WOMEN IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES IN SWAZILAND: A FOCUS ON THE INFLUENCE OF TIME AND ACCESS TO LABOUR-SAVING TECHNOLOGY ON WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION

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Dedicated with love and gratitude to

Themba, for having given me a great deal of support and encouragement.

and Mum, an enduring beacon in my life.

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ABSTRACT

This study examines Swazi women's role in the development of their country, and focusses specifically on their participation in rural development programmes for women. With regard to their involvement in these programmes, two assumptions, which appear in the literature on women's role in development and on which planning of women's development projects in Swaziland has been based, are subjected to empirical testing. These presuppositions are:

(a) That women are constrained by lack of free time from engaging in activities in their communities and

(b) That access to labour-saving devices enables women to save time in performing their domestic tasks, which may then be reallocated to development efforts and other interests outside the home.

Further, the influence of other (socio-economic and demographic) variables on women's participation in rural development programmes, i.e. age, fertility, homestead income and educational attainment are also investigated in this research.

The data collected reveal that access to labour-saving devices may enable women to save time in carrying out their domestic responsibilities. However, free time gained in this manner might not necessarily lead to an increase in women's rate of participation in rural

development programmes, since no relationship between free time and participation was established in this study. This research also did not provide any evidence to demonstrate that there was any relationship between the above-named socio-economic and demographic variables and participation. Hence, these findings constitute a challenge to the two assumptions stated earlier. Having found no indication in this study that participation may be related to factors such as age, fertility, homestead income and educational level, the dissertation suggests areas of further research to determine which factors may actually influence women's participation in rural development programmes in Swaziland, for the purpose of understanding these women's needs and problems more fully.

DECLARATION

This dissertation was written and submitted in accordance with the regulations governing the award of Master of Arts Degree of the University of Zambia. I declare that the dissertation has, neither in part nor in whole, been presented for examination at another University.

Signature: ..J.P.Zyobeka.....

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO STUDY

INTRODUCTION AND FORMULATION OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

This study examines the involvement of Swazi women in rural development programmes. A clearer picture of the nature of these development programmes will emerge through scrutiny of the content of women's development programmes that have been planned and implemented by the government since independence.

Women are singled out as a target for development efforts for the first time during the Swazi Government's Second National Development Plan period, 1972-1977, which ushered in the home economics era. At that time, their participation was narrowly confined to gaining competence in the secluded domestic domain in order to enhance the well-being of rural families,[1] rather than acquiring access to skills, knowledge and resources which would enable them to make their mark on rural society at large or to improve their own economic standing. It is only during the present Fourth National Development Plan Period[2] that a distinct shift in emphasis away from home economics education only is discernible. This new development should be viewed as a response to important world events affecting women, namely, the International Year of

Women in 1975 and the Decade of Women which ended last year. A corollary to these events has been the insistence by international aid donors that recipient countries include women in development programmes both as beneficiaries and active participants. It is this current approach to women's development programmes, which combines home economics extension work with attempts to afford women with some degree of economic independence, by training them in income-generating skills, that has been reflected in the definition of rural development programmes for women used in this study.

Main Focus of the Study

More specifically, this research project investigates whether lack of free time constrains women from taking part in rural development programmes and examines the impact of labour-saving devices on their time budgets.

At the outset of this project, it was expected that measuring time in hours and minutes would prove to be problematic since it was thought that all rural women might not have access to clocks or be able to tell the time. Hence, indirect measures of time were envisaged by, for example, gaining approximations of

time by particular events such as sunrise, sunset and when the first bus leaves the village in the morning. Such expectations were not, however, borne out in the field. Most interviewees relied on their radios for time-keeping, so that there was no need for such indirect measures of time.

Main Objectives of the Study

This study aims to assess whether

(a) Lack of free time constrains women from participanting in rural development programmes,

(b) Access to labour-saving devices helps women to save time in executing their domestic tasks,

(c) The introduction of new farming techniques has resulted in an increase in women's workload,

(d) There is a significant difference in the age distribution, homestead income, fertility and educational backgrounds of participants and non-participants examined and to assess

(e) The extent of rural women's work load relative to that of their menfolk.

Rationale of the Study

In order to see women's participation in development in its right perspective, there is an urgent need to subject many of the theoretical assumptions, which a number of researchers hold and on which much planning of women's development programmes has been based to empirical testing. These include presuppositions that time is a constraint to women's involvement in development and that labour-saving devices will alleviate this time constraint and increase women's participation in development. The uncritical acceptance of such assumptions obscures the facts and often leads to misguided planning and failure to achieve development goals.

This study will contribute to the small, but growing, body of knowledge on women's participation in rural development by examining the differential participation of women in rural development programmes, and testing some of the prevailing assumptions in this regard. This is of significance particularly in the case of Swaziland, where very little research has been done on this topic. It would also be of interest to compare the findings of this study with that of the study conducted in Upper Volta, referred to on page 17 , since testing the same hypotheses in different countries might not necessarily yield the same results.

Gender Roles and Their Implication for Women's Participation Outside the Home

In all societies there is a sexual allocation of tasks, so that some tasks come to be regarded as men's work, others as women's work and still others as appropriate for both males and females.[3] In societies based on subsistence agricultural production, for instance, women are usually responsible for child-minding, procuring and producing the bulk of the food, collecting food and water and performing other domestic tasks. The men are responsible for procuring game, fishing, protecting family and community life, herding cattle and preparing fields for planting.[4]

The division of labour is not constant but changes with social and economic changes in society. Hence, in a developed country, findings indicate that although the division of labour between males and females in some spheres is still said to be clearly defined, in the economic sphere provision for the family has largely become regarded as a joint responsibility of the spouses.[5] By contrast, in the rural areas of developing countries, changes in the division of labour reflecting a separation of male and female tasks can be observed. The introduction of cash cropping and improved technology has led to a separation of men's and women's agricultural work into

two streams, with males predominating in cash crop production and females continuing to labour in subsistence crop production with outmoded tools and very few opportunities for improving their economic position. Such changes in the division of labour serve to increase women's work load, because while men can rely on women to assist them in cash crop production, the women usually only have the assistance of other younger females in carrying out their domestic and agricultural tasks. Boserup's study[6] of the effect of new, intensive farming methods on the division of labour between men and women in two villages in the Central African Republic - i.e. one using modern techniques and the other traditional farming techniques revealed that women were doing more work in the former than in the latter.

Cutrufelli also makes reference to the rigidity of the division of labour with regard to certain tasks, particularly domestic tasks which have remained essentially women's work.[7] The consequence of this is that where women participate in agricultural, income - generating activities and other activities outside their homes, their work load and the length of their working day is increased considerably.

Even in developed countries where women have greater access to labour-saving devices, their work load is not necessarily made lighter. The report to the Sixth World Congress on Sociology, in 1966, dealing with international comparative research on time-budgets revealed that most of the leisure time of working women went towards caring for their families, and that overall working mothers had less than two-thirds of their husband's free time. Hence married female employees consistently worked longer hours at home than their husbands.[8] In a study undertaken in Hungary in 1960 on women's free time, it was found that while the use of labour-saving devices saved energy, they did not, however, result in women spending less time in the execution of their household duties.[9]

To return to the situation in developing countries, because of the heavy demands made on women's time and energy, some writers have focussed on lack of time as a constraint to women's fuller participation in the economy and in educational and other rural development programmes, and to propose the application of labour time and energy saving technology to counter this problem. Szalai, quoted in McSweeney and Freeman[10] concludes on the basis of data derived from his Multinational Time-Budget Project, that lack of free time accounts for women's marginal participation in the affairs of their communities and in professional

and educational training. Lele[11] states that whereas men can increase their participation in agricultural production by curtailing their involvement in off-farm activities, women can usually only do so through sacrificing what little free time they have. As a remedy, she suggests the introduction of labour-saving food preparation devices in Africa.

Armstrong et. al.[12] also see time as a major problem for Swazi women, and suggest that women's work load can be reduced and much time and energy can be saved, if accessible and clean water sources were introduced in rural areas and water collection devices were made available. These theoretical perspectives have been reflected in development policy in Swaziland. For example, in its 1984-1985 Plan of Operations for Swazila... UNICEF refers to the Women-in-Development Programme (W.I.D.) which promotes the skills - training of women for future income-generating purposes, and which has also incorporated a village technology unit and promoted the establishment of preschools in rural areas, as support services to the programme. The rationale for incorporating these support services is to grant women access to technology and preschool facilities with a view to reducing their work load.[13] Thus, the programme is based on the assumption that women's involvement in the W.I.D. programme is

influenced by the whole range of tasks they perform daily, and that labour-saving technology and preschools will ease their load.

There are various theoretical explanations of the gender division of labour in society. In the following section three of these theoretical approaches will be discussed.

Theoretical Perspectives on the Gender Division of Labour in Society

Three theoretical perspectives on gender and the division of labour in society will be discussed here. The first theoretical approach lays emphasis on the division of labour as a function of culture, the second explains women's position in society in terms of their relationship to the capitalist economy and the third is a combination of the former two approaches.

Barbara Rogers'[14] work is an example of the first perspective. The author prefers to use the term "gender roles" rather than sex roles because, as she argues, "sex is a physical distinction; gender is social and cultural." She explains that the work roles that men and women perform in society are learnt rather than biologically determined and that the values, attitudes and norms of society enter into the process of learning these roles. In this way, then, gender roles become permeated with cultural prescriptions so that although

every society has its own division of labour, the allocation of tasks will vary from one socio-cultural situation to the next. Pregnancy and childbirth are the only biologically fixed roles. It is around these roles, she observes, that the division of labour revolves. She writes:

> The reproductive and nurturing roles, however they are assigned by the culture between the two genders, may serve to define broad lines of division among new tasks.[15]

To shore up this division of labour by gender, there are usually societal beliefs that are propagated about women's very special and natural child-rearing capacities and men's inability to fulfil this delicate and sensitive function. To complement women's inclination to nurture, men are considered to be strong and unemotional and to have a penchant for hard work. Women are therefore regarded as the weaker sex.

An important question arises from the above account: Why does reproduction form the lynchpin of gender differentiation? Rogers does not examine this issue in her discussion. Further, Rogers does not discuss another important issue, namely, the assignment of child-

care and domestic tasks to women instead of men, though these are not biologically determined. These weaknesses in her argument are dealt with by other writers (mainly feminists) who have attempted to relate women's position in society to their role in the capitalist economy.

This earlier feminist writing referred to by Crehan, Bengelsdorf and Roberts[16] for example, which represents the second theoretical perspective, uses a marxist framework of analysis, based on the work of Engels. Engels asserted that the structure of the family and men and women's work roles in it have changed and developed over time in relation to changes in the mode of production of society.[17] To Engels, the structure of the family and the division of labour between the sexes, therefore, are reflections of what happens in the economy. He argues:

> The legal inequality of the two partners bequeathed to us from earlier social conditions is not the cause but the effect of the economic oppression of the woman.[18]

He goes on to point out that in pre-capitalist societies, both men and women's work had been seen as productive and socially necessary, but under capitalism women's domestic labour became regarded as private and unproductive. This is because capitalism is based on commodity production and only work which results in the

production of goods for exchange in the market place is regarded as productive, since a monetary value can be attached to it.[19]

Accordingly, feminist writers[20] commenting on the decline of the status of African women in society trace its roots to the spread of colonial and capitalist influences to the continent. As capitalism changed the very basis of the economy from the production of goods for home consumption to the production of commodities, it took away many of the men from subsistence agriculture to work in capitalist enterprises and left most of the women behind to till the soil. As a result, the latter found themselves in a cash economy where the labour they performed for the benefit of the home had no cash value. This meant that they became increasingly more dependent on men for the fulfilment of their economic needs.

This unpaid, underated labour of women nevertheless performs important reproductory functions for capital. In the context of Africa, it has been argued women growing food in the subsistence sector help to supplement the low wages paid by capital.[21] They also perform social security services by maintaining the migrant labourer's rural home, to which he will return in times of sickness and in old age. Furthermore, by producing children who

would one day become workers, women were helping to perpetuate capitalism.

This approach regards the subordinate relationship of women to men as unproblematic, because as Engels claimed:

> The supremacy of the man in marriage is the simple consequence of his economic supremacy and with the abolition of the latter will disappear of itself.[22]

The "abolition of man's supremacy" Engels predicted, would come about with the revolutionary transformation from capitalism to socialism when private property is replaced with public ownership of the means of production and equality for all workers, irrespective of sex, is achieved. As an initial step towards women's liberation, he advocated the entry of the entire female sex into the labour market and transferring domestic duties from the privacy of the household to the public sector.[23]

Judging by the type of work done by women who have to date penetrated the labour market, wage employment has not afforded them with many opportunities for release from male subordination and dull domestic work. Many of them are still concentrated in stereotyped female jobs (nursing, teaching, clerical and secretarial jobs, manufacturing clothes etc.) which are a mere extension of the domestic duties they perform in their homes. Moreover, this problem has proved to be intractable even in countries which have experienced

example, Cuba. In spite of having reassigned women's domestic tasks to society, one of Engels' preconditions for women's liberation, Cuban women are still the ones who staff laundrettes, day-care centres and the like, though now they receive a cash reward for their services.[24] Hence it becomes clear that incorporating women's tasks into the public sector without restructuring gender roles will not necessarily guarantee a fairer distribution of tasks, nor will it ensure that women will not be concentrated in inferior jobs (lowly paid and in the lower echelons). Roberts makes the following relevant comment in this regard:

> Socialist societies have sought to rid themselves of gender inequality by the abolition of private property, by legislation and exhortation. These have not succeeded in confronting women's daily experience of subordination and silence arising from the cultural construction of gender relations.[25]

The above quotation suggests that the subordination of women to men cannot be reduced to economic influences alone and that there are historical and cultural factors that need to be considered. These are the very considerations that have been built into much of feminist writing since the 1970's, so that not only the relationship of men and women to capitalist society has been analysed, but also gender relations in different socio-cultural settings.[26]

Thus, in the third theoretical approach, the nature of relations between the sexes in pre-capitalist African societies have come under scrutiny in relation to women's present roles in Africa both in wage employment and subsistence agriculture. It has been pointed out that pre-capitalist African societies have been male-dominated in the main, and that even in matrilineal societies there has been no matriarchy. There have, however, been exceptions such as the dual-sex systems of power sharing for example, in Swaziland (referred to later on page 72) and amongst the Ibo in Mid-western Nigeria. In the latter case, males and females respectively conducted their own affairs and had their own "kinship institutions, age grades and secret and title societies."[27]

Since African women were generally excluded from political decision-making and were generally under the authority of chiefs, headmen and male heads of their homesteads or households, it was possible to command their labour and control their reproductory functions and their movements. It has been shown in most literature that, with the development of capitalism, colonial and other authorities used the existing power-relations to the advantage of capital to ensure that women remained

in the rural areas to maintain the subsistence sector. Roberts[28] refers to Ghanaian womens' abortive attempt to break free from their husband's and father's cocoa farms in the 1930's to earn cash for themselves in the informal sector by selling food to gold miners. But, when cocoa production plummeted as a result, the authorities arrested these women and would only agree to release them into the custody of their husbands or other men who came foward with marriage proposals.

In 1917 in South Africa, when it suited the interests of the white population to have black female domestic servants, the Anglican Women's Missionary Committee proposed that black women should not be allowed into towns without the written permission of their parents, chiefs or missionaries. Still later, in the 1920's, influx control measures were modified to admit women to urban areas who had a husband or a father in the city or alternatively were assured of accommodation in the city.[29] These examples serve to illustrate how women's movements were regulated through using male and sometimes other women's authority over them.

The Roles of Women in African Perspective

A number of studies on women in Africa refer to their high rate of involvement in agricultural production in addition to their responsibility for domestic tasks, which results in their working longer hours than men. Boserup observes that African women, south of the Sahara, spend longer hours in the fields than men, averaging fifteen to twenty hours per week, compared to approximately fifteen hours for men.[30] The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, quoted in Lele notes that women perform between 60 per cent and 80 per cent of the work load in rural areas.[31]

McSweeney and Freedman conducted research on the Project for the Equal Access of Women and Girls to Education in Upper Volta.[32] One of the objectives of the project was to reduce impediments to women's involvement in educational programmes. Lack of time was seen as a major obstacle, and to counter this problem, labour-saving devices in the form of grain mills, accessible water wells and carts were introduced. It was assumed that time saved in this way would be reallocated to participation in rural development programmes such as literacy classes, agricultural extension classes, health education and income-generating activities.

It was found that grain mills did indeed save time and energy, though the impact of the wells was harder to assess, because at certain times of the year the wells were dry and women had to trek to rivers and streams once more to get water. The time gained was used for further domestic and food processing activities, so that better meals were prepared, clothes were washed more frequently, and so on. Therefore, women did not actually gain free time for relaxing or attending to their personal needs.

In spite of this lack of free time, women in the project village still showed a significantly higher degree of participation than their sisters in the control villages. Based on an examination of the kinds of programmes which proved to be most popular (e.g. health - related activities), McSweeney and Freeman concluded that although lack of free time still proved to be a problem, women still participated in those programmes which were directly relevant to their felt needs and which demonstrated progress in the short term. Therefore, the findings from the Upper Volta study indicate that the use of labour-saving devices will not necessarily guarentee more free time for women, and that lack of free time is not an insurmountable problem for women's involvement in rural development programmes provided

that the latter are addressed to their priority concerns. This will be investigated in this study too.

Besides time and the use of labour-saving devices there is also evidence that other factors, such as income, age, fertility and educational achievement may influence women's response to rural development programmes. Feldman found that women's development groups included very few of the poorest women.[33]

Previous Studies on Rural Swaziland

It should be mentioned here that there has been no systematic study on how women budget their time with respect to Swaziland. However, Nxumalo earlier attempted to measure women's work in hours and minutes, but as she admits, the interview schedule used for her survey was not capable of gathering this kind of data, mainly because the women interviewed had difficulties in remembering the length of time they had spent on each activity.[34] Secondly, it should also be mentioned that there have also been no studies aimed at testing assumptions about the influence of time and access to labour-saving devices on women's participation in rural development programmes in Swaziland. However, this will be done for this study.

Nevertheless, there is some empirical evidence on how other factors may influence women's participation. For example, Russell et. al.'s evaluation study of trainees and ex-trainees of the W.I.D. programme revealed that the women who were participating were those who were relatively well off rather than representative of the rural poor.[35] Reasons for this are unclear. However, it may be speculated here that because wealthier members of communities are better known they may also be better informed than others about new developments in their areas, and they, in turn, may influence their own circle of friends to join these programmes. Membership of such women's programmes may also be seen to add to their personal prestige.

Russell's evaluation study also indicated that age and fertility tended to influence women's participation in the programme.[36] Her participants were relatively young with an average age of 26.5 years for trainees and 29.4 years for graduates. Their youthfulness may have accounted, in part, for their low average number of children (2 for trainees and 2.5 for ex-trainees), although there was also evidence that 30.23 per cent of trainees and 20 per cent of the women in the total sample were childless. Moreover, the fact that approximately 60 per cent of the total sample comprised married women suggests that a number of respondents might have postponed

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were tested in this study:

(1) Participation in rural development programmes is influenced by the amount of free time women dispose of:

   (a) The more free time women have, the more likely they will be to participate in rural development programmes,

   (b) The less free time women have, the less likely they will be to participate in rural development programmes.

(2) There is a relationship between the amount of time women save carrying out their domestic tasks and their access to labour-saving devices:

   (a) The more use women make of labour-saving devices, the more likely they will be to save time,

   (b) The less use women make of labour-saving devices, the less likely they will be to save time.

Although it is assumed that time-saving devices will save time, this might not necessarily be the case in reality since this will depend on how the particular device is used by the individual. For example, given access to modern motor

mills, women may grind more maize for their families instead of conserving time by grinding the same amount as before. Although in other countries it has been shown that time-saving devices might not necessarily save time (see page 18), this assumption still warrants testing in another social context (i.e. a Swazi context).

Operational Definitions

Key concepts used in this study are operationalised as indicated below.

Rural Development Programmes

For the purpose of this study, these refer to the strategies for involving women in rural development activities, which aim to transmit home economics, child-care and income-generating skills as defined in the Second and Fourth National Development Plans of Swaziland.

Women's Participation

Participation will simply mean membership of rural development programmes and attendance at meetings of these rural development programmes.

Labour-Saving Devices

These are defined as aids for reducing the labour, time and physical energy input which goes into the

execution of domestic tasks, for example standpipes, maize mills and coal and electric stoves.

Free Time

This represents time not used for executing domestic, child-minding, agricultural and income-generating tasks from waking up time to bed-time.

Access

Is defined as the opportunity to use (labour-saving devices).

Structure of the Dissertation

Chapter 2 of this dissertation elaborates on the sampling and interviewing methods, the techniques used for data analysis and the general characteristics of the women studied. Chapter 3 examines the socio-economic position of the women in the sample. Their position is placed in the wider social context for purposes of understanding and explaining the problems they face as regards access to cash income. Chapter 4 provides a background to the changing position of women in Swazi society, within which women's participation in rural development projects should be viewed. The aim here is to highlight some of the major factors that may determine rates of participation of women

in development programmes. Chapter 5 analyses field data and assesses the effects of both time and access to labour-saving technology on Swazi women's participation in rural development programmes. It also investigates the influence of other variables, in particular, age, homestead income, birth rates and cattle ownership on women's participation. Chapter 6 summarises the main findings of the study and examines implications of this study for policy-planning relating to women's participation in rural development projects. The chapter also suggests areas for further research, for purposes of understanding more fully the rural development problems facing Swazi women.

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35. Margo Russell, Primrose Dlamini and Funekile Simelane, A Survey of Women in the Women-in-Development Project, (Kwaluseni: Social Science Research Unit, University of Swaziland, 1985), 4-5, 23.

    This finding is in agreement with Feldman's finding on membership of rural development programmes for women in Kenya.

36. Margo Russel et. al., A Survey of Women, (1985), 4-5.

CHAPTER 2: SAMPLING, INTERVIEWING AND DATA ANALYSIS TECHNIQUES

At the outset, before elaborating on the research method employed, it is necessary to discuss the limitations of this study design since this has implications for the data collected and analysed.

Limitations of Study Design

There were three crucial limitations of this study. Firstly, the field instrument used for this study, i.e. an interview schedule, is designed to gather data on respondents' reports of their own behaviour as it occurs. This means that for this study the researcher has relied on respondents' accounts of their activities of the previous day, and of the distribution of tasks on their homestead. Two important drawbacks of this approach to data collection are that respondents might have forgetten aspects of their behaviour of the previous day and that they might over emphasise their own contributions to homestead labour.

Secondly, the sample comprises 80 women from homesteads situated in two of the Maximum Rural Development Areas in Swaziland, and although every attempt has been made to choose the sample as randomly as possible, its small size means that its representativeness has been decreased.

Thirdly, interviewing was conducted during the day and mainly on weekdays. As a consequence, only a few women in wage employment were included in the study. The findings on the women's time allocations may therefore reflect the situation of women at home more accurately than that of employed women. Taken as a whole, this means that the study is limited in making generalisations about the wider population of Swazi rural women.

Sampling Population

The sampling frame for the study comprised women aged eighteen and above from homestead falling within the eight Maximum Rural Development Areas. (R.D.A.'s). There are at present sixteen R.D.A.'s in the country; eight maximum and eight minimum R.D.A.'s. Maximum R.D.A.'s are distinguished from minimum R.D.A.'s by the level of inputs - roads, tapped water, schools, clinics, seeds, fertilizers, agricultural extension services - received. The scheme is similar to the Zambian government's Integrated Rural Development Programmes.

Since the R.D.A.'s constitute one of the main thrusts of the government's rural development strategy, it was reasoned that the effects of its rural development programmes would be best measured in these areas.

Field Research Areas

It was originally planned that three maximum R.D.A.'s would be randomly selected. But, a different procedure was later followed in this study and the number of field research areas was reduced to two maximum R.D.A.'s, due to various problems - i.e. administrative, financial and transport - experienced in commencing the field research, to save on time and travelling costs. These problems are briefly discussed below for purposes of explaining reasons for alterations made with respect to the number of areas included for field work.

In terms of administrative problems, the researcher experienced difficulty in getting permission from the Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives to carry out the field work. Permission was granted only at the end of January - i.e. after a lot of correspondence and several visits and telephone calls had been made to the Ministry concerned.

Secondly, travelling was hampered by adverse weather conditions. The researcher arrived in Swaziland in mid-December, about two weeks later than planned. By January the rainy season had already set in, so that the roads were slippery even for a four-wheel drive vehicle. In one case, a bridge collapsed overnight which resulted in

a longer route being used to reach the field area.

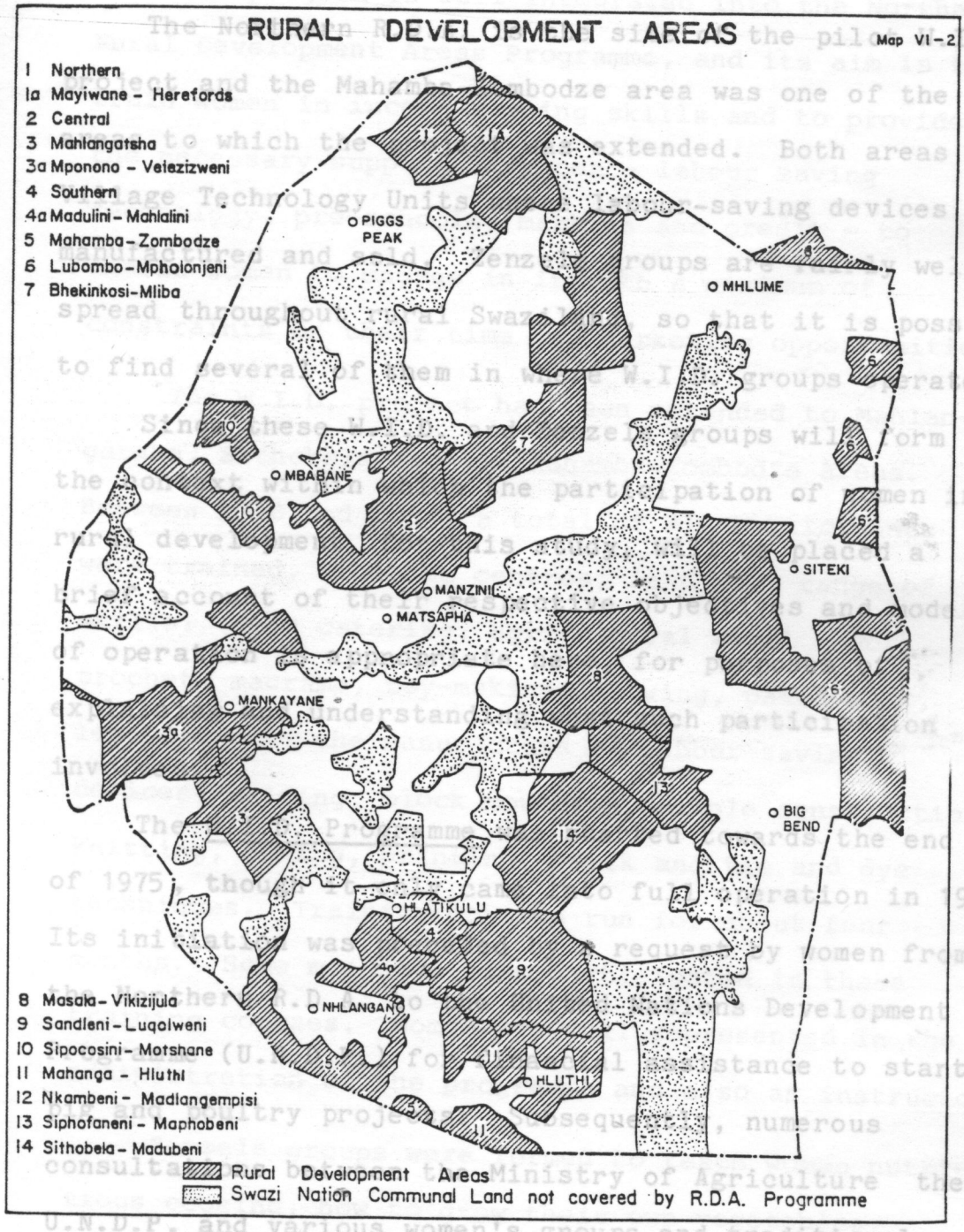
Thirdly, there were also delays of about six weeks in getting funds for the field study. Even after this period, the researcher received only about 40 per cent of the field budget. These delays made long-term planning difficult. This situation was worsened by the fact that the researcher was not informed when the rest of the budget sum would be sent. However, the rest of the field research funds was forwarded when the field research, which had been continued with borrowed funds, was drawing to a close. It should, however, be pointed out that all this did not lower the quality of field data collected for the study.

Concerning areas of field study, the Northern Rural Development Area and the Mahamba - Zombodze Rural Development Area, in the north and south of the country (see page 32), respectively, were included in the sample. The criterea for selecting these were as follows:

(a) The existence of a well-established Women-in-Development (W.I.D.) Programme, with a Village Technology Unit attached to it and

(b) The simultaneous existence of Zenzele women's development groups in the area.

Map 1: Rural Development Areas in Swaziland



Source: Swaziland Government, Third National Development Plan

The Northern R.D.A. is the site of the pilot W.I.D. project and the Mahamba-Zombodze area was one of the first areas to which the project was extended. Both areas have Village Technology Units where labour-saving devices are manufactured and sold. Zenzele groups are fairly well spread throughout rural Swaziland, so that it is possible to find several of them in where W.I.D. groups operate.

Since these W.I.D. and Zenzele groups will form the context within which the participation of women in rural development, for this study, will be placed a brief account of their respective objectives and mode of operation is appropriate here, for purposes of explaining and understanding what such participation involves.

The W.I.D. Programme was started towards the end of 1975, though it only came into full operation in 1978.[1] Its initiation was preceded by a request by women from the Northern R.D.A. to the United Nations Development Programme (U.N.D.P.) for financial assistance to start pig and poultry projects. Subsequently, numerous consultations between the Ministry of Agriculture the U.N.D.P. and various women's groups and traditional leaders in the country were made regarding these projects.

One is therefore given the impression that there was grassroots support for this project and that a lot of preparatory work preceded its launching, so that a wide spectrum of ideas was taken into consideration.

The project is well integrated into the Northern Rural Development Areas Programme, and its aim is to train women in income-earning skills and to provide the necessary support services - labour saving technology, pre-schools, markets and credit - to enable women to engage in it with a minimum of constraints on their time and marketing opportunities.

The W.I.D. project has been extended to Mahlangatsha, Sithobela and the Mahamba-Zombodze areas. Between 1978 and 1984, a total of 916 participants were trained, at these centres, in a wide range of skills: food catering, agricultural sisal - work, crochet, macrame, toy-making, weaving, patch-work, leathercraft, the manufacture of labour-saving devices, welding, block moulding, simple construction, knitting, sewing, printing, batik and tie and dye techniques. Training courses run for about four months. Some men have also participated in these training courses. Women are well represented in the administration of the programme and also as instructors.

Zenzele groups were formed to teach women nutritious cooking, how to grow their own vegetables, raise their own poultry, improve standards of hygiene on the homestead and master various handicraft skills. In a nutshell, women were taught how to be better wives and mothers. They operate under the

auspices of the Department of Community Development of the Ministry of Agriculture and Co-operatives, and are co-ordinated by home economics extension workers. In its 1981 Swaziland Report, the United Fund for Population Activities reported that there were 141 active Zenzele associations in the rural areas with approximately 22,000 members.[2] This figure appears to be a gross over-estimation of the actual number of participants in Zenzele groups, which on average have approximately 20 members[3] and not 149 as indicated by the above figures. Moreover, the researcher's field work experience indicated that membership in Zenzele groups appears to be declining rather than increasing. This study has revealed that some of the groups are dormant due to lack of support from extension officers, who in turn, lack adequate transport to reach areas where public transport does not operate.

Today, more emphasis is placed on teaching women skills which will enable them to earn a cash income than in the past when home economics education was stressed, almost to the exlusion of everything else. The groups are run by democratically elected executive committees.

Sampling Frame

For comparative purposes, sampling took place from amongst both participants and non-participants

in the women's rural development programmes discussed above.

There is no government list of homesteads in the Northern and Mahamba-Zombodze Rural Development Areas. It was originally planned that aerial photographs would serve as the sampling frame for non-participants. However, the collection of photographs proved to be incomplete and therefore could not be used for this purpose. In order to construct a sampling frame for non-participants, a cartographer was engaged to draw maps of the areas, based on aerial photographs and a map of Swaziland of the same scale, showing population concentrations, roads, rivers, schools and clinics.

As planned, the sampling frame for participants comprised the membership lists of Zenzele groups, obtained from committee members, and the list of participants obtained from the W.I.D. project administrators and instructors.

Sample Size and Sampling Procedure

For non-participants, multi-stage cluster sampling was used. Since homesteads in Swaziland are scattered across the countryside, it was thought best to concentrate on small pockets of homesteads, to save time and money.[4] Mayntz et. al. recommend this form of sampling and argue that it should be used in circumstances where "the units

of the basic population ... are [not] physically or symbolically (in the form of a file or list) present and capable of manipulation, so that multi-stage cluster sampling becomes in fact area sampling."[5] Therefore, this study has complied with the conditions set out by Mayntz et. al. for the use of multi-stage cluster sampling.

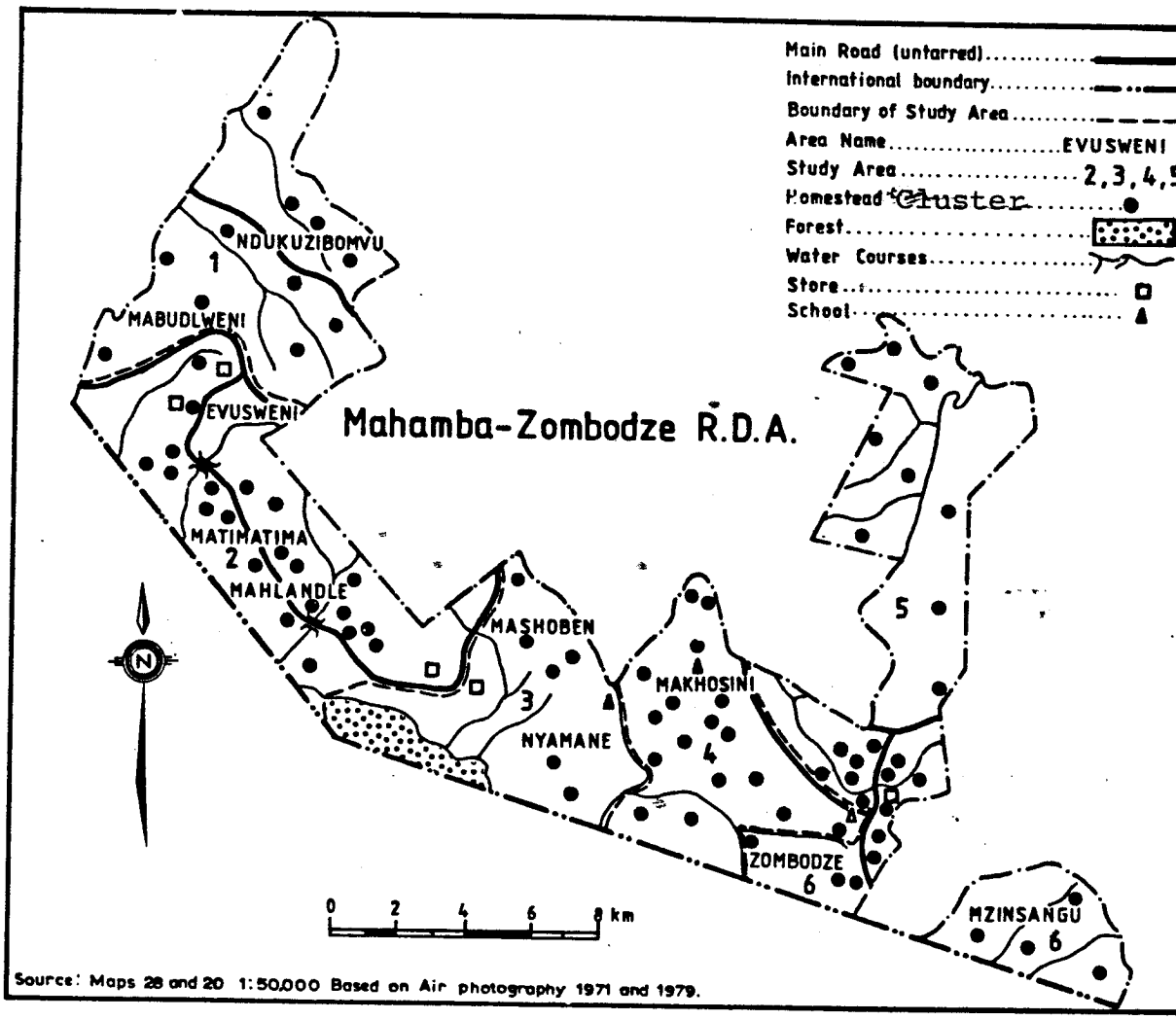
Multi-stage cluster sampling was carried out in three stages:

(a) Each of the two areas maps were sub-divided into six blocks, with clear boundaries, (see pages 38 and 39).

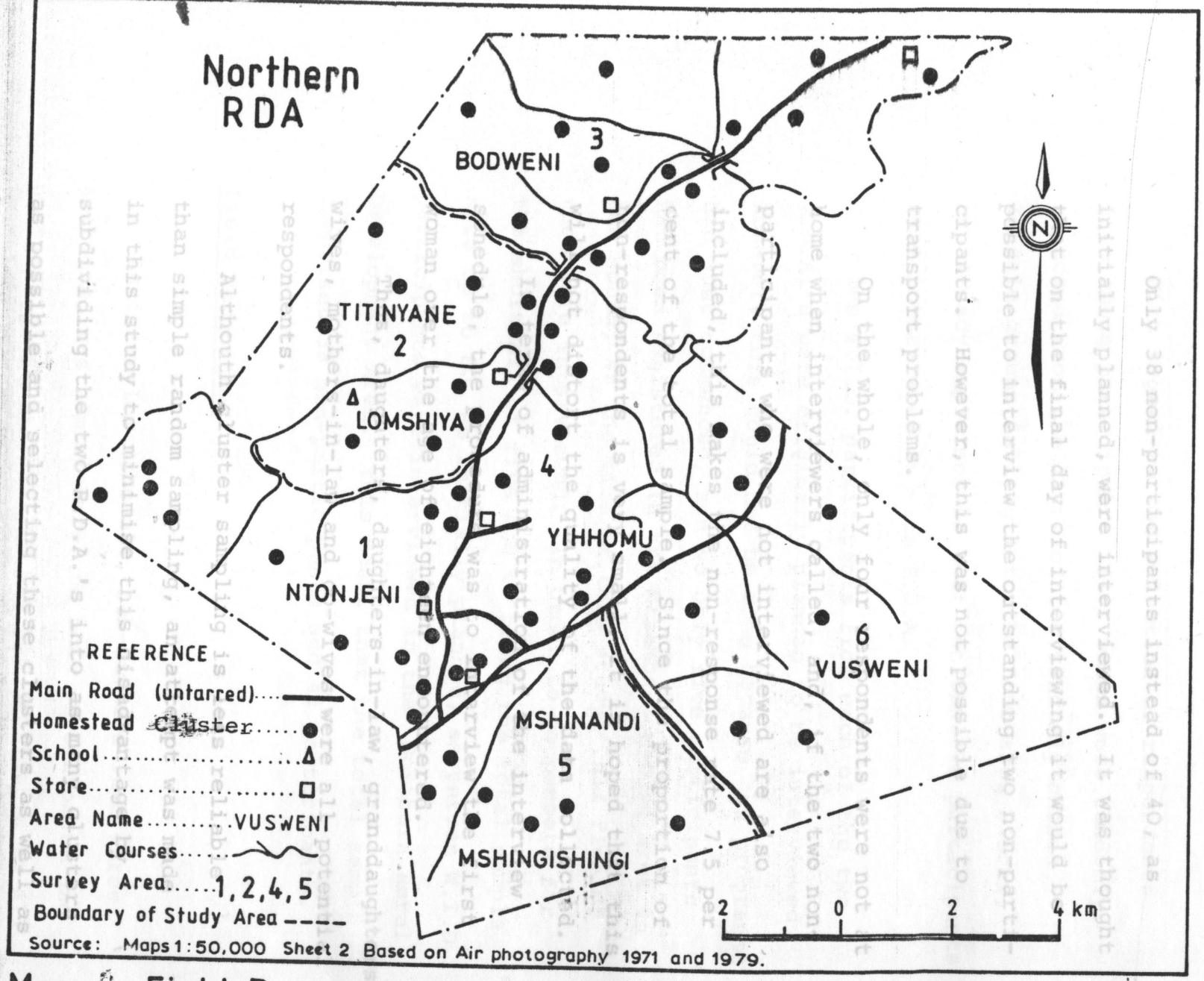
(b) Four blocks were randomly selected from each map and

(c) Five homesteads were randomly selected from within each of the four blocks so that twenty non-participants were selected in each of the two areas. Thus, a total of forty non-participants were involved in the study.

It should be pointed out that no call-backs were planned, due to time and financial constraints. Therefore, if no women were found in a randomly selected homestead, interviewers simply proceeded to the next homestead.



Map.2: Field Research Area for the Study on Women's Participation in Rural Development Programmes in Swaziland.



Map. 3 : Field Research Area for the Study on Women's Participation

Only 38 non-participants instead of 40, as initially planned, were interviewed. It was thought that on the final day of interviewing it would be possible to interview the outstanding two non-participants. However, this was not possible due to transport problems.

On the whole, only four respondents were not at home when interviewers called, and, if the two non-participants who were not interviewed are also included, this makes the non-response rate 7.5 per cent of the total sample. Since the proportion of non-respondents is very small, it is hoped that this will not distort the quality of the data collected.

In terms of administration of the interview schedule, the procedure was to interview the first woman over the age of eighteen encountered.

Thus, daughters, daughters-in-law, granddaughters, wives, mothers-in-law and co-wives were all potential respondents.

Althouth cluster sampling is less reliable than simple random sampling, an attempt was made in this study to minimise this disadvantage by subdividing the two R.D.A.'s into as many clusters as possible and selecting these clusters as well as homesteads of varying accessibility within these clusters randomly.

With regard to the selection of respondents from among participants, five women were randomly selected from the lists of two randomly chosen Zenzele groups falling into the four area blocks, as already explained so that ten Zenzele participants were interviewed in each R.D.A.

Ten W.I.D. participants from each of the two R.D.A.'s were originally planned to be interviewed. However, this could not be done because the programme had just commenced, and so only five participants had been registered in the Mahamba-Zombodze area in the south, at the time of this study. All five of them were interviewed. In order to compensate for the shortfall of five and to bring the total sample size up to 80, as initially planned, seventeen W.I.D. participants were interviewed in the Northern Rural Development Area. This meant that the total sample comprised 38 non-participants and 42 participants.

Field Techniques

An interview schedule, sub-divided into three sections, was administered to both participants and non-participants. Section one was applicable to all respondents, section two to participants only and section three to non-participants only. The original

plan was to employ one interpreter to assist the researcher with the interviewing. But, because of delays in starting the field research, it was decided to increase the number of research assistants to two for the duration of the field study. However, a third one was employed during the last two days of interviewing.

Prior to full-scale field research a pilot study was conducted which necessitated a few minor alterations to the interview schedule. But, even after these adjustments, some questions still presented problems in collecting data, i.e. those dealing with homestead income and changes in the division of labour.

As many previous researchers have reported, collecting data on homestead income in Swaziland is not an easy task. For example, Russell, who has done much research on income distribution in Swaziland warns that failure to grasp the intricacies of money transfers to Swazi rural society, some of these being that remittances to homesteads are neither fixed nor regular and are redistributed to a number of members and the homestead, instead of a particular person, leads to under-reporting of rural incomes.[6] Taking all this into account, this researcher decided not to attempt to measure homesteads income by how much money actually flowed into

the homesteads from earnings to avoid probing about income for all members of the homestead. This procedure was beyond the scope of this study. However, it is an important field technique which requires separate study. In the context of this study, therefore, an attempt was made to collect data merely on estimated earnings of all employed homestead members.

With respect to responses on income, the study revealed that many wives were ignorant of their husband's actual incomes. In many cases, therefore, the figures recorded on income refer to the amount paid over to the wives or the homestead head by employed persons. Monies remitted to pay for ploughing, herding and building and repair services were not mentioned as remittances. Evidently, money earmarked for specific items of expenditure is regarded as distinct from amounts sent to kin for recurrent living expenses.[7]

Main Sources of Data

Others interviewed for this study for information and data relating to the aims, functioning and location of the women's groups, included the senior community development officer in charge of the W.I.P. groups in the whole country, and regional officers responsible for the Zenzele groups in the Northern

and Mahamba-Zombodze Rural Development Areas. Interviews were supplemented with secondary sources relating to the W.I.D. and Zenzele women's groups and Government Development Plans.

Data Analysis

The data collected has been analysed by computer. In order to describe the characteristics of the sample, frequency distributions were computed for age, sex, educational attainment, occupation, income, family planning habits, homestead income, livestock numbers and crops grown. Frequency distributions were also computed to show how the women in the sample used time and how the various tasks were distributed amongst homestead members.

Statistical tests used for the purpose of comparing participants with non-participants, were:

(a) T-test for unrelated samples to test for any significant difference:

(i) between the ages of participants and non-participants;

(ii) between group status and homestead income;

(iii) in the average time spent, by participants in activities of the previous day and

(iv) in the mean free time available to both groups of women in the study.

Furthermore, Chi Square was used to test whether there was any relationship between educational attainment and group status and number of children and group status.

Finally, Analyses of Variance were done for the following variables:

(a) maize-grinding times by maize-grinding devices;

(b) water-collection times by water-collection sources and

(c) cooking times by cooking sources.

This was for the purpose of investigating whether or not labour-saving devices actually saved time.

General Characteristics of Women in the Study

Some of the main general characteristics of the women in the study in terms of age, marital status, fertility and relationship to homestead head will be summarised below.

(a) Age. The majority of women in the study (69.9 per cent) were between 20 and 49 years old.

(b) Marital Status. Married women constituted the largest proportion (75 per cent) of respondents while single women constituted 16.2 per cent of the sample.

(c) Number of Children. The largest group of respondents (27.5 per cent) had 1-2 children followed by those with 5-6 children (25.0 per cent). Fifteen per cent of the women in the study were childless. The mean number of children was 3.84, which is just more than half of the national average of 6.87 live births per woman.[8]

A variable which may influence fertility is family planning practices and respondents were asked to indicate whether or not they practised family planning. Only 18.7 per cent of respondents stated that they practised family planning.

Since the number of women practising family planning is fairly small and the number of childless women roughly corresponds to unmarried women, the data suggest that marital status rather than birth determined birth rates among the women studied. However, an examination of reasons given by childless women revealed that seven out of the ten women in this category had fertility problems, while a further four women in the study were beyond child-bearing age.

(d) Relationship to Homestead Head. The majority of homesteads visited were headed by males; only 5 (or 6.2 per cent) were headed by females. The data reveal that the main reasons for women heading homesteads in this sample were the absence of migrant sons or husbands who had not returned home for years, or death of spouse. In this study, wives of migrant workers who returned home regularly were not classified as female homestead head. However, the incidence of female-headed homesteads in this study is far below that reflected in Nxumalo's survey findings (i.e. of 18.5 per cent).[9] One possible reason for these differences may be that she defined female-headed homestead differently.

In general, the data reveal that the women in this study were members of male-headed homesteads and tended to be young and have few children. It should be pointed out here that the socio-economic position of the women studied will be dealt with in the following chapter and a more detailed comparative analysis of participants and non-participants will be made at appropriate points in Chapter 5.

NOTES

1. Elsa, M. Chaney, A Women-in-Development Project in Swaziland: Skills Training for Income Earning, (United Nations Department of Technical Co-operation for Development, 1982), 7-10.

2. United Nations Fund for Population Activities. Swaziland: Report of Mission on Needs Assessment for Population Assistance, Report No. 39 (1981), 56.

3. These data were collected through interviews with regional community development officers and participants of Zenzele groups.

4. This method has also been recommended by Peil. For details, see: Margaret Peil, Peter K. Mitchell and Douglas Rimmer, Social Science Research Methods: An African Handbook, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1982), 38.

5. R.K. Mayntz, K. Holm and P. Hoebner, Introduction to Emprirical Sociology, (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1976), 79.

6. Margo Russell, "Beyond Remittances: The Redistribution of Cash in Swazi Society," The Journal of Modern African Studies Vol. 22 No. 4, (1984), 597-598.

7. Margo Russell, "Beyond Remittances," (1984), 600.

8. Swaziland Government, Report on 1976 Swaziland Population Census, Vol. 1, (Mbabane: Central Statistical Office, 1976), 93.

9. B.K. Nxumalo, The Survey of Roles, Tasks, Needs and Skills of Rural Women 1978/1979, (Swaziland Government, Ministry of Education/UNICEF, 1979).

CHAPTER 3: THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC POSITION OF THE WOMEN IN THE STUDY

The influence and status of Swazi women in the home and in society in general depends to a great extent on their access to income gained through their own employment or the employment of other members of their respective homesteads, or from the sale of cash crops grown by their homesteads. This chapter examines the economic position of the women in the sample with particular emphasis on:

(a) The women's educational levels,

(b) Respondent's income, and

(c) The economic standing of their respective homesteads.

Educational Achievement

As the data show, the majority of respondents had primary school education. while a minority were highly educated (see Table 1)*

The 20 per cent illiteracy rate, is well below the national rate of 38 per cent for females, reported by UNESCO in 1983.[1] The low illiteracy rate amongst women in the sample is probably also related to

* All tables referred to in this Chapter are in Appendix II.

the comparatively low average age of respondents. The 1976 census data which indicate that the level of education is related to the age of women, lends support to this speculation.[2] The percentage of females with grades 1 - 2 only increases steadily from 4.4 per cent of the 15 - 19 age category to 32.5 per cent for the 65+ age group. The reverse trend is evident for the forms 1 - 5 and higher category of education. The proportion of women who have attained this level of education declines steadily from 37.8 per cent in the 15 - 19 age group to 4.6 per cent in the 65+ age group. In addition, the proportion of respondents with post primary school education (30 per cent) exceeds the national average of 18.2 per cent by far. The women in this sample are therefore better educated than most Swazi women.

Employment and Occupational Status

Educational levels of women must also be measured against their utility to women concerned, in terms of facilitating their access to wage employment and occupations requiring such levels. The data collected show that most of the women studied (62.4 per cent) were either in self employment in the informal sector, selling handicrafts, or ordinary housewives (see

Table 2). Only 8.7 per cent of respondents were in wage employment, and since women are approximately 2.5 per cent of the national labour force, this sample appears to be biased against female wage earners. Women's lack of equal access with men to wage employment may be explained, at least in part, in terms of their relatively low levels of education. National statistics suggest that uneducated women have more difficulties than their male counterparts in getting unskilled jobs.[3]

It follows from this situation that the majority of women in this sample had no independent income (see Table 3) and therefore were dependent on employed males or, in some cases employed females for financial provision.

Monthly Homestead Income

Not only did this study compare the cash incomes of individual respondents, but also of their respective homesteads (see Table 4). There were great variations in monthly homestead incomes, ranging from no cash income to above 700 Emalangeni (about 350 U.S. Dollars). It is not possible to compare the mean homestead cash income, 300.70 Emalangeni (approximately 150 U.S.

Dollars), with de Vletter's[4] figures on homestead income, since this research has only collected data on cash income, while de Vletter's findings are based on all sources of homestead income. It is also important to emphasis that the reported homestead income in this study is based on respondents' limited knowledge of homestead income, rather than actual homestead income. That is, the majority of interviewees did not know exactly how much their husbands or other members of the homestead actually earned.

Ownership of cash is one indication of wealth in modern society; another, though more traditional, is cattle ownership.

Cattle Ownership

In traditional Swazi society, cattle had many domestic and customary uses, including exchange for bridewealth. Even in present day Swaziland, cattle are still regarded as a better investment than money in the bank, especially in the current depressed economic situation characterised by high inflation and interest rates. Thus, national statistics show that 67 per cent of the total population own cattle.[5]

In the context of this study, the data show that the mean number of cattle for the sample compares very favourably with the national average of 10.06[6] (see Table 5). The women in this sample were not asked whether they owned cattle. However, a recent survey showed that 8.7 per cent of female sample respondents owned cattle.[7] On the whole the data provide evidence that the homesteads in the sample were relatively well endowed with cattle.

Having discussed the position and participation of women in education and wage employment, the rest of this chapter will examine their position in agricultural production.

Homestead Crop Production Pattern

In Swaziland, the usual pattern of farming on communal land, where Rural Development Areas have been established is to combine subsistence with cash cropping. This has been borne out by the findings of this study. This research also found that most of the agricultural crop production is for subsistence purposes.

In terms of the types of crops cultivated by homestead, for subsistence, the data indicate that almost every homestead grows maize, the staple food

of the country. Other crops, such as legumes, pumpkins, cabbage and spinach are also grown by some homesteads. These findings signify that the women constituting the sample came from homesteads where much labour and time was invested in food production. The data also suggest that there are attempts by homesteads to attain some measure of self-sufficiency in food crops.

Evidence from this study also show that certain food crops, particularly maize and vegetables, are also grown for sale. A discussion of cash cropping leads us to an examination of the relative access of women, compared with men, to the income realised by homesteads from the sale of crops.

Control of Income from Crop Sales

In this regard , respondents were asked to indicate which members of the homestead actually received the money from the sale of crops. The findings indicate that men were in control of homestead income, even though women provided most of the labour for the production of crops (see Table 6).

Men's control over income from cash crops may be explained in part, in terms of their control over the distribution of communal land in Swaziland. Only men may approach their chief for land and acquire

use of it. Even in exceptional cases, for instance that of a widow, a woman is still expected to request a male relative to approach a chief on her behalf for purpose of gaining access to land. The homestead head usually allots small pockets of land to women for cultivating food crops. If they produce a surplus, by accident or design, they may sell it and keep the money for themselves. In general, however, men maintain control over the larger family fields, make decisions about what to grow and over the distribution of income derived from the sale of crops grown. Women are therefore constrained by the land-holding system from improving their economic position through the sale of crops, despite their substantial labour inputs into agricultural production. It is for this reason that the W.I.D. programme, which initially also intended to train women in agricultural skills for income-generating purposes, decided to focus on handicrafts, block-making, welding and other artisan skills rather than risk confrontation with men over their sphere of income control.[8]

In summary, then, the respondents are members of homesteads that are similar to other Swazi homesteads in respect of cropping patterns and cattle ownership. The data collected suggest that their economic status is adversely affected by their general lack of equal access with men to both education and employment as well as agricultural land.

NOTES

1. UNESCO, Report of the Multidisciplinary Mission in Preparation for a Regional Programme for the Elimination of illiteracy, (1983), 24.

2. Swaziland Government, Report on the 1976 Swaziland Population Census, Vol. 1 (Mbabane: Central Statistical Office, (1979), 57.

3. Swaziland Government, Report on 1976 Census, (1979), 63.

4. Fion de Vletter, "A Socio-Economic Profile of Rural Swazi Homesteads: A Summary of Findings of the Swaziland Rural Homestead Survey," Fion de Vletter et. al. (eds.), The Swazi Rural Homestead, (Kwaluseni: Social Science Research Unit, University of Swaziland, 1983), 46.

5. Swaziland Government, Farmer's Census, (1985), Chart VIII.

6. Alice Armstrong, A Sample Survey of Women in Wage Employment in Swaziland, (Kwaluseni: Social Science Research Unit, University of Swaziland, 1985), 32.

7. Swaziland Government, Farmer's Census, (1985), 16.

8. Margo Russell, Primrose Dlamini and Funekile Simelane, A Survey of Women in the Women-in-Development Project, (Kwaluseni Social Science Research Unit, University of Swaziland, 1985), 21.

CHAPTER 4: WOMEN IN SWAZI SOCIETY

Introduction

Swaziland is a society in transition, between traditional and modern values and institutions, which implies that both men and women experience a great measure of uncertainty about the extent to which the social system, and gender relations within it, can be restructured without upsetting societal stability. Traditional institutions and customs still exist side by side with modern institutions and a legal system founded on Roman-Dutch law.

Contrary to popular misconception of outside observers of Swazi society, the Swazi do not live in villages. As Harriet Sibisi in Bell et. al. explains:

> The rural population in Swaziland is focal in distribution, in that homesteads are concentrated in certain named localities. But their propinquity does not imply any uniformity of organization, or the existence of a common social hierarchy.[1]

In other words, geographical localities in the country are not subdivided into villages controlled by chiefs and headmen. Instead, chiefdoms comprise a number of homesteads dotted about a particular region.[2]

Swazi family life centres around the homestead (umuti), which is occupied by the homestead head's wife/wives, his unmarried or married sons and their wives, his unmarried daughters and the children of his sons and daughters. This complex extended family system is becoming more simplified, as it comes under pressure from modernising influences in the society. The number of homesteads inhabited by three or four generations and co-wives is diminishing. Only approximately 16 per cent of the homesteads in the sample of this study, for example, conformed to the above complex extended family network.

Sexual differentiation is a major principle upon which Swazi patrilineal society has been traditionally organised. Parents' social expectations of their children depend upon their sex. Boys may one day become heads of homesteads upon the death of their fathers. Girls, on the other hand, will leave their father's homestead for that of their husband's family, when they get married. From an early age, boys become aware that they will one day be expected to wield authority in the homestead and in their communities, and their socialization revolves around training them to accept responsibility for this role. Girls learn how to become good wives and mothers by helping their mothers perform domestic and child-care tasks. The division of labour is therefore largely culturally prescribed, although biological differences between the sexes are taken into consideration.

Age is a factor which influences the sexual division of labour. Older women in Swazi society are accorded more respect than younger women, for example. The mother of the homestead head occupies high status in the homestead. She is the mediator between her son and his ancestors. In practice, this is exemplified by the special hut which is set aside for her, named the grandmother's hut, in which rituals and ceremonies to appease the ancestors are performed. She is also responsible for running the day to day affairs of the homestead and delegating duties to the young wives.[3]

The Traditional Sexual Division of Labour

Based on fieldwork conducted in Swaziland in the early 1930's, his experiences as a colonial government official and the sparse literature available at that time, Marwick gives an illuminating reconstruction of the traditional division of labour. He observed that "in the economic life there is a rigid differentiation between the sexes with little overlapping in the work performed by the sexes."[4] The men occupied themselves with cattle-keeping, hunting, conducting war and leather-work and women performed domestic activities, which included beer-brewing and making their own utensils. Both sexes also contributed to agricultural work and hut-building.

Men were responsible for chopping down trees and clearing the fields of rocks in preparation for planting, while the women engaged in hand-hoeing and cultivation. After the men had constructed the framework of the huts with wattle, the women would cover them with grass, set in the floors made with a mixture of stones and earth and finally smear them with cattle dung.[5] Such strict specialization in economic life based on sex rather than skill is typical of pre-capitalist societies, and ensures that every member performs his expected role efficiently.[6] The men's activities outlined above also reflect their relative freedom to leave the homestead, while the women's are an indication of how their movements are restricted by child-rearing responsibilities so that they perform routine domestic as well as the more routine agricultural tasks.

Historical Influences on the Sexual Division of Labour

Under the influence of colonial capitalist expansion the traditional sexual division of labour was altered, as was the case in other parts of Africa. It is therefore not possible to understand the present economic roles of Swazi men and women, and particularly the predominance of rural women in subsistence agriculture, without

referring to the impact of the above historical influence on their traditional work-roles.

The years 1888 to 1914 mark the period of land concessions to European hunters, prospectors and mainly Afrikaner farmers. Although 63% of Swazi ancestral land as alienated under the 1907 Partition Proclamation,[7] the mass removal of peasant farmers implied by this proclamation was not realised due to the implementation strategy adopted by the colonial authorities.[8] Motivated by a concern to placate Swazi outrage and resistance to land-alienation and a simultaneous desire to provide settler farmers with a captive labour force, evictions from newly-proclaimed settler land were deferred for five years and peasant farmers were persuaded to accept labour-tenancy agreement with the new landowners or move to Native areas.

Crush[9] gives a well-documented account of Swazi resistance to land-alienation and labour-tenancy up to the end of the dispensation period in 1914 and beyond. After 1914, some peasant farmers who still held out were evicted, while many others stayed on as labour tenants for a complex set of reasons. The chief of these isolated by Crush, are land shortages created in specific chiefdoms through partition, refusal to pay allegiance to other chiefs in areas where land was available and a desire to be released

from tribute obligations. Crush produces no evidence to support his claim that peasant farmers were eager to disassociate themselves from chiefs beyond the general opinion expressed in a colonial report and indeed it is doubtful whether this might have been possible because even today every Swazi is identified with a particular chiefdom and chief. Nevertheless, the other reasons given, as well as the conflict which characterized relationships between labour tenants and landlords illustrate that labour-tenancy was finally reluctantly accepted because it was perceived to be the best course of action for survival. Put more plainly in Crush's own words, "many homestead heads had very little option but to submit to tenancy relations."[10]

Land alienation, in concert with punitive taxation, created the necessary pre-conditions for the development of capital relations of production in Swaziland. By 1936, the total outflow of men from the rural areas to South Africa stood at 67 per cent of the male labour force, and a further 6,300 men were employed locally on white settler farms and on the newly opened asbestos mines.[11] Twenty-four years later, nearly half of all homesteads in the country relied on wages for 81 per cent of their income.

As a result of these developments, compounded by natural disasters such as the cattle epidemics of the 1890's, the previously self-sufficient system

of agricultural production was whittled down to the extent where, by the 1930's, "the foodstuffs grown by the natives..... {were} only about one-fifth of their requirements."[12] The organisation of male and female agricultural tasks, carried out in the pre-capitalist sector, also suffered permutation. Marwick observed that females were beginning to take over some of the agricultural roles traditionally performed by males. He writes:

> ... it is now not uncommon to see girls herding cattle because the men have been forced to leave their homes to find employment to earn money to pay taxes ...[13]

Further, with the diffusion of western technology to Swaziland, ox-drawn ploughs were slowly being substituted for hand-hoes. Following this technological innovation, the men, remaining in the rural areas, began to assume the major responsibility for ploughing and sowing, tasks previously carried out by women using hand-hoes.[14]

The males' assumption of tasks previously performed by females cannot be explained alone by Swazi custom prohibiting women from handling cattle. As can be deduced from Marwick's comments above, this taboo was no longer being strictly observed. For a further explanation, one should look to the agents of diffusion and their idea and attitudes which accompanied the diffusion process. The British, like

the rest of the European colonists, regarded farming as a male activity.[15] It is therefore not surprising that agricultural extension services in the country were directed at the indigenous males who had recently returned from battle in the First World War (where they had fought on the side of Britain in the African Corps) and been exposed to new ideas and modern technology. Such colonial practices and attitudes therefore promoted the concentration of advanced technology in the hands of males.

A few decades later, in the 1970's, the adoption of the plough had the opposite effect on women's agricultural workload. While the men were able to plough more fields and invest less time in land preparation, the women's work in the fields did not decrease. Today, women form the backbone of agricultural production, in the absence of their menfold from the rural areas, who are either internal or external migrants.

Not all women, however, remained behind in the rural areas. By 1921, already, 2.6 per cent of rural women had migrated to urban areas in Swaziland and South Africa to take up employment as domestic workers and unskilled labourers.[16] The author has not found any studies on labour migration in Swaziland which deals specifically with female migrants. The mainstream

of such studies provide valuable insights into migrant labour but deal with female migration only as incidental to male migration. It is nevertheless possible to refer to social and economic forces which may have influenced the outflow of females from rural areas.

Firstly, it was becoming increasingly difficult for peasant farmers to wrest a living from the land, as explained earlier in this chapter, and there was a growing need for cash to purchase food to supplement poor harvests and to satisfy new needs engendered by the permeation of capitalist influences through the pre-capitalist sector. Secondly, across the border, developments in the South African mining sector and social pressure favoured the employment of black women as domestic servants.[17]

The mines were hard-pressed to recruit black male workers in sufficient numbers for their expanding mining operations. Meanwhile, a large proportion of black male migrants were employed as domestic servants. White fear of the mythical, boundless sexual energy of black males (particularly those employed as "houseboys") and black leaders' objections to the employment of males in domestic service, which they regarded as emasculating, were also conducive to the substitution of black female for black male

domestic workers, after the 1930's. Black women, who had previously been debarred from entering urban areas, thus gained a foothold into the South African economy. Since the early twentieth century, Swazi women's economic role has developed considerably and in the following section their contribution to the country's economy will be discussed briefly.

Swazi Women's Economic Role

When considering women's economic contribution great care should be taken not to focus only on wage employment and ignore self-employed women and those in the rural areas making a substantial impact on family diets and household budgets through their efforts in subsistence agricultural production. Usually, because the cash value of the two latter forms of employment cannot be easily quantified, they are overlooked in national employment statistics. In recognition of the important economic value of all forms of employment in which Swazi women are engaged, discussion will focus on women in wage-employment, self-employed women and women in subsistence agricultural production.

Women in Wage Employment

In 1982, a total of 6,862 women (27 per cent of the total public sector labour force) were employed in the public sector and a further 12,509 (24 per cent of the total private sector labour force) were employed in the private sector.[18] The male-female ratio in the entire workforce, in 1982, was 3.1 in favour of males.[19] An analysis of types of jobs done by women in wage employment reveals the practice of assigning specific jobs to men and women and channelling women into specific occupations. Female workers are underrepresented in the better paid managerial and administrative jobs category, where men hold sway. In this category (in the formal sector), for instance, (see Table A*) men constitute 2.1 per cent of the workforce in the private sector and women a mere 0.5 per cent.[20] In this same sector, men outnumber women by far in the semi-skilled and unskilled job categories. There are 12.5 per cent men to 1.3 per cent women in the former and 45 per cent men to 12.7 per cent women in the latter category.

* Tables referred to on this page are in Appendix I.

This is probably because jobs falling into these categories require some measure of physical strength, which women are perceived to be lacking in, or because it is difficult for uneducated women to compete with uneducated men for unskilled jobs. The country's 1976 census data supports the latter supposition[21] (see Table B).

Although women represent only 24 per cent of the workforce in the private sector, they occury 54 per cent of clerical jobs and 42 per cent of jobs in the professional and technical category.[22] At first glance, the proportion of women in professional and technical jobs looks impressive. However, a closer look at the distribution of jobs in this category shows that very few women are employed as technicians, engineers and scientists, jobs which would put them in the forefront of technological innovation in Swazi society, and hence also economic development since technological innovation is a major component of development. Instead, they are concentrated in the service occupations.

This pattern of employment supports the general trend of female employment in the rest of the world, namely, the employment of women in jobs which require them to perform a mothering or supportive role, in line with society's predominant perception of women's

appropriate roles as being those of mothers and wives first, with all other roles and interests subordinated to these nurturing and domestic roles. House, writing in general about developed countries, refers to the concentration of women in the above stereotypical female occupations.[23] The International Labour Office report on the status of female employees in the world also comments at length on the overrepresentation of women in professional and technical job categories, mainly in the educational and health sectors, and their gross underrepresentation in administrative, managerial, artisan and unskilled jobs.[24]

Bengelsdorf informs us that in spite of the socialist transformation Cuba has experienced, there has been only very limited changes in traditional attitudes to female employment and that the majority of Cuban women still do jobs which can be seen as an extension of their domestic role.[25] The consequences of sex-stereotyping in the job market, which the International Labour Office report refers to are recruitment based on sex rather than merit and the devaluing of women's work, thus providing justification for paying women less than men for doing the same jobs.[26] Low wages for women are also

explained in terms of the generally held assumption that women are supported by men. Up to 1972, Swazi women in the public sector were only legally entitled to earn 5/6 of men's salaries for doing the same job. Such unfair wage practices were only abolished in 1980 with the promulgation of the Employment Act.[27]

Self-Employed Women

Judging by the uncompetitive incomes of most Swazi women engaged in the informal sector (less than 50.00 Emalangeni per month according to Tabibian),[28] compared to wage employment as unskilled workers, one would not expect self-employment to be an alternative enthusiastically embarked on by them. Yet, official statistics show that the participation rate of women in self-employment is only slightly lower than that for women in wage employment.

The 1976 Swaziland population census data on employment reveal that 10.7 per cent of women were self-employed, compared to 12.5 per cent in full-time wage employment and 4.9 per cent in irregular employment

(seasonal workers, etc).[29] But, the subsequent findings of other researchers cast doubt on these low figures for self employment.

In the year following the 1976 census, Andrehe et al. found that 60 per cent of the respondents in her sample of women in Northern Swaziland were engaged in handicraft production, selling cooked food and so on.[30] Later, Russell et. al. reported that the majority (52 per cent) of women in their small random sample in Central Swaziland were earning incomes from self-employment.[31] Armstrong also found that 30 per cent of the 400 women female wage earners in her samp (from Mbabane and Manzini, the largest urban centres in the country) were combining wage labour with handicraft production, beer-brewing and selling clothes and cooked food.[32]

However, Armstrong et. al.[33] and Tabibian[34] caution that to assess the impact of self-employment by the extent of their earnings alone would be an oversight. They argue that the real significance of income earned through informal activities lies in the control that women gain over their earnings. Indeed, Armostrong found that 85 per cent of women in wage employment decide how to spend their own earnings.[35] The full impact of this point may be better understood if it is borne in mind that many Swazi women (as has been revealed in Chapter 2) do not know what their

husband's earnings are, and often receive very small cash sums from their husbands, who quite often remit on an irregular basis, so that they have very little control over homestead earnings and expenditure. Although the majority of women are free to spend their earnings as they wish, the findings of a small sample of women in wage employment in Central Swaziland suggest that they do so very responsibly, with due regard to the needs of their children.[36]

Women in Subsistence Agriculture

Boserup very succinctly refers to Africa as "... the region of female farming par excellence."[37] Swaziland is certainly no exception to this general African pattern of female farming, as revealed by studies undertaken on the sexual allocation of agricultural tasks by Low,[38] Andrehe et. al.,[39] de Vletter[40] and Nxumalo.[41]

Low, in this study of the Southern Rural Development Area in Swaziland, found that adult females as a group (16-60 years) account for 51 per cent of the workload involved in crop production and that their share of post-crop planting activities increases to 57 per cent. de Vletter found, in his national survey, that women shoulder the major responsibility for the bulk of

agricultural tasks, in addition to their domestic tasks. Nxumalo's national survey revealed that in addition to crop production activities and food preparation and storage, women make the greatest contribution to looking after sheep, goats and cattle, compared to their husbands and children.

In their survey of the Northern Rural Development Area, Andrehe et. al. found that daughters, daughters-in-law, mothers, husbands and sons are only marginally involved in farm labour, with the wife of the homestead head carrying the heaviest workload. However, this finding may be questionable since, according to Swazi custom, the wife of the homestead head delegates duties to her daughters and daughters-in-law, so that though she may have the major responsibility for allocation, it does not mean that she executes the bulk of the work herself. Although this pattern of work distribution appears to make for heavier demands on the time of younger females than older ones, the fact that younger women can expect older women to take care of their babies for them in Swaziland does help to offset their heavier burden.

One of the main explanations for women's entrenchment in subsistence agriculture lies in the outflow of males from Swaziland's rural areas. Already in the early years of migration in Swaziland, Marwick noticed that women were

taking over men's jobs in rural areas.[42] But today, with 31.6 per cent of the Swaziland adult rural population being absent from their homes, 72 per cent of adult females, not in wage employment, living on the homestead and 42 per cent of males, not in wage employment, living at home, this trend has become intensified.

According to the traditional sexual division of labour, Swazi women were not generally expected to wield authority and to take part in community decision-making. However, the queen mother or queen regent wielded great power and influence in traditional decision-making bodies. Since independence in 1968, women's sphere of influence has increased gradually. Any examination of Swazi women's role in society which overlooks their participation in politics would therefore be incomplete. This then leads us onto a brief discussion of Swazi women in politics.

Women in Politics

There is still much respect for tradition in the country, and following independence traditional rule has been maintained alongside a western form of government.

The Swazi monarchy is characterised by a dual-sex system of power-sharing, with the king, a descendant of the ruling Dlamini clan, and his mother presiding over

the nation. Although there is meant to be a delicate balance of power between mother and son, the king actually exercises overt power.[43]

While the queen mother's high status and the great respect accorded to the mother of married sons in the homestead can be regarded as examples of the high esteem in which women are held in Swazi society, it is also important to note that except for the queen mother, all women were excluded from the traditional decision-making bodies of the nation. These are the Liqoqo (Inner Council) of which the senior princes and other members of the nation were members, and the Libandla (General Council), comprisin all the chiefs, prominent headmen and any other interested adult males.[44]

Swazi parliament has a lower and an upper house. The former is the House of Assembly and the latter the Senate. The House of Assembly comprises forty elected members and ten appointed members. Senate is made up of ten members elected by the House of Assembly and ten appointed by the King.

For sixteen years following independence in 1968, there was only one female voice in parliament, Senator Mary Mdziniso. This trail-blazing female politician has now been joined by three sister politicians in Senate, and there is also a further female member of the House of

Assembly. Although there are no female cabinet ministers in the country, in exceptional cases women have been appointed to prestigeous political posts, such as for example in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs where there is a female legal advisor and an assistant secretary.[45]

Summary of Discussion

As has been argued in this Chapter, in general Swazi women's sphere of influence was confined to the homestead traditionally, while men's sphere of influence ranged beyond the homestead to community and national decision-making bodies. With the advent of colonialism, men were more easily drawn into the developing capitalist economy, while women's role in subsistence agriculture became reinforced. Since independence, the role of Swazi women has changed and developed. A number of them are now wage-earners in the formal sector, an even greater number earn cash in the informal sector and a few have penetrated the male-dominated sphere of politics. It must be added though that in spite of the progress mentioned, their potential still remains largely untapped.

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CHAPTER 5 : RURAL WOMEN'S ROLES AND TIME-BUDGETS

Three crucial points have been raised in the theoretical debate on women's role in the community, in Chapter 1, which will be restated here. Firstly, it has been argued that the gender division of labour in the home places excessive demands on women's time. Secondly, it has been hypothesised that this exacting pattern of task allocation to females has led to a curtailment of women's involvement in activities outside the home. Thirdly, some writers have argued that the use of labour-saving aids might help to decrease the time women spend on their domestic activities and that, as a secondary effect, their rate of participation in rural development projects might increase.

These theoretical perspectives emphasize that women's participation in rural development projects should be assessed in relation to their work load, which, in turn, is influenced by the degree of assistance they obtain from males and by labour saving devices. It is within these theoretical contexts that the field data collected for this study are analysed in this chapter. The chapter is organised around the following broad headings:

(a) The gender division of labour and women's workload relative to men's;

(b) Women's time-budgets and the effect of labour-saving devices on time-budgets; and

(c) Other factors influencing women's participation in rural development projects.

The Gender Division of Labour

In order to investigate general trends in the division of labour between the sexes within different homesteads, respondents were asked to indicate rates of participation of each member of their respective homesteads in the following different broadly categoris activities:

(a) Domestic work, which included cleaning the kitchen/s and the house/s, washing clothes, ironing, gathering fuel, collecting water and shopping,

(b) Food preparation and processing, which refers to cooking food and grinding maize,

(c) Child-care,

(d) Agricultural work, under which planting, weeding, harvesting and ploughing have been categorised

(e) Livestock management, which includes herding cows and sheep and milking cows and

(f) Building and maintenance work which includes building and repairs, smearing walls and floors and fencing.

According to Table 7*, females predominated in all domestic activities. Respondents indicated that they were mainly responsible for carrying out domestic tasks. The rate of male participation in these tasks ranged from zero per cent to 8.1 per cent, with husband's-brothers'-rate of participation being the lowest and sons' the highest.

It is also of interest to note that the highest percentage male participation for domestic tasks was recorded for gathering fuel and fetching water. Comments made by respondents may help to explain this observation. A few women in the sample indicated that their husbands bought coal or wood. Further, a small number of respondents reported that because forests were receding, it was no longer possible for them to collect firewood, and for this reason, their husbands had to drive to the woods to

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* All Tables referred to in this chapter are in Appendix II.

to chop down trees themselves. Hence it appears that high rates of male participation in collecting wood, was associated with their control over money and transport. With regard to collecting water, a large proportion of homesteads have replaced buckets with plastic containers with screw caps which can be carried on wheelbarrows and carts without spillage. A number of homesteads also have taps nearby. The availability of more sophisticated domestic aids has meant that men can now also collect water because it is no longer necessary to carry water on the head over long distances, behaviour which could be atypical for Swazi males. Shopping for food, clothes, and furniture is one of the most widely distributed domestic tasks, but respondents again showed the highest rate of participation in this activity.

Inspection of the data reveals that food preparation and food processing is also largely a female task, and that while all females on the homestead were principally involved in maize-grinding, with respondents predominating, all homestead members, except brothers-in-law of respondents, participated.

The high rate of male participation in this traditionally female task, i.e. maize-grinding is probably a function of the advanced motor-powered technology used in most cases for this activity. Previously, maize-grinding, using simple technologies

such as stones and hand-mills, used to be tedious, routine and time-consuming, and was largely women's work. However, in present day rural Swaziland maize is simply taken to motor-powered mills to be ground into flour in large quantities.

Child-minding is largely a female responsibility, in particular, that of respondents themselves. Usually in rural Swazi society, child-care functions are presumed to be performed by the elderly mother of the homestead head who remains at home while mothers of small children are at work in the fields on or off the homestead (Chapter 1), but this finding contradicts such childcare practices. This issue will be discussed further later in this chapter.

Concerning agricultural production activities, the data show that, in the main, the female members of homesteads in this study predominated in all aspects of agricultural work. Husbands' contribution to planting and harvesting and sons' participation in weeding were greater than that of all other male kin who assisted in agricultural work. Hired labour was used chiefly for ploughing and looking after cows and sheep. In ploughing hired labour accounted for more than double the ploughing work done by husbands. Respondents also had a higher participation rate in ploughing than husbands. These findings reveal the extent to which hired services are being substituted

for male labour and are illustrative of the manner in which the cash economy is altering social relations in rural Swaziland. Males' greater access to wage employment and other sources of cash makes it easier for them to purchase substitute labour power for traditionally male tasks, whereas the participation rate of hired labour in customarily female tasks is considerably lower. Where no substitute labour has been purchased in lieu of male labour, females in many cases have added male tasks to their already extensive workload (planting and ploughing for instance) out of sheer necessity to grow food to provide for their families. This supports de Vletter's[1] finding that planting, weeding and ploughing were chiefly female activities and Nxumalo's conclusion that the rural women in her national survey "... had the main responsibility for almost all tasks.... in the fields..."[2].

Males predominated in livestock-management, a traditionally male activity. Sons performed most of the tasks in this work category. Consequently, the rate of female participation, except for respondents, was relatively low. Thus, four decades after Marwick made reference to young girls assuming men's work of cattle-herding, due to migrant labour,[3] the data for this study do not demonstrate any

significant contribution by young females to this activity.

With respect to building and maintenance, the data revealed that males performed the bulk of the work involved, but that females did most of the work involved in smearing walls and floors, a customarily female job.

When the influence of disparate numbers in the different kin categories was taken into consideration, only minor adjustments to the earlier representation of respondents as the major source of labour for all domestic and agricultural activities and for smearing walls and floors were necessitated, as shown in Table 8. This approach indicated that greater proportions of daughters and daughters-in-law than respondents themselves were involved in fetching water. Greater proportions of grandsons, daughters, and daughters-in-law than any other homestead members participated in maize-grinding, daughters-in-law contributed the greatest amount of labour to childcare and harvesting activities and that the percentage of husbands who ploughed was only marginally higher than that of respondents. Though child-minding was found to be the typical task performed by husband's mother, compared to co-wives, daughters and respondents, she played a minor part in carrying out this task. This raises

questions about the widely reported traditional role of the Swazi grandmother as the babyminder. Although the distribution of respondents is skewed towards women who are not in employment, and may for this reason have affected the allocation of childcare duties on the homesteads studied, this very possibility gives force to the need for further study to elucidate the circumstances in which the support system of the kin network is still relied on to fulfil childcare functions.

One may conclude that the greater share of ploughing done by respondents may be a function of the greater number of females in this category than husbands on the homesteads included in this study. The sheer weight of numbers has not also, however, inflated the extent of females' multifarious domestic and other agricultural tasks. A comparison of the proportional distribution of males and females participating in these tasks, confirmed that a higher percentage of the latter were performing them.

This research has revealed some changes in the traditional division of labour. The most significant of these have been in relation to maize-grinding, water-collection and gathering fuel in *all of which the rates of male participation reported*

were higher than expected. Respondents' perceptions of changes in the allocation of tasks by gender and their explanations for changes identified were investigated.

Respondents' Perceptions on Changes in Division of Labour

In this regard, the data indicate that more than half (51.2 per cent) of women in the sample were aware of modifications to the gender division of labour (see Table 9). The specific changes observed by most of them, namely women having to cope alone, particularly with regard to agricultural production, (see Table 10) concurs with the earlier finding that women had the highest percentage participation in agricultural work. Other important changes that respondents mentioned were the employment of male labour for ploughing the pressing need for women to have their own income and that men are not diligent cultivators. The assistance women obtained from paid male workers in ploughing helped to lessen their agricultural work load, since those (women) with absent husbands or sons would otherwise have had to perform this tasks themselves with handhoes or, in some cases by using oxen. Women's employment in income-generating activities usually

meant that they had assumed additional responsibilities, thereby compounding their work load. The main causes of these changes referred to were male migrant labour, the struggle to secure a living above sustenance level and the lack of oxen (see Table 11).

Women's Time-Budgets

In order to investigate how women in this study allocated their time daily and the amount of free time they have available, which may be reallocated to participation in women's rural development program they were asked to indicate their bedtimes and waking up times, and also to give accounts of all the activities they had performed the previous day together with the approximate length of time it took them to complete each activity. The time budgets of participants and non-participants were also compared. The rationale for confining the account of activities to the previous day was to ensure that memory distortions were not too great. Since the use of labour-saving devises influences the time invested in daily tasks, this aspect of women's work was also investigated here.

The Length of Women's Day

The majority of women in the sample (60 per cent) indicated that they woke up between 0300 and 0500 hours. But the time range for waking up was very wide i.e. five hours (see Table 12). In terms of bed-time, the majority of respondents (56.2 per cent) usually retired to bed between 1800 and 2000 hours. Thus, the time range for bed-times was equally wide (see Table 13).

On the whole, as shown in Table 14, respondents had very long days with a mean length of 15.3 hours. In general, the length of women's days may vary, depending on the particular day of the week and time of the year considered. For example, on Sundays women tend to wake up slightly later and during the planting season, their day may start earlier. This field study was conducted in January which falls within the busiest period - i.e. October to May - in terms of agricultural activity in Swaziland. For this reason, it is likely that the women's hours have been stretched.

Women's Actual Daily Activities

According to Table 15, domestic tasks, such as cooking and cleaning, were the most frequently reported

activities, an indication of their nature. It is remarkable that so few respondents performed other apparently routine and time-consuming tasks such as fetching water, grinding maize and gathering fuel. But, foregoing and ensuing discussions in this chapter indicate that this observation reflects both the infrequency with which some of the tasks were carried out and the degree of assistance obtained mainly from female kin on the homestead.

Agricultural activities, surprisingly for the month of January, were mentioned in comparatively few cases (6.9 per cent). One possible reason is that planting took place earlier this year than usual, so that by this time not much weeding and further tending of crops was required. Certainly, while travelling through the two field areas it was observed that the maize was already quite high and some women even reported that they were about to harvest their maize.

Child-minding also received very few responses (2.1 per cent). One explanation for this is that most women carry their babies on their backs and so combine childcare with other activities. Therefore, the tendency was for them (i.e. women) to remember time spent on these other activities than on childcare activities which were said to be performed all day.

In other words, childcare tended to have no specific time allocations.

Women's Free Time

According to the definition of free time used in this study, it is the balance of time available to women, after the deduction of time spent on activitie (domestic, agricultural, income-generating and religious from the length of their day, i.e. from waking up time to bed-time.

Religious activities were not classified as leisure-time pursuits, because religion occupies a very special place in the Swazi way of life and is inseparable from 'custom and 'tradition.[4] For this reason, a decision to participate in religious functions is not of the same order as that of visiting a friend. A social visit would be regarded as an option to be pursued in free time, but in contrast, religious activities would be considered obligatory and would need to be accommodated in women's time-budgets.

Although rural development programmes only operate between 0800 and 1700 hours, it was thought that women's free time for their full day should be taken into consideration. This is in recognition of the fact that in general, a woman's day does not

correspond to office hours, and that it is possible for her to reallocate many of her tasks to different times of the day. The important question in this regard was not whether women in the study had free time between 0800 and 1700 hours, but whether they had free time at all, and if so, how likely they were to use some of that free time to participate in rural development programmes.

As an initial step towards calculating respondents' free time, the total amount of time each women spent on her daily activities was computed. The data show that the majority of respondents (53.5 per cent) spent between 3 (or fewer) hours and 7 hours on their activities (see Table 16). This included both participants (who constituted 51.4 per cent) and non-participants (who constituted 55.5 per cent). A comparison of the mean times participants (6.8 hours) and non-participants (6.1 hours) invested in daily activities showed that participants on average spent more time on these than non-participants did. A t-test was done to find out whether this difference in time was in fact significant. The hypotheses tested were:

$$H_o : \mu_1 = \mu_2 = 0$$

$$H_1 : \mu_1 - \mu_2 \neq 0$$

T was not found to be significant at the .05 level for 69 degrees of freedom. The null hypothesis was therefore accepted and it was concluded that there was no significant difference in time spent on activities between the two groups.

When the total amount of time each woman in the sample had spent on her daily occupations was deducted from the usual length of her day, a figure representing her free time was recorded. The distribution of free time for the total sample, which varied from 3 (or fewer) hours to 11 (or more) hours is reflected in Table 17.

It is of interest to note, as the above-mentioned table reveals, that the mean amount of free time (8.2 hours) available to women in the sample was only slightly more than half of the length of their average day (which was found to be 15.3 hours). Three possible explanations for this finding may be stated here. Firstly, the time allocated to child-care functions has not been taken into consideration and this may have inflated free time. Secondly, there might also have been some memory distortions on the part of respondents in recalling activities of the previous day. Thirdly, it may be that in general Swazi rural women have more free time than has often been assumed to be the case.

Inspection of the data showed that there was very little difference between free time available to participants, (9.6 hours), and non-participants, (8.4 hours), on average. Nevertheless, a t-test was done to determine the significance of the difference between the means. The following hypotheses were subjected to a t-test:

Women's participation in rural development programmes varies with the amount of free time they have;

(a) The more free time they have, the more likely they will be to participate in rural development programmes.

(b) The less free time they have, the less likely they will be to participate in rural development programmes.

The null hypothesis and the alternative hypothesis can therefore be stated as follows:

$$H_o : \mu_1 = \mu_2$$

$$H_1 : \mu_1 > \mu_2$$

The difference between the means was not found to be significant at the .05 level of significance for 69 degrees of freedom. The null hypothesis was therefore accepted, meaning that no statistical relationship between free time and participation or non-participation was established.

This therefore implies that free time was not a variable influencing participation or non-participation among respondents in this sample i.e. the data do not show that non-participants had greater time constraints than participants. This raises the question as to what really determined participation or non-participation among the women in this study. Other factors will be examined later in the chapter.

Opportunities for Resting and Sleeping During the Day

In an attempt to corroborate the above findings on free time, respondents were asked whether they had time to rest or sleep during the day. On the whole, respondents in the total sample had not had time to rest or sleep. But, the proportion of non-participants (60.5 per cent) who reported that they had the opportunity to do so was nearly double that for participants (33.3 per cent) (see Table 18). A Chi Square test showed that the big difference in responses of the two sub-groups of women was statistically significant at the .05 level for 1 degree of freedom. Therefore, the null hypothesis was rejected. This suggested that non-participants actually had more opportunities for resting and sleeping than participants.

This conclusion contradicts the finding stated earlier, that there is no significant difference in the average free time available to participants and non-participants, which led to the acceptance of the null hypothesis. This apparent contradiction might arise out of the fact that respondents' definition of free time differed from that of the researcher stated above. Evidence to support this explanation was gathered from a close examination of the data, which revealed that 8 out of the 28 participants and 3 out of the 15 non-participants who gave negative responses indicated that they had actually spent time visiting. In other words, respondents did not equate "visiting time" with "free time."

The Impact of Labour-Saving Devices on Women's Workload

Each of the two field areas in this study has a Village Technology Unit, attached to the Women-in-Development project centre, which promotes appropriate technology and manufactures and sells labour-saving devices. Respondents were asked if they were aware of the existence of such a unit, and what their attitudes towards labour-saving aids produced by the unit were.

Respondents' Awareness and Attitude Towards Appropriate Labour-Saving Devices

The women in the study were asked whether they had been to the village technology units in their areas. In this respect, their responses indicated widespread ignorance of the existence of technology units (see Table 19). But, of the few who were familiar with it, a substantial majority (79.3 per cent) had found that some of the devices might be usefully employed in their homes; the cement water storage jar being the most popular device (see Table 20).

The fact that the majority of the women in the sample had not visited the village technology units in their areas, and in many cases were not even aware of their existence, raises questions about the appropriateness of the units to the needs of rural communities and the manner in which they are being run. Since the projects relating to technology units were intended to be a vital support service to the W.I.D. programme (see Chapter 1), one might have anticipated a vigorous campaign, by the project organisers, to introduce potential participants in the W.I.D. programmes to the technology units.

With regard to the suitability of the project, it is interesting to note that while the Village Technology Unit places emphasis on promoting appropriate labour-saving technology, the introduction of more

advanced technology into the rural areas in Swaziland preceded its establishment in 1978. For instance, while mud-brick ovens and stoves are, ironically, being promoted by the technology unit, respondents generally used coal stoves for cooking; in fact, one had an electric stove. The women in the sample had also abandoned their hand-maize mills in favour of more sophisticated motor-powered mills. Thus, although many of the homesteads visited had hand mills still mounted on stumps, these did not seem to be as useful to the homesteads as motor-powered maize-grinders were.

A main consideration in examining the impact of technological innovation on domestic work was to assess whether respondents using the above-mentioned sophisticated devices saved more time, energy and labour carrying out their domestic tasks and whether this increased their leisure time, compared to others who lacked access to these devices.

Comparative Time-Saving of Different Household Aids

In the context of this study, a labour saving device refers to a domestic aid which has the advantage of saving the user more time, energy and labour than other or alternative devices that may be used for executing the same task. Standpipes or taps, motor-powered mills

and coal-stoves are therefore defined as such. This is because standpipes or taps, for example, reduce the time and physical exhaustion involved in trudging up and down hills, over fairly long distances with water containers, while motor-powered mills also have an advantage of grinding more maize at any one time and in less time than hand-powered mills.

In comparing the time-saving of the devices selected for the study, the aim was to assess whether there was a relationship between access to labour-saving devices and the amount of time women saved in carrying out their domestic tasks.

Time-Saving Aids for Water Collection

The homesteads studied collected their water from various sources - wells, rivers and standpipes. A few also collected rain water in cement water storage jars. Where water sources were very close by, there was a tendency among some respondents to collect water several times per day, so that it was difficult for them to give accurate accounts of how much time they spent daily on this task. For this reason, ten interviewees affected have been excluded from Table 21. However, it becomes difficult in the context of this limited study to say whether or not those respondents whose sources of water

were close by saved time. One way of determining this would perhaps be through use of the observation field technique. Most homesteads collected water twice a day, and there were even some who did so only once per day. The proximity of water sources to these homesteads enabled them to collect more water at any one time and thus to eliminate the necessity for several trips.

An examination of the relationship between water collection times and water sources suggest that respondents who had access to standpipes spent the least amount of time on water collection activities, whereas those collecting water from rivers spend the most time on this task.

An Analysis of Variance was done to test whether the difference among the sample means was significant. The hypotheses that were formulated for testing were statistically expressed as:

$H_o : \mu_1 = \mu_3 = \mu_4$

H_1 : The means are not all equal

An F of 3.7 was found to be significant at the .05 level for 3 and 66 degrees of freedom (see Table 22). Therefore the null hypothesis was rejected and the alternative hypothesis was accepted, meaning that a relationship between water source and time spent on water-collection was established. Respondents who

used standpipes thus saved more time on water-collection than the rest, which supports the hypothesis that there is an association between access to labour-saving devices and time spent performing domestic tasks.

Maize-Grinding Devices

As indicated in Table 23, motor-powered mill users, with a mean of 132.7 (2.2 hours), had the lowest maize-grinding time of all respondents. Compared with hand-mills, they reduced the mean maize-grinding time by $\frac{2}{3}$ and by $\frac{4}{5}$ when set against stone-grinding.

These motor-powered mills were usually owned and operated by local shopkeepers, but in some cases, diesel-powered mills were operated off a tractor. The men, women and children would then take their maize to be ground and wait for it. Because more maize could be ground in a shorter time by this method, many homesteads ground their maize weekly rather than daily, as was the practice of hand-mill users.

An Analysis of Variance was carried out and F was found to be 12.8. This value was found to be highly significant at the .001 level for 2 and 69 degrees of freedom (see Table 24). Hence, the null hypothesis was rejected, and it was concluded that the difference among the sample means was significant. This result also indicates that motor-powered mills

proved to be more time-saving than other maize-grinding devices, which also supports the hypothesis stated in the previous sub-section.

Cooking Sources

The data presented in Table 25 show that respondents using open cooking fires recorded the lowest mean cooking time, i.e. 158.9 minutes (2.6 hours) per day.

An Analysis of Variance was done to test whether the means were equal or not. The null hypothesis that was formulated for testing is the same as that referre on page 96. An F of 1.7 was not found to be significan at the .05 level for 3 and 72 degrees of freedom (see Table 26). The null hypothesis was therefore accepted, thus confirming that the different sample means were all equal. No cooking source, therefore, had any time-saving advantage over the other. Since no relaionship between cooking source and time spent on cooking was established, the hypothesis referred to above was rejected.

As coal stoves constituted a technological advance compared with open fires, the finding that they were less time-saving than the latter was rather surprising. However, two reasons for this unexpected finding may be suggested here. The data show that coal stove users still used firewood as a source of fuel, which

meant that time was still spent chopping wood into smaller pieces before the stove was used. Also, it was noticed during the field research that respondents failed to organise their cooking so that all the food was cooked while the stove was still hot. In other words, the heat retention quality of coal stoves was not fully utilised by the respondents.

The foregoing discussion has shown that on the whole, access to technological innovations helped women to save time in performing their domestic duties, thus enabling them to have more free time. However, an increase in free time, in the context of this study, did not also necessarily lead to an increase in women's participation in rural development programmes, as has been assumed in much of the literature on the subject. Therefore, this necessitates examination of other factors which may influence changes in participation rates. These variables have already been discussed in previous Chapters and with reference to characteristics of the total sample, the discussion here will therefore focus on a comparative analysis of participants and non-participants in terms of age, monthly homestead income, cattle ownership, educational level and fertility. T-tests were carried out to assess whether there was any significant difference between participants and non-participants on the first four variables (age, number of children,

monthly homestead income and number of cattle), while Chi Square was used to determine whether there was a relationship between educational achievement and participation.

Age

In this respect, the data reveal that there is only a slight difference between the mean ages of participants and non-participants. The majority of participants (59.5 per cent), and of non-participants (55.6 per cent) were between 20 and 39 years old, (see Table 27). T was calculated to be -.31 and was not found to be significant at the .05 level for 76 degrees of freedom. The null hypothesis was accepted; thus there was no significant difference between the mean ages of participants and non-participants. This implies that no statistical relationship between age and participation or non-participation was established.

Number of Children

As is shown in Table 28, the majority of participant (64.3 per cent) and of non-participants (68.4 per cent) had between one and six children. There was only a slight difference in the mean numbers of children of participants (3.8) and non-participants (4.0). A t-test was done to test whether this difference was statistical significant. T observed was calculated to be -.29, and

was not found to be significant at the .05 level for 78 degrees of freedom. This suggests that the number of children a woman had was not a factor influencing women's participation in rural development programmes.

The effect of the number of children a woman has on her participation in rural development programmes depends to a large extent also on the ages of these children. Children of preschool age need more attention and nurturing than older siblings and for this reason demand more of a mother's time. But, time invested in child-minding can be reduced considerably if mothers avail themselves of preschool facilities.

Taking this into consideration, data were collecte to find out whether or not respondents made use of preschool facilities. They also were asked to explain their reasons.

The data presented in Table 29 indicate that preschools tended to be used more by participants than non-participants. However, the data also show that respondents who sent their children to preschool regarded this more as a preliminary step towards formal education, rather than a facility for releasing them (i.e. mothers) from child-minding responsibilities (see Table 30). This confirms findings of an earlier study relating to a national survey of preschool

teachers and the mothers of pupils attending pre-school in which it was found that both teachers and parents shared the same goal as regards preschool education.[5] Moreover, the highest percentage of women in the total sample for this study who gave negative responses (37.0 per cent) indicated that they did not make use of preschool services because they did not have any children of preschool age. The majority of participants (64.0 per cent) also had no children of this specific age, (see Table 31).

Monthly Homestead Income

For both participants and non-participants, the largest group of respondents reported monthly homestead incomes of between 100 and 300 Emalangeni (about 50 and 150 U.S. Dollars); the percentages being 42.1 per cent for participants and 33.3 per cent for non-participants. Participants had a mean monthly homestead income of 330.3 (about 165 U.S Dollars) and non-participants' average monthly homestead income was 251.4 Emalangeni (approximately 125 U.S. Dollars). For both groups, there was great diversity in income reported, ranging from no income to above 700 Emalangeni (approximately 350 U.S. Dollars), as reflected in Table 32.

Educational Attainment

The percentage of non-participants who had not received any education was more than double that for participants. While only 31 per cent of participants constituted the 'no education category', 68.7 per cent of non-participants were in this group. For both participants and non-participants, the greatest proportion of respondents, exactly 50 per cent in both cases, constituted the 'primary education' category (see Table 34). Chi Square was calculated to determine whether there was any relationship between group status and level of education. A Chi Square of 8.1 was not significant at the .01 level for 3 degrees of freedom. This led to acceptance of the null hypothesis and, therefore, there was no relationship between educational attainment and participation or non-participation.

Discussion of Research Findings

This section examines findings of this study in wider Swazi context, and focusses on some of the important issues raised as regards the following aspects:

(a) *Patterns of division of labour within* the Swazi homestead;

(b) Women's time commitments;

(c) The application of labour-saving technology to women's work; and

(d) Socio-demographic factors influencing women's involvement in rural development programmes.

These aspects are discussed in turn.

Patterns of Division of Labour Within the Homestead

The prevailing pattern of the gender division of labour in this study, in which female members of the homestead did a greater amount of domestic and agricultural work than males, has also been reported by previous researchers who have examined the division of labour in Swazi rural areas.[6] The comparative agricultural labour input of males and females, and particularly the question of how the greater amount of agricultural work performed by females compared with males should be interpreted, is an area in need of further research. Data collected in different parts of the country, throughout the agricultural cycle and measuring the time

allocations of males and females to agricultural tasks, are likely to provide more accurate information on whether individual females actually contribute more labour than males to agricultural work or whether it is merely their numerical superiority that accounts for this finding.

Low's[7] farm management surveys conducted in the north and south of the country are the only sources of information in this area. On the basis of his highly aggregated statistics, collected in southern Swaziland, Armstrong et. al.[8] conclude that the amount of agricultural work done by individual males is comparable to that done by females.

When the number of male and female kin to tasks was expressed as a percentage of their number on the homesteads studied, thereby taking into consideration differences in numbers of males and females, it was found that, except for ploughing, greater proportions of females than males were engaged in agricultural tasks. Although this finding cannot be compared directly with Armstrong et. al.'s[9] conclusion, since no data was gathered on males' time budgets, it does nevertheless provide suggestive evidence that the greater

participation rates of females in agriculture may not merely be a reflection of female preponderance over males.

It has been found that the traditional gender division of labour has continued to be eroded in that females in this study were participating in many traditionally 'male' tasks, while males were participating in traditionally 'female' tasks. Although women's rates of involvement in 'male' agricultural tasks were much higher than their husbands' participation in traditionally female tasks, there was no evidence of a general pattern of individual females taking over a disproportionate load of 'male' tasks, as de Vletter and Nxumalo's work suggest.[10] One must also not lose sight of the fact that although females as a group contributed more hours to agricultural labour than males, the role of hired labour in some of these tasks is on the increase in rural Swaziland.

Since labour is generally hired for traditionally male tasks, this to some degree helps to compensate for the shortfall of male labour among the homesteads concerned. Migrant husbands and sons who cannot return home regularly send money as a substitute for their own work contribution. The major proportion of responses showed that ploughing was performed by

hired labour and that, increasingly, use was also made of paid labour for looking after livestock.

Women's Time Commitments

The data suggest that there was no lack of free time for respondents in this sample. The large amount of free time available to respondents should be interpreted against the background of their relatively limited time allocations to two of the most time-consuming tasks of rural women in Swaziland, namely, collecting water and grinding maize.

Approximately 47 per cent of homesteads studied had access to standpipes either on their homesteads or nearby and rain water collected in cement storage jars (see Table 21). The time-saving this implied for these women may be assessed from the following comparative figures: 12.5 per cent of homesteads spent a negligible amount of time collecting water because standpipes were on homesteads, the 30.0 per cent of homesteads with access to standpipes near their homes on average spent 23.5 minutes per week on this activity and 5 per cent who used rainwater averaged 34 minutes per week. For the rest of the homesteads who drew water from wells or rivers, water-collection, though more time-consuming (56.8 and 68.2 minutes per week respectively) than for other

water sources, still did not demand enough time to inflate time-budgets.

Maize-grinding, which is another routine, time-absorbing activity, and may consume a few hours of a woman's day if done by mortar and pestle or with a stone, also did not demand as much time as might have been expected. The majority of homesteads, who used motor-powered mills, only spent 2.2 hours, on average, per week on this task. Many of these interviewees, who are beneficiaries of schemes for improved physical amenities under the Rural Development Areas Programme, therefore reduced their time-budgets through their greater access to these amenities and improved technology.

However, when measuring free time, consideration should also be given to the nature of the tasks performed. Some of the tasks that women do, for instance, may be physically demanding which implies that some of the women's free time might be used for resting in order to regain strength.

Great care should be taken not to generalise findings of this research beyond the Rural Development Areas in Swaziland, since the sample frame comprises these areas only and the rest of the rural female population may show different socio-economic and demographic characteristics and may budget their time differently with regard to their daily activities.

Notwithstanding this consideration, the above conclusion related to women's free time presents a challenge to the pre-supposition that the lack of free time is an obstacle to women's participation outside the homestead, which has been stated in the literature on women's role in development in Swaziland and on the basis of which the Women-in-Development Programme has been established.

The Application of Labour-Saving Technology to Women's Work

The data collected for this study also show that given access to improved technology, if utilised properly, women can indeed save time and energy in performing domestic tasks. An important factor for consideration in this regard, however, is the level at which such improved technology should be based. Brief reference has already been made to the inappropriateness of promoting appropriate labour-saving technology in rural Swaziland where much more sophisticated technology is already in use. What needs further explanation here is why such advanced technology has penetrated rural Swaziland faster than has been the case in many other rural areas in Africa, for example, in Tanzania where hand maize mills are still the latest maize-grinding technology for many villagers.

By contrast, many of the rural people in Swaziland have already been introduced to motor-powered mills. The key to understanding this situation lies in the enmeshment of the Swazi economy in the South African economy. The customs union agreement between the two countries makes it possible to import sophisticated household and other devices into the country without foreign exchange contraints and at much lower cost than would be the case for the rest of Africa. Also, because it is a small country, innovations penetrate rural areas at a fairly rapid rate. In such circumstances, it might be difficult to convince rural women to buy mud-brick ovens and stoves when their neighbours have the latest sleek electric or coal stoves.

Socio-Demographic Factors Influencing Women's Participation

The data show that there was no significant difference in terms of the socio-demographic characteristics - i.e. age, number of children, homestead income, cattle ownership and educational achievement of women participants and non-participants.

Therefore, findings of this study contrast with those reported by Feldman on women's rural development programmes in Kenya where the programmes tended to be monopolised by the better off women.[12] There was

also no evidence to suggest that Russell et. al's. conclusion, that young women with a lower birth rate appeared to be attracted to the Women-in-Development Programme,[13] may be generalised to women's rural development programmes in the country.

NOTES

1. Fion de Vletter, "A Socio-Economic Profile of Rural Swazi Homesteads: A Summary of Findings of the Swazi Rural Homestead Survey," Fion de Vletter et. al. (eds.) The Swazi Rural Homestead, (Kwaluseni: Social Science Research Unit, University of Swaziland, 1983), 32.

2. B.K. Nxumalo, The Survey of Roles, Tasks, Needs and Skills of Rural Women 1978/1979, (Swaziland Government, Ministry of Education/UNICEF, 1979), 8.

3. B.A. Marwick, An Ethnographic Account of the Natives of the Swaziland Protectorate, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940), 61.

4. J.S.M. Matsebula, in A History of Swaziland. (London: Longmans, 1975), 13, informs us that in 1836, King Sobhuza I had a vision in which he saw the form of a white man emerging from the sea. The figure held a scroll (umculu) in his right hand and a disc (indilinga) in his left hand. The King interpreted this vision as a message from the ancestors to accept the scroll (bible) and reject the disc (money) and councelled his people to heed this advice. Subsequent monarchs and political leaders have revitalized religion periodically by recreating, both traditional and religious ideology to legitimise social and political structures. This nurturing of religion since the time of Sobhuza I, has ensured the coexistence of religious beliefs with traditional beliefs and custom. The association of the vision with the will of the ancestors has been condusive to its incorporation as an integral part of Swazi culture.

5. J.D. Tyobeka, Community Preschool Education in Swaziland: A Sample Survey of Preschools, Focussing on Their Impact on Mothers. (Kwaluseni: Social Sciences Research Unit, University of Swaziland, 1985).

6. See, for example, Fion de Vletter, "Socio-Economic Profile," (1983), 23, B.K. Nxumalo, Survey of Roles, Tasks, Needs and Skills, (1979), 10.

7. A.R.C. Low, Farm Management Survey Report No. 2. Mbabane: Swaziland Government, Ministry of Agriculture, 1977.

8. Armstrong et al. A Situation Analysis of Women in Swaziland. Kwaluseni: Social Science Research Unit, University of Swaziland, 1985.

9. Armstrong et al. A Situation Analysis of Women in Swaziland.

10. See, for example, Fion de Vletter, "Socio-Economic Profile," (1983), 23: Nxumalo, Survey of Roles, Tasks, Needs and Skills, (1979), 10.

11. "Hand Mills a Hit," Sunday Times of Zambia, April, 27, 1986.

12. Rayah Feldman, "Women's Groups and Women's Subordination: An Analysis of Politics Towards Rural Women in Kenya," Review of African Political Economy, Nos. 27/28 (1984), 79.

13. Margot Russell, Primrose Dlamini and Funekile Simelane, A Survey of Women in the Women in Development Project, (Kwaluseni: Social Science Research Unit, University of Swaziland, 1985), 4-5, 23.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

Summary of Research Findings

The three main strands of change respondents observed in the fabric of the division of labour are females having to cope alone with agricultural work, women engaging in income-earning activities and the use of paid male labour for mechanical ploughing. The most important factors that were identified as being responsible for these changes are the inability to satisfy all material needs from agricultural efforts alone, which has given rise to migratory labour, especially amongst males, and the unavailability of oxen. This study also demonstrated that there is some degree of interchangeability of roles in that women were helping to perform 'male' jobs and men were also making their contribution to traditionally "female" jobs.

Analysis of field data showed that women perform more domestic and child-care work than men. But, although women as group worked longer hours than men in the fields because of their numerical superiority in rural areas, this study produced no evidence to indicate that they work harder than men on a to-one-basis. On the contrary, it was found that individual males made a more significant contribution

to agricultural and building and maintenance work than individual females. Women's work load is alleviated to some extent by hired labour which is employed for tasks which men used to perform, such as ploughing and looking after livestock.

When women's reports of their daily activities were examined, it emerged that more of their time was spent at leisure than working. The difference between participant and non-participants' free time was not found to be statistically significant, which led to the rejection of the hypothesis that there is a positive relationship between free time and participation. No statistical relationship could also be established between participation and other variables such as age, educational level, homestead income, cattle ownership and number of children.

The time and labour-saving qualities of household devices used to carry out three of the most important household tasks, grinding maize, cooking and collecting water, were investigated. Taps and motor-powered grain mills proved to be more time and labour-saving than other aids used for performing the same tasks. Coal stoves were found to be less time and labour-saving than open cooking fires, though the reverse might have been expected. It was suggested that the manner in which coal stoves are used, without utilising heat-retention properties and

with wood as a source of fuel instead of coal, might account for this finding. Since no relationship could be established between cooking source and time spent cooking, the hypothesis suggesting an association between access to labour-saving technology and time spent performing domestic tasks was rejected in this instance. The statistical relationship which was found to exist between maize-grinding and water-collection sources and time allocated to these tasks, lent support to the above hypothesis.

Suggestions for Future Research

This study has shown that the question of individual male and female work participation as against male and female group participation in homestead tasks is an important subject for further exploration. Another important issue for further study is the extent to which there is a discrepancy between respondents' reports of the time they invest in their daily activities and the amount of free time available to them and their actual daily time-budgets.

A future research project, utilising non-participant observation as a field technique, might be undertaken so that a more accurate picture of men and women's daily activities may emerge. Such an approach would help

eliminate memory distortions and other inaccuracies since activities and their duration will be observed and noted as they occur. In addition, it would also be important to determine respondents' own conceptions of free time.

No evidence has been found in this research to demonstrate that factors such as age, income, number of children, educational achievement and free time might influence women's participation in rural development programmes. There is therefore a need for more research for the purpose of identifying factors which might actually effect changes in participation rates. Issues such as access to credit, markets and land have all been raised in the literature on women's role in rural development, but the researcher has not found any systematic and comprehensive investigations into the extent to which these are real or assumed factors affecting women's role in development.

Finally, because the results of this investigation can be generalised with a greater degree of confidence to Rural Development Areas than to the rest of the rural areas, extending this study to the rest of the rural population, to determine whether these findings hold good for them as well, would be a worthwhile undertaking.

Implications for Development Planning

One of the important insights gained from this study is that development planning based on unexplored premises may lead to the misallocation of scarce resources, so that the most pressing needs of participants in development efforts may not be redressed. The Women-in-Development (W.I.D.) programme in Swaziland, for example, was established on the premise that women who wished to participate in the programme would be constrained by lack of free time. In order to create more free time for prospective participants, a crêche was established, together with a Village Technology Unit.

The findings of this study show that many W.I.D. participants are very young, some of them just having left high school, and do not have any children. Consequently, they have no need for a preschool. In addition, the majority of participants who do avail themselves of preschool facilities, do so for reasons other than those supposed by planners. For the largest proportion of them their main objective is to prepare their children for primary school. Creating more free time for themselves is therefore not a primary consideration for this group of participants, and this research suggests that an explanation for this might be that lack of free time is not a real problem for women, but an assumed one.

It is necessary to emphasise that realistic development planning is inseparable from field research, and the above discussion raises questions about the extent to which planning for the W.I.D. programme has been informed by research. If the planners had gathered data on the type of prospective participants, their time commitments and their opinions on the essential components of the W.I.D. programme package, judging by the results of this study, preschools and Village Technology Units might not have been deemed crucial components by them.

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18. In your opinion, have there been any changes in the tasks men and women do in the fields, on the homestead or outside the homestead since the 1970's?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Don't know

If Yes, what changes have taken place?

_____

_____

19. What do you think has caused these changes?

_____

_____

20. What water source do you use?

1. Well
2. River
3. Rain water
4. Standpipe
5. Other (Specify)

21. How long does it take you to fetch water?

22. How many times a day do members of your homestead usually collect water?

1. Once a day
2. Twice a day
3. Thrice a day
4. Four times a day
5. More than four times a day
6. Other (Specify)

23. Are you satisfied with the water source you use?

1. Yes
2. No

Please explain your answer:

_____

_____

24. Where do you wash your clothes?

1. At home
2. At the river
3. Other (Specify)

25. How often do you wash clothes?

1. Once a week
2. Twice a week
3. Thrice a week
4. Daily
5. Other (Specify)

26. How long does it take you to wash clothes?

27. How often do you grind maize?

1. Once a day
2. Twice a day
3. Other (Specify)

28. What do you use for grinding your maize?

1. Pounder
2. Own grinder
3. Take to the mill
4. Do not grind, eat it green

29. How much time to you spend grinding maize per week?

30. What kind of stove do you use for doing the cooking?

1. Primus stove
2. Other paraffin stove
3. Gas stove
4. Open cooking fire
5. Coal stove
6. Other (Specify)

31. How many meals do you cook per day?

1. One meal
2. Two meals
3. Three meals

32. How long does it take you to cook the following meals:

Breakfast

Supper

33. Have you been to the Village Technology Unit at Entonjeni Mahamba Zambodze?

1. Yes
2. No

If Yes, have you thought of using any of the things you saw?

1. Yes
2. No

If Yes, which one/s?

1. Maize cobber
2. Cement water storage jar
3. Solar Heater and drier
4. Clothes washer
5. Other (Specify)

If No, why not?

_____

_____

Use of Preschool Facilities

34. Do you send your children to preschool?

1. Yes
2. No

Please explain your answer:

_____

_____

Questionnaire 2: For Participants Only

Name of Group:

1. Why do you participate in the programme?

_____

_____

2. How often do you meet?

1. Twice a week
2. Once a week
3. Every two weeks
4. Once a month
5. Other (Specify)

[ ]

3. How often do you attend these meetings?

1. Attend every meeting
2. Attend most meetings
3. Attend some meetings
4. Never attend any meetings

[ ]

4. What do you do when you meet?

_____

_____

5. Are you satisfied with what you do?

1. Yes
2. No

[ ]

Please explain your reply:

_____

_____

6. How do you find time to participate?

Questionnaire 3: For Non-Participants Only

1. Have you heard of any of the following women's development programmes? W.I.D. (Women-in-Development) Zenzele

   1. Yes
   2. No

2. Why do you not participate in any of them?

_____

_____

_____

3. Do you belong to any other organizations?

   1. Yes
   2. No

   If Yes, name them:

_____

_____

4. What are the functions of these organizations?

_____

_____

_____

_____