total Households headed by male and female

Secondly, cross tabulation is used to control the relationship between land-related variables and social demographic characteristics variables. Third, given that most of the variables are nominal, the use of Chi-square to test association between two variables is appropriate. In addition, Cramer's V, Lambda and Tau are also appropriate to measure the strength of the association.



## CHAPTER 5: DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

This chapter involves the analysis of the data collected during the General Household Survey (GHS) of 2004 and 2007. The statistical analysis was based on demographic characteristics such as age, gender, marital status, occupational groups, education, province of residence, and population groups of head of households. The analysis also focused on land use and acquisition by looking at variables such as land size, different mechanisms of land acquisition, activities taking place on acquired land, main source of income and income category. Furthermore, by means of cross-tabulation and bivariate analysis of demographic and land-related variables, the analysis captured the structural change which occurred between 2004 and 2007. Although the focus of this study is based on women aged between 15-85 years and above, living in rural areas across nine provinces of South Africa, men of the same age groups are also included in the analysis. This inclusion is justified by the fact that it brings a broader-based comparison than of looking at women-headed households only.

### **5.1 Women and household headship**

According to the National Social Development Report (1997), the majority of women-headed households are found among South Africa's rural population. Traditionally, women in rural areas have been regarded as people who are attached to their homes thus, fulfilling various tasks and reporting to their husbands. However, when it comes to decision making on specific issues such as economic and political matters, men are the ones who take the lead. Mahlangu says that the household is the place where most socio-economic and demographic decisions are taken. Women have been shown to play a pivotal role in the reconstruction and development and hence,

they are seen as the backbone of the South African economy due to their significant contribution to the national polity (Mahlangu, 2007).

Table 1 illustrates the rate of male- and female-headed households for 2004 and 2007 across the nine provinces of South Africa; depicting sharp variations across the country. In 2004, Northern Province had the highest rate of households headed by women (51 %), followed by Eastern Cape (49 %) and Kwazulu-Natal (46 %). Gauteng has the lowest rate of female-households (31 %) suggesting that most households in this province were headed by men. More so, in 2007, the proportion of female-headed households was shown to have increased significantly at the national level. This may be indicative of increased responsibilities in terms of gender-balanced relations. Again, the Northern Province (53 %) took the lead, followed by Kwazulu-Natal (50 %). The proportion in the Eastern Cape remained the same (49 %), while the Northern West increased to 46 %, Mpumalanga to 41 %, and the Northern Cape to 34 %. The Western Cape and Gauteng have the same proportion of 31 % and they have not increased. The total rates of female-headed households in 2004 (41.0 %) compared to that of 2007 (43.0 %) show an increment of 2.0 %.

Consequently, the increasing rate of female-headed households implies that across the provinces, considerable household responsibilities fall on women's shoulders hence, they have to take care of all responsibilities in their families. Given that female-headed households are strongly represented in the surveys, it is pertinent to say that women contribute to the development of the country. This is in support of earlier claims stated in the literature. However, women are the single most disadvantaged and vulnerable category where inequality and power relations heavily hamper their ability to gain access to the most basic resources such as land for small scale farming; which



they need in their pursuit of sustainable livelihoods (Marcus & Wildschut, 1996; Davison, 1998; Woldetensaye, 2007).

More so, it can be seen that the rate of female-headed households cannot be underestimated in the context of African society. It can be inferred from the results in Table 1, the important role women play in the society as actors for development. Despite this reality, women remain disadvantaged in many ways. In many situations their work remains unacknowledged. Gender equality has not been achieved and women do not enjoy equal rights with men in accessing and having control over land and other productive resources (Woldetensaye, 2007).

**Table 1: Rates of male- and female-headed households by province**

Province	Household (2004)			Household (2007)		
	Total HH	Female HH	Rates %	Total HH	Female HH	Rates %
WC	2703	854	32	2431	759	31
EC	3557	1738	49	2880	1415	49
NC	1251	413	33	1316	452	34
FS	2269	728	32	1733	693	40
KZN	4428	2044	46	4893	2466	50
NW	2571	993	39	1478	683	46
Gtg	4083	1263	31	2078	646	31
MInga	2309	930	40	1608	663	41
NP	3043	1552	51	1941	1028	53
Total	26214	10516	40	20355	8805	43

WC: Western Cape; EC: Eastern Cape; NC: Northern Cape; FS: Free State; KZN: Kwazulu-Natal;

NW: Northern West; GTG: Gauteng; MLNG: Mpumalanga; NP: Northern Province.

## **5.2 Distribution of land access by gender**

Land is unquestionably one of the most fundamental resources with regards to self sustainability and development (Bjuris & Daniels, 2009). Female-headed households are faced with the responsibility for food production for growing populations. Even in male-headed households, women often have prime responsibility for food production, while men commonly concentrate on cash crops. Rural women in particular are responsible for half of the world's food production and produce between 60-80 % of food in most developing countries and particularly in South Africa (Cox and Magel, 2002).

The distribution of households that have access to land for small-scale farming by gender is shown in Table 2. The proportion of male- and female-headed households that have access to land for agriculture purpose for both 2004 and 2007 is indicated. In 2004, high proportion of households that have access to land for small-scale farming is found among female-headed households (16 %), while only 10 % of male-headed households have access. However, it should be noted that even though women are the most to have access to land in this case; they do not own it in their own names. Women lack rights to land, which tends to be held by men or kinship groups controlled by men and women access is mainly through a male relative, usually after a husband (Kimani, 2008). For both genders, those who do not have access to land outnumber those who have access to it, which meant the majority of the population do not rely on land as their primary source of household income because of its scarcity. Thus, of the 10501 female respondents, 16 % have access to land, while 87 % do not have access to land for small-scale farming. Moreover, of 15676 male respondents, 10.0 % reported they have access to land whereas 90 % admitted they do not have access to it.

However, from the 2007 survey, the findings show that the rate of female- and male-headed households that have access to land has decreased. Results showed that of the 8593 female respondents, 14 % reported they have access to land, while 86 % do not have access to it. More so, out of the 11292 male respondents, 9 % admitted they have access to land whereas 90 % do not. Comparing results from both years, it could be seen that in 2007, the proportions of households that have access to land have slightly decreased among both genders. The implication is that there is more reliance on other source of income by people for their livelihood than farming.

**Table 2: Distribution of land access by gender in 2004 and 2007**

Land Access	Gender (2004)			Gender (2007)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Yes	1574	1712	3286	1036	1172	2208
	10.0%	16.3%	12.6%	9.2%	13.6%	11.1%
No	14102	8789	22891	10256	7421	16677
	90.0%	83. %	87.4%	90.8%	86.4%	88.9%
Total	15676	10501	26177	11292	8593	9885
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

### **5.3 Land access in rural and urban areas by gender across the province**

Land plays a more important role in rural areas than in urban areas because majority of the rural population rely on the land. Table 3 (see Appendix 1) provides the findings on land access by province making a distinction of rural and urban area and. However, it should be noted that this question was only asked in the 2004 survey but not in 2007. The findings distributed by gender indicates that majority of men- and

women-headed households that have access to land is situated in rural areas more than in the urban areas. It was shown that for males, the highest proportion of access to land was witnessed in the rural Eastern Cape areas (62 %) and 11 % in the urban areas; followed closely by rural Kwazulu-Natal areas (35 %) and a meagre 1 % in the urban areas; and then rural Northern Province areas (25 %) but which has a meagre 1 % in urban areas. More so, for female-headed households, the same pattern of land access in rural and urban areas by gender was observed across the provinces, but with at a higher proportion than seen for the males. The rural Eastern Cape areas has the highest rate at 66 % and only 12 % in urban areas; followed by rural Kwazulu-Natal (49 %) and a meager 1 % in urban areas. These trends clearly show how small-plot for agriculture remains important for most rural households, especially for domestic food consumption, and it is shown that people particularly in rural areas look to farming or natural resource harvesting as sources of livelihood (Palmer & Sender, 2000). Hence, as stipulated by FAO, specific policy measures are required to address the constraints facing women farmers and to give special consideration to the needs of female-headed households.

#### **5.4 Land access by province and gender**

Table 4 shows the distribution of households headed by males and females that have access to land for agricultural purposes across nine provinces of South Africa in 2004 and 2007. In 2004, the Eastern Cape (44 %), followed by Kwazulu-Natal (28 %) and the Northern Province (19 %) were shown to the highest proportion (in descending order) of female-headed households with access to land for agriculture. As it is well known, the Eastern Cape is predominantly rural hence; many women are involved in small-scale farming. Kwazulu-Natal has a dominant rural based economy involving

households headed by women and as shown in Table 1, it is one of the provinces with a high proportion of households headed by women. In Gauteng, women do not have access to land at all meaning that land in this province is mostly in the hands of men. Among male-headed households, a total of 9 % reported they have access to land for small-scale farming. Across the provinces, Eastern Cape (35 %), followed by the Northern Province (18 %) are the provinces with the highest access to land for agriculture. A reported 1 % for Gauteng is the least proportion of male-headed households having access to land for agriculture purpose. The overall trend showed Eastern Cape as the province with highest proportion of households with access to land for agriculture for both males and females because those provinces are predominantly rural. Gauteng is the least province among all provinces of South Africa with a low proportion of households having access to land.

More so, the data from Table 4 also show the distribution of land across provinces between both genders in 2007. The survey revealed that among male-headed households, Eastern Cape (25 %), followed by Kwazulu-Natal (15 %) and Northern Province (14 %) were the areas with the highest proportion of land accessibility. However, Gauteng still remained the province with the lowest proportion of male headed households having no access to land. The rest of the provinces do not show much variation in proportions. As expected in the female-headed households, the Eastern Cape (35 %), Kwazulu-Natal (19 %), and the Northern Province (16 %) in a descending order were the provinces with the highest proportion of accessibility to land. The Western Cape (0.3 %) instead of Gauteng became the province having the least proportion of land accessibility to females. In general, of the 8593 households surveyed, 14 % have access to land, whereas 86 % do not have.

Comparatively, referring to the two dates 2004 and 2007, table 4 showed land access decreased from 10 % to 9 % among males in and from 16 % to 14 % among females respectively. Hence, females seem to have experienced a bigger decrease in percentage gap (2%) compared to males (1 %). The Eastern Cape women are shown to access land easily due to its high proportion of female-headed households; it is mainly rural hence, women have to rely on land for food production for their daily survival. Furthermore, due to the prevailing poverty environment, the Eastern Cape women do not have many other alternatives of earning income to make a living.



**Table 4: Distribution of land access and province by gender**

Gender	Land access	Province 2004									
		WC	EC	NC	FS	KZN	NW	GTG	MLNG	NP	Total
Male	Yes	69	633	42	60	361	67	28	46	268	1574
		3.7%	34.9%	5%	3.9%	15.2%	4.2%	1.0%	3.3%	18.0%	10.0%
	No	1778	1183	796	1480	2017	1511	2785	1331	1221	14102
		96.3%	65.1%	95.0%	96.1%	84.8%	95.8%	99%	96.7%	82.0%	90.0%
Total	1847	1816	838	1580	2378	1578	2813	1377	1489	15676	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	
Female	Yes	13	762	2	14	561	34	0	36	290	1712
		1.5%	43.9%	0.5%	1.9%	27.5%	3.4%	0%	3.9%	18.7%	16.3%
	No	840	974	410	714	1479	958	1260	892	1262	8789
		98.5%	56.1%	99.5%	98.1%	72.5%	96.6%	100%	96.1%	81.3%	83.7%
Total	853	1736	412	728	2040	992	1260	928	1552	10501	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	
<b>2007</b>											
Male	Yes	63	359	30	31	341	38	19	30	125	1036
		3.9%	25.0%	3.5%	3.1%	14.5%	4.9%	1.4%	3.3%	13.8%	9.2%
	No	1567	1076	820	990	2013	742	1383	887	778	10256
		96.1%	75.0%	96%	97.0%	85.5%	95.1%	98.6%	96.7%	86.2%	90.8%
Total	1630	1435	850	1021	2354	780	1402	917	903	11292	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	
Female	Yes	2	476	9	7	453	23	7	31	164	1172
		0.3%	34.6%	2.0%	1%	19.0%	3.4%	1.1%	4.8%	16.0%	13.6%
	No	736	902	432	671	1934	644	627	617	859	7421
		99.7%	65.4%	98%	99.0%	81.0%	96.6%	98.9%	95.2%	84%	86.4%
Total	738	1377	441	678	2387	667	634	648	1023	8593	
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	

WC: Western Cape; EC: Eastern Cape; NC: Northern Cape; FS: Free State; KZN: Kwazulu-Natal; NW: Northern West; GTG: Gauteng; MLNG: Mpumalanga; NP: Northern Province

### **5.5 Land access and ethnic group by gender**

Population ethnic group remains a very informative demographic variable. It was used to assess at what extent land was accessed among Africans/Blacks, Coloureds, Indians/Asians, and Whites according to the gender of the head of households in both the 2004 and 2007 GHS. The distribution of households that have access to land by population ethnic groups and gender is shown in Table 5. In 2004, analyzed data from the survey showed female-headed households of Africans/Blacks with the highest proportion (19 %), followed by Whites (4 %), and the Coloureds (2 %), while Indian/Asians (1 %) remains the population ethnic group to have least access to land. Regarding male headed-households, Africans/Blacks (12 %), followed by Whites (9 %), and the Coloureds (3 %), while Indians/Asians (1 %) have the access to land. Overall, the highest proportion of households with access to land among all population groups according to both genders in 2004 is found among the Africans/Blacks because this category of population, particularly women, are found in rural areas and rely more on small-scale farming for their livelihoods.

Investigating the 2007 GHS data revealed that in male headed-households, the highest proportion of individuals having access to land for small-scale farming are the Whites (12 %), followed by Africans/Blacks (11 %), and the Indians/Asians (4 %), while the Coloureds (1 %) are less likely to have access to land. The total proportion of households that have access to land among males in 2007 is 9 %. On the female side, access to land is highest among Africans/Blacks (16 %), which is different from male where highest proportion is seen among Whites. However, apart from African/Black households, there is no much variation in terms of proportion among the rest of population groups that have access to land.



Comparative analysis across all populations groups, female Africans/Blacks have highest proportion at 19 % in 2004, but in 2007, male-headed households of Whites had the highest proportion at 12 %, and female-headed households of Africans/Blacks at 16 % have access to land. Black female in rural areas tend to have high proportion of households which rely on small-scale farming for food production and consumption because they are the most vulnerable and disadvantaged group. From historical background, Yanou (2006) stated the Native land Act No 27 of 1913 forced black women to work as labourers in white farms under labour tenancies that were easily subjected to terminations. This made them more vulnerable to evictions than their male colleagues.



**Table 5: Distribution of land access by population group and gender**

Gender	Land Access(2004)	Population groups					
		African/Black	Coloured	Indian/Asian	White	Other	Total
Male  <b>2004</b>	Yes	1310	46	3	215	0	1574
		11.8%	2.6%	6%	9.3%	.0%	10.0%
	No	9798	1735	469	208	13	14102
		88.2%	97.4%	99.4%	90.7%7	100.0%	90.0%
	Total	11108	1781	472	2302	13	15676
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Female	Yes	1667	21	1	23	0	1712
		18.9%	2.3%	.8%	3.6%	0.0%	16.3%
	No	7152	883	127	618	9	8789
		81.1%	97.7%	99.2%	96.4%	100.0%	83.7%
	Total	8819	904	128	641	9	10501
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Male  <b>2007</b>	(2007)	857	21	10	147	0	1035
	Yes	10.5%	1.3%	3.6%	12.1%	0.0%	9.2%
	No	7270	1632	266	1068	0	10236
		89.5%	98.7%	96.4%	87.9%	0.0%	
	Total	8127	1653	276	1215	0	11271
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Female	Yes	1159	9	1	3	0	1172
		15.8%	1.1%	1.3%	.9%	0.0%	13.7%
	No	6156	848	75	335	0	7414
		84.2%	98.9%	98.7%	99.1%	0.0%	86.3%
	Total	7315	857	76	338	0	8586
		100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0%	100.0%

## **5.6. Age differentials in land access by gender**

Age may be a social demographic characteristic which show how generations of male- and female-headed households have access to land for agriculture. Table 6 shows male- and female-headed households from different age groups who have access to land for agriculture purpose. The respondents were classified into five age groups: 15-29 years, 30-44 years, 45-59 years, 60-74 years, 75-80 years and above. The proportion of female-headed households with access to land for both 2004 and 2007 is highest among those aged 60-74 years; and 75-80 years and above (21 %), followed by those in 45-59 age group at 16%. Young female household heads aged between 15-29 and 30-44 age groups have access to land at lesser extent.

The pattern shown suggested that age of women may be a contributing factor to gaining access to land at older age i.e. the older the woman, the stronger the likelihood of accessing land for small-scale farming. The reason behind this may be that at old age, women do not have other alternatives of income earning other than farming to make a living. On the contrary, low proportion of female-headed households with access to land is found among the younger age group (15-29 years), which increases as the age groups go higher. The result suggest old women have high proportion in land access because at this age families are more intact, even widows at this age are less likely to marry again. On the male's side, high rates are also observed among households that are appearing in old age, but they constitute lower rate at younger age compared to females. Comparing data analysis from 2004 and 2007 survey, there is no significant difference among both genders in terms of land access.









































































































































































































































