INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

ProQuest Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600



Downloaded from SHAREOK. Persistent Handle URL: https://hdl.handle.net/11244/315

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

MIGRANCY AND CHANGING STRUCTURES: THE EXPERIENCES OF SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN IN THE EASTERN CAPE

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

By

Annie Laurie Hysmith-Jones
Norman, Oklahoma
2001

UMI Number: 3009538



UMI Microform 3009538

Copyright 2001 by Bell & Howell Information and Learning Company.
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

Bell & Howell Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

©Copyright by AnnieLaurie Hysmith-Jones 2001
All Rights Reserved.

MIGRANCY AND CHANGING STRUCTURES: THE EXPERIENCES OF SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN IN THE EASTERN CAPE

A Dissertation APRROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

BY

Betty J. Harris

Loretta E Bass

R. A. Parker

Lesley Rankin Hill

Joseph Whitaker

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I take this opportunity to acknowledge the many people who have provided me with support and mentoring during this long journey that began with course work, field research in South Africa and the completed dissertation.

I appreciate the five years of working with my committee Chair, Dr. Betty J. Harris. Although we have often take different paths to the completion of this process, her painstaking steadfastness in pursuing me an affiliation at the University of Fort Hare, Alice South Africa and her own experiences as an Africanist specializing in southern Africa, has been significant on many levels.

Next, I wish to acknowledge my other committee members: Dr. Lesley Rankin-Hill who has often provided words of encouragement that enabled me to stay on target; Dr. Joseph Whitecotton retired while I was in the field in South Africa; however, he continued to support and provide his expertise when needed; Dr. Loretta Bass, Department of Sociology, who has been valuable in advising me on the demographic and household surveys; and Dr. Richard Pailes has always been a valuable resource in my academic career at the University of Oklahoma. has been an important addition to my advisory committee.

I also acknowledge Dr. Jid Kamoche, History Department, for his support and expertise. This project would have been impossible for me to complete without the support of family and friends. Emanuel has been a source of strength and support from day one. I dedicate this dissertation to my children to acknowledge their love and support: Karen Renee' Hebert, Bill Hebert, Jr., Janine Lynne Jones, Esquire, and Michelle Yvette

Jones-Foster. Also, my sisters, Antoinette Hysmith-Hinton, Carmelita Ellis, and my brother-in-law George Ellis, have been there when times were tough. A special word of appreciation to my nephew and his wife, Anthony and LaQuita Hinton, for their support via E-mail while I was in South Africa.

I sincerely thank my dearest friend Diana Beasley who has been consistent with her support and encouragement throughout the entire process. Also, a special word of appreciation to Melanie C. Hayes, a law student at Cordoza Law College in New York, who provided clerical assistance.

Finally, sincere appreciation to the Graduate College staff especially Dean Amelia Adams and Rene' Jenkins. I must not forget the Oklahoma State Board of Regent's Higher Education who provided me with a Doctoral Study Grant.

In closing, I will never forget the many new friends and associates I met during my year in South Africa: Dr. Sean Morrow, Director of Govan Mbeki Resource Research Centre at University of Fort Hare, and his wife Barbara Morrow; Nomfundo 'Lily-Rose' Mlisa who remains a friend and source of spiritual energy for me; Virginia Mkosana my first 'hostess' in South Africa; Zimkitha Zombolo who assisted me in so many ways, but especially in translating the Informed Consent Form into Xhosa; Nobuhle Mbete who introduced me to the beauty of the Eastern Cape Province; and, my Research Assistants-post-graduate students at the University of Fort Hare: Lunsisa Mtumtum, Sisanda Meoseli, Thandisa Kwinda, Don Nyathela, Luleka Madolo, Nonceba Sithole, and Tobeka Sihlahla.

Other Research Assistants included Daphne Mku'qwana, Nosia Sogayise, and Linda Mgmveba.

Most of all, I will never forget the many wonderful Xhosa women who gave me their valuable time and entrusted their life-stories in my care.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS
ABSTRACT
TABLE OF CONTENTS
LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION..... 1

CHAPTER II. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY..... 41

CHAPTER III. WOMEN, MARRIAGE, AND STRESS: QUALITATIVE RESEARCH ANALYSIS..... 57

CHAPTER IV. RURAL HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS, EMPLOYMENT, LITERACY, AND STRESS INDICATORS: QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS..... 128

CHAPTER V. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF POST-APARTHEID XHOSA... 158

CHAPTER VI. SURVIVAL: CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS OF RESEARCH..... 189
APPENDIX I: INFORMED CONSENT AND STATEMENTS (English & Khosa).209
APPENDIX II: RESEARCH SURVEY..... 211
APPENDIX III: QUESTIONS FOR MEN..... 213
APPENDIX IV: KHOSA GENEALOGY CHART..... 215
APPENDIX V: THEMBU GENEALOGY (TRANSKEI)..... 216
APPENDIX VI: TABLE 8: EXPLANATION OF STRESS INDICATORS..... 217
APPENDIX VII: XHOSA/ENGLISH TERMINOLOGY..... 219
MAPS: SOUTH AFRICA/EASTERN CAPE MAPS: 1-10

1. Early Eastern Cape (1610-1780)..... 221
2. Eastern Frontier (1778)..... 222
3. Eastern Cape Sketch Transkei (1967)..... 223
4. Transkei at Independence..... 224
5. Transkei-Changes in Eastern Cape Landscape..... 225
6. Southern Africa..... 226
7. Provinces of South Africa (1994)..... 227
8. Eastern Cape Province, Magisterial District (post-election 1994)... 228
9. Eastern Cape Interview Locations (Alice area)..... 229
10. Ciskei (at Independence, 1981)..... 230
11. Alice (Victoria East Magistrate District)..... 231

BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 232

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Household Economy: Dwelling Patterns.....138

2. Household Economy Access to Services/..... 138
Transportation Modes

3. Social/Medical/ Mental Health Services..... 138

1. Employment Rates..... 144

2. Occupations..... 146

3. Educational Levels 152

4. Stress Indicators.....211

ABSTRACT

This study examines the breakdown in Xhosa-speaking cultural, economic, and political structures that have been transformed in response to colonialism and apartheid. Its primary purpose was to identify indicators that influence the conditions endured by rural female-headed houses in the Eastern Cape, South Africa.

The Seylean stress bio-cultural model was adapted for the study. This study used a holistic, multidisciplinary and ethnographic approach that included conventional anthropological qualitative and quantitative data collection methods. The comprehensive research design incorporated the disciplines of anthropology, sociology, gender theory, psychology, and history.

Two research survey instruments were used for data collection. One survey was designed for interviewing women in rural and urban communities. The second instrument was designed to solicit data from men. Other collateral interviews were conducted with professional, civic, and service professionals.

The results revealed the degree of transformation of social, economic, and political structures documented in the archival record and by informants. The overall findings indicate the following: the acceleration of poverty in female headed households in rural communities; the socio-economic cleavages that exist between rural and urban households; the incorporation of Western beliefs and customs with traditional rituals; the high level of stress-related conditions amongst women (and men); and the diversity of adaptive coping strategies employed by women.

The implications for this study indicated a need to improve the quality of life for members of households in Eastern Cape rural communities; for the creation of jobs and human resources in close proximity to rural households; for the development of government and non-government structures and programs to support economic parity for women and gender equality in all relevant areas of the lives of rural households.

Chapter One

I. OVERVIEW

During the 1980s, South Africa became a place of interest in my personal and professional life. I was involved in local and state politics in Chicago, Illinois and the suburban community in which I lived. As a public school teacher and as a parent in a socially and politically conscious community, it was inevitable that I became active in the anti-apartheid movement. In addition, I became an administrator in a denominational church organization, which sponsored an international program on peace and social justice. Along with my family, I was active in the movement that supported the dismantling of the oppressive regime of the National Party in South Africa. It was during this period that I became acquainted with South Africans who lived in the Chicago area, most of whom were students or political exiles.

Apartheid and the impact on African women became a focus of my attention on many levels. For one, I developed an interest in the plight of women and their children who lived in the isolation of rural communities. It seemed feasible to assume that women, who were left to take care of themselves and their respective households without the support of their men, would be confronted with high levels of stress-related conditions experienced by other women in similar situations.

A graduate degree in counseling afforded me the opportunity to work with women in multicultural communities. As a clinician, one of my specialties was working with women who were considered clinically depressed. I discovered that women, especially those who

have little formal education, limited skills and economic opportunities, often have learned maladaptive behaviors when attempting to cope with stressful situations.

My interest in the relationship between socio-economic indicators and mental health status extended beyond my immediate community in 1991 when I became involved in a special project in Brazil. This project enhanced my concerns about women of African descent, who often share situations common to other women in the African Diaspora. Black women in most societies are at the bottom of the social, political, and economic hierarchy.

My involvement in peace and social justice ministries, political activism in the anti-apartheid movement, and my professional career as a clinician and social worker, were instrumental in my decision to pursue a degree in Anthropology. The decision was timely in that the results of the May 1994 election in South Africa allowed adults of all racial classifications to vote for the first time. It provided an opportunity for my fieldwork in that country. This personal and academic interest in South Africa had an impact on the development of my conceptual framework for this research project in the Eastern Cape Province.

I have chosen to focus my study on the Xhosa women in the Eastern Cape who are responsible for the major support of their households and families, for two main reasons: (1) women-headed households and the connection to migratory labor have been explored elsewhere in the southern African case study materials, particularly the women of Botswana, Lesotho, and Zimbabwe. However, although there are ethnographic case studies which reference Xhosa women, the case materials are limited and when present, frequently fail to give a 'voice' to Eastern Cape African women. (2) a second reason for

the focus on Xhosa women is directly related to the resilience they have displayed in adapting to the changing structures since colonialism and later, apartheid. I believe women in other societies can learn much from the rich experiences and adaptive coping strategies Xhosa women have employed historically and in their present daily lives.

Research Objectives and Approaches

I began my fieldwork in the rural periphery of South Africa, the Eastern Cape Province at the University of Fort Hare in the town of Alice, in December 1997 and completed it in December 1998. The conceptual framework for this project was based on several theoretical approaches. These included: political economy theory, dependency theory, development theory, Selyean stress theory, and gender analysis theory.

Historical, life-course, political, economic, and other relevant perspectives in a multi-dimensional approach were used to collect, record and analyze data.

Linkages were established between relevant cultural and traditional experiences of Xhosa-speaking women to the post-apartheid socio-economic and political experiences of women who lived in the contemporary Eastern Cape.

Utilizing both qualitative and quantitative methods provided a comprehensive database needed to explore the research objectives. Qualitative methods included: traditional anthropological methods of participant-observation, informant interviews, oral life histories, focus groups, and a review of Eastern Cape and related South African archival documents.

Quantitative data collection methods consisted of demographic data gathered with a research survey (Appendix I), South African vital statistics, and data obtained from the South African Central Statistics Services. Additionally, I used data obtained from the

analysis of household surveys conducted in the former Ciskei, which include household surveys, archival and contemporary sources—all of which help to document cultural, socio-economic, and political transformation in South Africa and the Eastern Cape Province.

Demographic Characteristics

The Eastern Cape province is situated on the southeastern seaboard of South Africa and is the second largest of the nine provinces. The surface area, comprising large areas of semi-desert vegetation (referred to as the Karoo), is bordered by the Indian Ocean.

According to a preliminary report issued by the Central Census Statistics (CCS) Annual Report for Census 1996, there are an estimated 43[1]million people who live in South Africa on a total land area of 1,219,090 square kilometers. The report takes into account the effects of excess mortality due to the increase in AIDS, and other related factors such as lower life expectancy, higher levels of infant mortality, declining fertility rates, and lower growth in the South African population.

The total Eastern Cape Province population consists of over six million people. The majority population (86%) is Xhosa-speakers. This number represents 15 percent of the total South African population, which live on approximately 14% of the land area (169,580 square kilometers). The population density of 39 persons per square kilometer compared to the average of 34 persons per square kilometer for all of South Africa, is one of the major indicators of poverty in the Eastern Cape province (South Africa Census 1996).

The apartheid system discouraged the systematic collection of data of major social, economic and health indicators, especially with respect to Black South Africans.

Therefore, poverty and social indicators indicated in this paper are approximated a significant amount of the data used in the 1996-97 South African Census were estimates from data collected in 1989 and 1991. The new government has not completed any of the need assessments as indicated in the Reconstruction and Development Program[1] (RDP), with respect to health and morbidity. However, in response to the extreme unequal levels of underdevelopment, (under the new leadership of the African National Congress (ANC) party), the new government adopted a paper-strategy to address the inequalities in the labor force, referred to as the GEAR plan-Growth, Employment and Redistribution (Government Document 1999). In the present political climate, there are other political factions who strongly oppose this strategy.

There are sharp contrasts in the demographic characteristics between the inhabitants of the Republic of South Africa and the Eastern Cape Province. Life expectancy for the average South African is 63 years, compared to the Eastern Cape which has a life expectancy of 61 years and the Western Cape, which has the highest life expectancy rate of 68 years of all provinces in South Africa.

During the period 1990-1995, infant mortality rates ranged between 48 to 53 deaths per 1000 live births (CIA World Factbook 1998; World Population Data 1999).[2] Current figures for the overall infant mortality rates for South Africa reveal an increase in infant mortality now estimated as 59 deaths per 1,000 live births (CIA World Factbook 2000).

Adult literacy is defined in this case by persons between the ages of 15 years and older, who can read, write, and speak their home languages. In the Eastern Cape, the adult

---

[1] RDP is the acronym frequently used and will to used throughout the dissertation

[2] At the time of completion of this dissertation, the South Africa Central Statistics Services did not have this data for the country, especially for the African population.

literacy rate is 72 percent which is below the Western Cape Province, with an adult literacy rate of 95 percent, the highest in all of the provinces. These rates compare to the national adult literacy rate in South Africa of 82 percent (Statistics in Brief 1996).

Women dominate the gender structure in the Eastern Cape. Based on age distribution, 57 percent of the women are in the 15 years to 64 years old cohort.

Although women account for the majority population in the Eastern Cape Province, they have the highest level of unemployment; fifty-five percent of African women in the Eastern Cape are not employed in the formal sector compared to 36 percent of African men. The total unemployment rate for South Africa is 23 percent (Census in Brief, 1996).

The Eastern Cape Province is more rural in character than urban: seventy-three percent of the total population speak Xhosa and live in the rural or non-urban areas. In South Africa, 37 percent of Black South Africans live in the urban areas compared to 91 percent of Whites and 84 percent of the racially classified Colored (mixed-race) population. Both nationally and provincially, the majority population are women who live in rural areas.

Currently, there is no data collection system for mental health in the African population. Therefore, sufficient mental health indicators are not available at this time. However, it is estimated that every 30 of 1000 Africans suffer from some degree of mental illness (Census 1996). In fact, based on criteria indicated in the Diagnostic Manual of Statistics-IV (American Psychiatric Association 1993), more than 75 percent of the women who participated in this study could be diagnosed with some type of mental health concerns.

Research Environment

Interviews were conducted in the former homelands of the Transkei and Ciskei. Although they have been incorporated into the Eastern Cape Province, people continue to use these terms of references when talking about the areas. In the Transkei, interviews were conducted in thirteen rural areas and one major urban center. These include rural sites: Matatiele, Umzimkulu, Lusikisiki, Libode, Idutywa, Engcobo, Qumbu, Tsolo, Confimvaba, Cala, Mhlanganisweni and the urban area, Umtata and former homeland capital (Map 4).

In the former Ciskei (Victoria East magisterial district), interviews were conducted in thirteen rural areas and two urban centers. The interviews took place in Gaga, Ngwageni, Mavuso, Ncera, Tyutyuza, Ntselamanzi, Tinis/Group 5, Gqumahashe, Dimbaza, Healdtown, Mxhelo, Majwaneni, and Melani. The urban locations included Alice, and Bisho, the current Eastern Cape provincial capital (Map 8)

In other Eastern Cape locations (not included in former Ciskei and Transkei), additional interviews were undertaken in six areas, that include rural and semi-rural (identified by the nearest urban centers): Middledrift, King Williams Town, Fort Beaufort, Uitenhage (near Port Elisabeth), Mdantsane, (near East London and the second largest township in South Africa), and Queenstown (Map 9).

The physical and environmental distinctions between rural and urban can be observed by examining the infrastructure, dwelling types, household structures, and income levels. Ninety-five percent of the informants live in rural areas. The rural areas in both the Ciskei and the Transkei lack sufficient infrastructure, in terms of access to clean water, electricity, sanitation, and transportation. Most of the houses neither have tap water, or in-

door toilets. Sanitation is another problem; human waste is collected in the villages by special trucks.

Another relevant distinction between rural and urban areas is the proximity of water and fuel sources to household dwellings. In the rural areas, women and children can be observed walking along the highways carrying containers to collect water. This is also the case for gathering wood for fuel. Although some electrification has taken place, there are still many homes without electricity. For these households, they must rely on candles for light and paraffin (kerosene) or wood sources for heating and cooking.

With respect to housing structures, there are variations that may be found in all areas. However, the structures are more likely to be consistent with other social, economic and environmental indicators that illustrate the quality of life endured by its residents. For example, housing structures in rural areas tend to be informal and often reflect 'class' differences. These structures include a variation of forms that include versions of the *traditional* hut (*umzi/rondavel*) and are best described as cylindrical shape with rooftops of thatched leaves, corrugated tin, or other materials. These altered forms of the traditional homestead (*umzi*) may have small openings that serve as doorways (Map 3).

Other types of housing structures to be found in rural and on the fringes of urban areas are usually referred to as *shacks* that are self-made housing forms most likely to be made from scrap materials obtained from garbage sites. Some of the materials can also be obtained from salvage yards and industrial stores in the Alice area.

In terms of rural dwelling types, the majority of families live in alternative forms of *traditional* housing made of materials obtained from the immediate environment. According to the 1996 South African Census, more than 547,624 people live in this type

of dwelling. However, there are variations in dwelling types that are common in both rural and urban areas. These may include formal housing structures more likely to resemble 'European' houses, constructed of wood, brick, or cement structures. In most instances, housing patterns in rural areas are more likely to be arranged in random fashion. The interior of informal housing types tends to be small, containing one-to-two rooms; another feature is that floors and walls of traditional dwellings are often smeared with cow dung or the walls may be covered with newspaper. Sometimes, the dwellings have floor coverings of old rugs or tile.

The material culture consisted of furniture owned by households varies according to the economic status of the women. Many have beds, tables, and other pieces of furniture made by commercial vendors. Other homes have self-made constructions of functional furniture with floor mats for sleeping. All of the dwelling types have at least two chairs or stools (sometimes-wooden crates) and a table.

Urban areas tend to have more sophisticated infrastructures, such as residential and community electricity, access to clean water and adequate sanitation. As well, urban centers are usually in closer proximity to human services, employment opportunities, and industrial-type stores. Dwellings in the urban areas are more likely to be constructed using European models, with materials of brick, cement or a combination of materials more suitable for stable housing structures. Another feature of dwelling types in urban centers is the arrangement or placement of homes. Houses are usually clustered in uniformed patterns in contrast to the randomness of dwelling patterns in rural areas.

Transportation is a major concern for the entire Eastern Cape population. Most people walk long distances to urban centers for marketing, employment and health services. They

usually rely on over-crowded and unsafe taxi services. Most frequently, they hitchhike. This causes concern for safety and is another example of the hardships endured by women and children who must travel to work and school.

Scope of the Research Problem

This study examines the transformation of the Eastern Cape Xhosa social organization with particular focus on the impact of apartheid on the political economy and mental health status of female-dependent rural households. Some of the salient issues that are considered regard the relevancy of the health status of Xhosa women and include the following elements: (1) inconsistent attitudes and perceptions women and men have about customs and traditions of, gender and domestic relations; (2) division of labor and distinctions between family and household; and, (3) expectations of the post-apartheid transition. Additionally, considerations regarding the cultural and contemporary concepts relative to heads-of-household include: exploration of issues relevant to the community, environment and social structures; identification of important socio-economic and other indicators attributed to stress-related conditions; and the types of coping strategies women employ with or without men in the house.

This study makes limited reference to similar research conducted in southern Africa, especially as they may focus on migratory labor and its influence on the transformation of African gender and household relations. Bridget O'Laughlin (1998) critiques the phenomenon of 'missing men', poverty and women-headed households in Southern Africa. Although her study focuses on rural households in Botswana, it mirrors many of the issues confronted by women who head households in the rural Eastern Cape Province.

Murray (1995) observes the extreme disruption in Lesotho African domestic and marital relations, which he attributes to migratory labor.

Walker (1990: 168) provides an in-depth discourse with respect to patriarchy, gender relations, labor migration, and industrialization. She argues that African women have tended to be portrayed as victims: She writes:

> The most pervasive image of women under the migrant labour system is as victims, those women who were 'left behind', lumped along with children, the old and the sick into the emotive but blurry category of the 'dispossessed' or 'surplus' people.

Others who have explored this subject are too numerous to reference; however, it is worthwhile to mention Peters (1983) who analyzes the ethnographic record with respect to aspects of gender and migratory labor beginning with Schapera's (1971) focus on 'African marriages'; and, the Marxist feminist perspective discussed by Bozzoli (1983). Each of these arguments is worthy of attention and will be alluded to in subsequent chapters.

Research Questions and Foci

The integration of variables frequently ignored by anthropological studies with regard to gender in the South African context is pivotal to this study. Thematic content areas are contained in the following sets of inquiries, beginning with the first category which is concerned with socio-political and economic issues in relation to women's status: (1) what are some of the perceptions that Xhosa-speakers hold relative to social, economic, and political status? (2) what are some of the significant transformations that have influenced the status of women? And, (3) what are some of the cleavages that exist in the Eastern Cape Province relative to the status of Xhosa women?

The second category considers perceptions and attitudes with respect to family, marriage, household structure, gender and household relations: (1) how do Xhosa men and women conceptualize head-of-household, family, and marriage in the contemporary communities? (2) what are some of the emerging social problems that confront women who are heads-of-household and their families? And, (3) what are the assumptions that have been made about gender roles in terms of household structure, family relations, work, and community?

The third set of research questions focuses on stress and coping strategies, which include: (1) what are major indicators of chronic stress that may contribute to stress-related conditions? (2) what are coping strategies women tend to employ to deal with stressful events and life experiences? And, (3) are there distinctions between strategies women use when there are men in the household or when men are absent from household units?

Informants' responses to survey questions are considered within the thematic categories used throughout this dissertation. A final generic inquiry solicits informant perceptions regarding the relevance of this study indicated in the following set of questions: (1) what are the theoretical implications of this study? And, (2) can they are useful in policy and program development in the Eastern Cape?

Relevance of the Study

The relevance of this study provides an opportunity to focus on female-headed households in a large rural population in South Africa who may be disadvantaged and therefore, vulnerable, and who have traditionally been defined by their problems rather than by their strengths. As previously stated, two important research objectives have

driven the scope of this project: one is to add the individual and collective life experiences of the Eastern Cape women to the ethnographic record with respect to their perceptions of cultural change, family, and household; and, the other is to confront some of the stereotypes or myths associated with female-headed households in the Eastern Cape, particularly those that have focused on African women as helpless, oppressed victims. Therefore, this dissertation identifies the major socio-economic indicators that challenge female-headed households but in doing so, highlights many of the positive aspects of their life experiences and the coping strategies they frequently use to offset chronic stress.

There is worldwide interest in household *headships*. Internationally, female- headed households are generally perceived differently from male-headed households. Researchers use *women-dependent households* as a unit of analysis for various reasons. For one, most consider female heads to be more vulnerable to poverty; while other scholars tend to develop conceptual frameworks that focus on the negative aspects relative to female-headed households. Budlender (1999 et al) suggests that the variances employed by researchers when conceptualizing female-headed households, often present problems for policy and program development, and are directly related to gender differences with respect to structural and socio-economic, often without input from a cross-section of the study populations. She recognizes the confusion that can result when using the concept of 'household' as a unit of analysis, which begins with defining the concept historically, operationally, and theoretically.

Major Themes and Theory

Based on the 1995 *South African Government White Paper on Social Conditions-Social Context* (RDP)[3], the status of African women in the political economy of South Africa is represented by large-scale unemployment in the formal sector, especially in the rural areas. In fact, one of the demographic consistencies with respect to the socio-political and economic conditions of South Africa, has been the low status afforded to Black South African women in every aspect particularly when compared to Eastern Cape Xhosa men and women who live in other provinces and are racially defined. Posel (1997: 50: 57) discusses poverty, women, and rural household by suggesting: "The burden of poverty is even higher among Africans living in the rural areas." She continues to describe her concept of 'poverty' by explaining: "Resource allocations both outside and inside the household in South Africa are skewed in favour of men."

There is clear evidence of historically gender-related factors intrinsic in the South African political economy. Taylor (1997: 18-20) discusses the negative impact of 'gender' on the position of women in the labor market, in the household, and in the community: "Gender hierarchies negatively influence women's position and participation in the labour market...Household and community work has intrinsic use or human value is difficult to capture in terms of its exchange value."

The political economy of the Eastern Cape, it is the most densely populated and has the highest unemployment rate of any of the nine South African provinces (OHS 1996). As previously indicated the majority of the people live in the rural areas, with 90 percent of

[3] RDP refers to the Reconstruction Development Paper written for the change in government

the province populated by women and children 15 years or younger (Central Census Statistics 1996).

The 1996 October Household Survey describes the living conditions of women in the Eastern Cape. This report suggests that over 52 percent of the African women in the Eastern Cape are unemployed and live in poverty; this compares to 54 percent of all Black South African women and children who live elsewhere in poverty conditions. This statement considers variables, which include access to land, employment opportunities, health, social services, education, and the underdeveloped infrastructure.

An example of the political economy of the Eastern Cape can be understood in terms of the low monthly incomes earned by women: forty-eight percent of the employed female informants earn less than R410[2] monthly and can be described as the 'working poor.' Cash income is more likely to be obtained from women working in the informal sector as street vendors (*hawkers*), beer-brewers, or as domestic workers. Other sources of income to women-dependent rural households are likely to include pensions and financial support from personal resources.

In terms of the Eastern Cape total population, Africans continue to live in extreme deprivation. Many who live in 'squatter' communities have no sources of dependable income. Nor can they rely on providing subsistence for themselves or their respective households. The lack of adequate arable land for cultivation and for cattle grazing is a major concern for people who once depended on both for basic human needs and cultural survival. These and other factors can be said to illustrate the unchanging large-scale deprivation that exists in the daily experiences of Eastern Cape communities. They are

ever-present attributes to the environmental situation, which negatively impact the physical, mental health and social conditions of those who live in the rural communities.

During my fieldwork, I observed many activities that focused on the economic development of Eastern Cape women. Many of these activities will be mentioned throughout the body of this paper. However, it is important to understand that the women of the Eastern Cape are actively involved in their own 'developmental empowerment.' Economic and skill development schemes are in place to provide training opportunities for women who live in the rural areas and who may not have benefited from higher education or other wage-earning, skill development training activities. For example, there are two such projects that engage women in agricultural and entrepreneurial activities, such as the Poultry Project in the Transkei and the Adult Basic Education Extension Program (ABEEP)[3]. The latter is an economic development project at the University of Fort Hare which reaches out to rural women by training them to become entrepreneurs, and by updating their traditional crafts such as beading and basket making.

There is much diversity in the number of economic development schemes that are taking place in the Eastern Cape. Some of these are sponsored by or at least supported in some ways by the Eastern Cape government and the National Federated Chamber of Commerce (NAFCOC). The majority of the projects are led by women, representing the level of *grassroots* leadership that exists in the Eastern Cape and the collaborative involvement of non-government organizations (NGOs). Examples of these type activities include cultural entertainment, which includes cultural dancing and singing.

Many of the activities are developed through coalitions established in conjunction with the Eastern Cape Tourist Bureau. Beading is considered to be a traditional craft and is

being taught to women and young girls all over the Eastern Cape (and other Provinces of South Africa). This has become a source of income for those who make and sell their produce. However, based on the low purchase cost of beaded items, women still need other ways to supplement their income. The increase in Eastern Cape and other craft/ art fairs provide additional opportunities for women to sell their products. Outdoor markets in the Eastern Cape are available for women to sell their craft on a daily basis. Even so, these are comparatively small-scale enterprises that have to be supplemented by other income resources for women who are the sole support of their households.

Mlisa (1997:7), a female clinical psychologist (also a head-of-household) lives and works in the Eastern Cape, argues that the political economy and social conditions of post-apartheid South Africa continue to be burdened by remnants from the apartheid system. She writes:

> ...the effects of apartheid are still very vivid. The people who bear the brunt of the burden and are confronted on a daily basis with this seemingly unchanged way of life are the women...which comprises half of the population of the country. These women belong to the forgotten people of South Africa...the ones in the rural areas.

In order to understand all of the elements that have contributed to the current situation in the Eastern Cape context, I will outline the major themes that will be presented in the body of this paper. First, I will discuss the underdevelopment of the Eastern Cape; next, the role of male migration in the underdevelopment of the region and African women; and, finally, gender related issues which include female migration, the impact of apartheid, female participation in wage labor, changes in family and household structure, and indicators of poverty that may contribute to chronic stress.

Underdevelopment

To understand better the relationship between social, economic, and political transformation and underdevelopment in the Eastern Cape context, it is important to review briefly a few of the important theory with respect to the concept of *underdevelopment.* Theories of development and underdevelopment (also referred to as dependency theories) are usually defined and explained in the context of the historical phenomenon of European expansion and colonization of societies with diverse cultural forms and political-economic systems. The imperialistic colonizing of *other* people in *other* societies can be linked to the Industrial Revolution and the expansion of capitalism in the modern world. In the process of colonization, Western nation-states have been able to transform socially, politically, and economically. This 'modification' in cultural-forms has contributed to present-day patterns of underdevelopment is represented in so-called Third World nations, communities or societies.

Marx (1972, 1977) conceptualizes capitalism as destructive. He views the 'state' to be the 'instrument' of the ruling classes and considers capitalism to be the tool by which the wealthy maintains control of the state and the economy. Marxism divides societies into two distinct classes-- the 'bourgeoisie' and the 'proletariat', referring to the first as the wealthy/elite and the former as the workers who are exploited and dominated by the ruling class. These uneven relationships have the potential to lead to conflicts or revolution.

While Marx characterizes capitalism as a process of exploitation by the elite minority of the less powerful majority working class, Wallerstein (1974b: 390) conceptualizes underdevelopment within the framework of social systems, characterized by internal divisions of labor. Wallerstein's theory most commonly referred to as a *world-systems*

approach is defined as: "A unit with a single division of labor and multiple cultural systems."

According to the Wallerstein theory, the modern world is a capitalist, global market system, which is divided into three developmental states referred to as core, semi-periphery, and periphery. Each of these can be defined according to the level or degree of technology and economic dependency on the core-states. Peripheral economic systems are weaker and have historically been taken over by core nations. The world-systems theory explains the characteristics and relationships between the core and the semi-periphery: core nations are defined as being more advanced technologically and are considered 'strong states'; they tend to manipulate and dominate weaker nations (390-91). Core states include the United States, Great Britain, Germany, France, and the Netherlands.

Rodney's (1972: 190-200) theoretical focus is on the impact of European colonialism, slavery, and capitalism on the continent of Africa. He states emphatically that underdevelopment is the reversal of the development process. In his historical discourse, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, he attributes underdevelopment to specific socio-political and economic factors including colonialism, slavery, imperialism, capitalism, and fascism. Each of these stages has structural components (political, social, and economical), that have contributed to significant transformations in indigenous socio-political structures.

In the South African context, Rodney also makes the connection between the underdevelopment of African people and European expansion in South Africa by emphasizing the relevance of the historical patterns of economic and political transformation, colonization, land expropriation, slavery, imperialism, capitalism, and

fascism. For him, these developmental stages and the structure of apartheid are intricately linked.

> Fascism was a monster born of fascist parents. Fascism came as the end product of centuries of capitalist bestiality, exploitation, domination, and racism-mainly exercised outside Europe. It is highly significant that many settlers and colonial officials displayed a leaning towards fascism. Apartheid in South Africa is nothing but Fascism.

The significance of referencing the major 'dependency theories' is to emphasize the fact that neither nations nor societies become underdeveloped or isolated independent of other sources, but do so through differential power relationships between developed and less developed nations. In the Eastern Cape context, the level of political and socio-economic exploitation influenced the political economy of the majority population. This also shaped the post-apartheid political economy of health in the Eastern Cape. Underdevelopment within this perspective consists of the unequal exchange of resources between gender and racial groups, as well as the underdevelopment of the indigenous Xhosa social organization. The systematic transformation of the Xhosa social order created a dependency relationship between White racist hegemony and Black South African domination. This is illustrated in the creation of peripheral African, so-called independent states, when in reality they became examples of peripheral societies existing within the core nation, the Republic of South Africa. This is one of the legacies of apartheid briefly discussed in the following section.

II. The Legacy of Apartheid

The race-based policies of apartheid were constructed to control all aspects of South African political and socio-economic structures. This historical phenomenon continues to influence the political economy in the post-apartheid Eastern Cape Province. The major apartheid legislation with respect to women in the Eastern Cape will be discussed in subsequent chapters; however, it is important to identify briefly salient issues that directly relate to the changing structures in the Xhosa Eastern Cape situation.

Central to the underdevelopment of the Eastern Cape, has been the lack of access to arable land particularly with respect to African women. The struggle for land has been a constant threat to the survival of Black South Africans, which began long before the period of apartheid.

Colonial Period

After the British took over the Cape colony from the Dutch colonists (at the end of the 18th century), Whites expanded across the South African landscape to such an extent that they dominated the land and natural resources. The wars between White settlers and the African populations ended with Africans defeated. Xhosas lost most of their land and cattle, and in the process, became less autonomous and subjected to the oppressive White control resulting in extreme racist policies. One significant conflict emerged that illustrates the vast differences that existed with respect to the perceptions regarding 'land' and 'ownership', those held by the Europeans and those held by indigenous Africans. Traditionally, Africans conceptualized 'land' as communal property; typically Europeans conceptualized land as 'private property.' Magubane (1975: 74) argues:

Before they were physically subdued, traditional African societies with plenty of land had posed difficult problems for the requirements of capitalism. The needs of an African living by subsistence agriculture and cultivating *mealies* ("corn") were confined to a *kaross* ("skin cloak") and some pieces of homemade cotton cloth. The prospects of leaving their families to work on other people's farms in order to earn wages to buy things they had no use for did not appeal to Africans.

Although these issues will be revisited in a later chapter, it is important to introduce the processes of 'underdevelopment' beginning with the fact of migratory labor and its destructive impact on the Xhosa politico-social organizations. Additionally, it is crucial to understand how 'cultural' differences contributed to many of the historical conflicts that gained momentum as time progressed.

The long-term devastation caused by the transformation of the traditional political economy relative to the function of tribal leadership of chiefs and headmen, with respect to land, sexual division of labor, marriage, and kinship, intensified during the European period of colonialism. The Xhosa social and political systems were severely disrupted later reconstructed under colonial administration with respect to the allocation of land resources, domestic relations, and African tribal disputes. All of these formal and informal structures were severely altered under the colonial administrative strategy of 'indirect rule.'

Collaborative relationships were developed between colonial administrators and (all-male) tribal authorities. Even so, the traditional roles of tribal leaders were forever altered. Colonial policies expanded the level of racism, segregation, the exploitation of African human resources, and traditional political, social, and economic structures (Davenport 1977; Solomon 1980; Harsch 1986; Thompson 1990).

In terms of migratory labor (after the discovery of diamonds in 1860 and gold in 1866), the mining industry needed a cheap labor force. Additionally, White farmers were becoming more dependent upon Black men for cheap labor. Under pressure from industrial leaders and White farmers, British colonial governmental policies were enacted that served to further the exploitation of African men for their labor and their land. An example of legislation that constricted the mobility of Africans were the policies against 'squatting.'[4] Massive numbers of Blacks were uprooted from their homesteads to provide labor and land for White people. (Walker 1990 et al).

The period of 1887-1899 can rightfully be considered the initial stage of the migratory labor system that was the nexus between the emergence of capitalism and later apartheid in South Africa. These forces along with the intensification of forced labor migration of African men, influenced the serious breakdown in the social order of African populations.

Other forms of political oppressive legislation that brought African people to their knees included 'hut taxes', forced removals, and pass laws. Each of these actions had an overwhelming impact on all of the African communities in South Africa. However, for the Eastern Cape Xhosa, the combined burdens of living in densely populated areas, the massive separation of family and kin, and the reduction of access to arable land, exacerbated the oppression which denied them the opportunity to live with a sense of well-being and adequate basic human needs.

The lack of sufficient land (and cattle) created overwhelming chaos for African people who were culturally and economically dependent upon both for food production/subsistence as well as for cultural rituals and customs. Land and cattle meant

more than mere subsistence for the Xhosa. These elements were interwoven into every aspect of Xhosa cultural forms, which affected their cultural self-identity, images and perceptions regarding gender relations, patterns of subsistence, kinship, language, and rituals.

The African people, once proud of their 'wealth' represented by access to land and cattle, had become involuntary players in the process, which led them to a cultural form represented by extreme disadvantage and poverty.

Even though sufficient arable land was not available to Africans to live autonomously in rural communities as in the past (prior to dependence on wage-labor), governmental policies forced African households to depend on rural women to provide subsistence for their respective households. This enabled men to participate in migrant labor in the mines, on white farms, and in other wage labor activities in urban areas. The women who were left behind and the men, who left to engage in migrant labor, were forced to participate as unwilling personnel in the breakdown in the security of their most important social organization, the family, and extended social support systems.

Prior to the historical election of 1948, major legislation, including the 1913 Land Act and subsequent land acts, continued the process of compressing millions of African people into densely populated areas. Subsequent to the 1913 Land Act, the Land Act of 1936 increased the land area for Africans to 14 percent. However, this Act only served to contribute to the large number of displaced Africans who were forced to 'squat' in White areas in order to participate in wage labor. The 1913 and 1936 Land Acts and subsequent amendments, formed the agricultural structure that directly contributed to the social,

economic, and political inequalities that marginalized all of South Africans' non-white citizens. Combined with other forces, they help to set the stage for the apartheid regime, another form of colonialism (Bundy 1979).

Era of Apartheid

Apartheid was an extreme form of colonialism. *Domestic colonialism* is the term used by Carter, Stoltz, and Karis (1967: 11-13) to explain 'apartheid' as "The rise of an Afrikaner dominated republic." This strategic invention represented White people as more superior than non-whites and was an attribute in the rapid intensification of 'apartheid' legislation immediately after the 1948 election of the National Party in South Africa. Furthermore, this accelerated the process of racial oppression and divisiveness initiated earlier during 19th century colonial South Africa.

In response to the election platform ideology of racially segregated areas, the implementation of the apartheid structure followed with an increase in anti-African legislation, impacting all aspects of African living conditions. A significant companion to the migratory labor system, was the legislated forceful relocation of Africans into designated rural areas. Regarding land distribution, other policies were put in place that transformed the cultural structures of Black South Africans, while simultaneously increased the number of landless Africans.

In addition to the migratory labor system, the forced massive exodus of African populations from urban/rural farm areas to designated rural land areas, and the elevation and imposition of taxes, contributed to the incapacity of Africans to sustain themselves. Additionally, other circumstances added to the burdens imposed by the apartheid

structure. For one, the implementation of separate development beginning with the Transkei, which housed the largest number of Blacks in the Eastern Cape, briefly discussed below (Southall 1983).

The pattern of legalized segregation that began long before 1948 extended into the era of *grand* apartheid, which introduced the policy of separate *development*[5], the name given to one of the development strategies for apartheid. This policy served both political and economic purposes for the South African government. Worden (1995:112) suggests separate development was the entrenchment of 'ethnic divisions' created by apartheid strategists who attempted to *detribalize African consciousness*. He discusses an important element of separate development, forced removal:

> Forced removals on such a massive scale were the crudest sign of state power over black lives. In most cases those relocated to homelands were consigned to barren areas for removal from employment or adequate resources. Critics of apartheid labelled such actions of tantamount to genocide.

This strategy forced Africans to live in racially, segregated areas, otherwise known as *homelands* or Black Reserves. The development of the Transkei as the first so-called 'independent' state was in fact the 'prototype' of the South African government's *grand* scheme of separate development (Carter, Stoltz, Karis 1967; Southall 1983, et al).

Subsequent legislative strategies aided in the expansion of poverty-stricken ghettos in the Eastern Cape African population. Two examples of residential segregation in the Eastern Cape include: (1) the township of Zwelitsha, a large Black township near King Williams Town was constructed as an industrial Black location to provide segregated

residential housing for Blacks and to provide a cheap labor force for Whites and industry; (2) a second creation, Mdantsane a large township, near East London, the second largest in all of South Africa, was developed by the apartheid regime to support the White Supremacist ideology of segregated living patterns, also creating a concentrated Black labor force (Charton 1980; Mager 1999).

During the period of 1951-1965, the National Party intensified the legal segregation of South Africans with the establishment of several Acts and related policies. Although legal segregation had begun prior to 1948, the following apartheid legislation served to regulate and micro-manage the lives of Blacks in terms of land usage, residentially, economically, and socially. I mention a few of the major Acts, namely; (a) the Bantu Authorities Act-1951; (b) the Bantu Education Act-1953; (c) the Natives Taxation and Development Act-1958; and (d) the Bantu Homelands Development Corporations Act-1965. These laws contributed to the creation of a society promised by the National Party, whereby, the majority African population were prevented from economic development (Carter, Stoltz, Karis 1967; Bundy 1979).

Grand apartheid, or institutional racism, positioned the African people in extreme poverty situations and affected family and household structures. The massive migration that took working-age men out of the *homelands* to work in industrial labor, overly-stressed the household structures which had to depend on women for support, who were mainly of child-bearing age. The juxtaposition of the migratory labor system and the transformation of gender-household relations were the instrument for the systemic breakdown in the social order of the Xhosa in the Transkei. As previously stated the

farming and mining industries played an important role in the diminishing viability and developmental capacity of the African family and their traditional political economy. Southall (1983: 78) suggest that, "By the late 1930s, over three-quarters of men had been recruited from the Transkei." This increasing level of male-migration would leave women behind in the *reserves* to assume the responsibilities that were previously shared by both sexes. Additionally, women were confronted with the challenge of juggling the burdens of child-care, household subsistence, and agriculture responsibilities. According to Southall (1983: 221), women *"...were transformed into servants of capital in a dual sense."*

According to Wilson and Ramphele (1989: 300), colonial and apartheid land Act legislation reshaped the South African *racial geography.* An earlier prediction that the dismantling of apartheid would not fully address the socio-economic conditions of African people was prophetic. They argued: "Abolition of these laws.... will do nothing to alter the fact that those who are poor can continue to live where apartheid dumped them in impoverished ghettos, miles distant from their work."

Eastern Cape and Underdevelopment

It is important to identify related factors that contributed to the underdevelopment of the Eastern Cape Province. Southall (1983: 209) identifies some of the major political and economic constraints that were imposed on the African population: it was the ".... *historic function of the African reserves in the era of segregation to subsidize the workings of capital in the white areas.*" The labor of Black Africans was reimbursed at much lower levels than for whites.

The relationship between migration, separate development and poverty in the Eastern Cape are explored in more depth in subsequent chapters. However, it is important to introduce the Transkei with respect to separate development also (referred to as 'positive apartheid'). The Transkei case was a strategy designed to create the image of self-governing African *homelands* otherwise referred to by White South Africans as *bantutsans.* [6]

In 1962, as a response to internal and external pressures, the Transkei became the first Black homeland to emerge as a self-governing territory within South Africa. (In 1976, it became a so-called *independent state*). This movement was part of the grand scheme to create '*bantutsan*' showplaces represented as 'independently' governed. (In 1981, the Ciskei, another Eastern Cape homeland was also granted 'independence'). The reality is that these homelands were controlled by and dependent upon the apartheid government. This development of *Black states* under the guise of separate development only served to provide the illusion of Black self-governance and autonomy. Carter, Karis and Stoltz (1967: 33-34) suggests:

> This was a way to provide white areas for self-development, to save the consciousness of those who were troubled by overt discrimination against Africans in 'white areas.' At the same time, it was a means to distract black nationalists from objectives and a means to divert outside nations attention and Criticism of racial discrimination.

A study conducted in the Transkei during the 1960's revealed the plight of South African Blacks. The results of this study, couched in relation to the Poverty Datum Level (PDL),[7] indicated that a majority of the households in the surveyed areas had a total income less than the PDL. According to this study, at least 85 percent of the households in

the homeland subsisted on income levels that did not provide the minimum requirements for basic human care needs (Southall: 209). This aspect of underdevelopment is linked to the aforementioned apartheid policies, including strict influx control, and the massive industrial migrant labor system.

Migration and Labor

The migrant labor system whereby, large numbers of men migrated out of the rural homelands was a process of fundamental transformation that took place within the southern African landscape for over one hundred years. Migration and the unequal distribution of land, were interrelated factors that contributed to the overcrowded population in the rural areas.

The relationship between migration labor and underdevelopment in the Eastern Cape context is well documented. Southall (1983: 209) agrees with others that the South African government intentionally exploited the Transkei in order to subsidize labor for the White economy. Bundy and Murray (1995) concur with Southall that the increased levels of migratory labor had a deleterious impact on the political economy of the African reserves and on the household structures. Migration labor and the intensification of apartheid legislation were forces attributed to the increase in female heads-of-household in the Eastern Cape. This is not to suggest that women-dependent households are inferior. Rather, I am suggesting that female heads-of-household tend to be disadvantaged in different ways, since universally, female-headed households are more likely to be more disadvantaged on various levels compared to those headed by men.

By 1978, as the major source of labor supporting the political economy of South Africa, 425,238 young Black men had joined the migrant labor force. Although the impact of labor migration has been previously mentioned, this phenomenon is particularly relevant when examining the indicators of poverty and other issues that confront Xhosa female heads-of-household in post-apartheid Eastern Cape (Southall: 1983).

The structural changes that became the general characteristics of the Eastern Cape political economy during colonialism and later in the apartheid era, in large part have not changed for the great majority of Eastern Cape residents. My study links these factors to other indicators that influence the political economy, social organization, and well being of Xhosa female-headed households in the Eastern Cape, briefly introduced in the next section.

Gender Issues and Underdevelopment

In examining gender issues in the context of underdevelopment in the Eastern Cape, I will review female migration; women's involvement in wage labor; male migration as indicators of female poverty; and other indicators that can be attributed to stress-related conditions in women who head households.

The juxtaposition of colonialism, the traditional division of labor, and, later, the transforming structures of apartheid exacerbated the differential status of South African Black women. The impact of the apartheid structure, especially in the context of the migratory labor system, on the contemporary African family is discussed in the vast literature on southern African migration (Southall 1983; Bundy 1979; Murray 1995; Walker 1990; et al.).

During apartheid, many of the women who remained in the rural areas were expected to support the homestead. However, there were few wage-earning opportunities available for them to support their households. In particular, in households where husbands were absent for long periods of time, and unable/unwilling to provide support for the household unit, women faced extreme hardships in their daily lives. They had the double burden of seeking alternative means of earning income as well as doing the domestic work generally shared by both sexes in traditional households.

Berger (1992:19) offers the perspective that rural women had to "develop family-related economies" in order to do the work usually done by both men and women. This meant women had to walk long distances to carry water and wood for cooking, thatching roofs, and does the planting and harvesting involved in food production.

By the 1930s (Berger 1992: 19), women were beginning to leave the rural areas to seek work. Women who migrated to urban areas did so for many reasons. In some cases, they left for reasons other than employment. Some left to escape extreme poverty conditions but others left to escape the traditional gender roles. Most of those who sought work outside the homelands became domestics in White homes or on farms. Berger suggests additional reasons: "If women moved to cities partly in response to rural economic dislocations, many also sought greater personal autonomy than rural communities allowed."

Harris (1993) provides a perspective on the political economy of women who live in Botswana, Swaziland, and Lesotho, who share similar elements with respect to culture, migration labor, and historical situations with women in the Eastern Cape. She contends

migratory labor had an impact on women and their families and suggests that women were forced to enhance their wage earning capacities in the informal sector, such as 'cottage industries'.

Murray (1995) discusses the impact of migratory labor on the African family in Lesotho, an independent country that borders the Transkei region. The disruptive forces of change contributed to marital conflicts, spousal desertion, children out of wedlock, and cultural dissonance. Within this societal chaos, women continued to seek alternatives to provide for themselves and their households.

African women were limited in their choices for wage labor. There were minimum employment opportunities except as domestics in White homes. Apartheid and the traditional African patriarchal structures were combined barriers that prevented women from participating in the formal sector. When women were allowed to participate in the formal sectors, they received less pay for similar work done by men and Whites, who received higher wages. The mining industry is one example of the industrial sector that supported the apartheid government policies, which excluded Black women from the formal sector. A major constraint was the prevailing ideology of domesticity, which served to position Black women as domestic servants (Southall 1983; Sharp and Spiegel 1990; Berger 1992).

Mental Health Issues

Historically, mental health for Africans has been a major concern for Black South Africans. In terms of diagnosis, treatment, and service delivery, these issues have been addressed on different levels. Swartz (1995: 401) examines mental health conditions,

which covers the colonial period 1891 to 1920. Her analysis reveals the level of *underdevelopment* and racial maltreatment with respect to disparate mental health services received by Black South Africans as well as the overall treatment of Africans in mental health institutional systems. She argues that the "*Cape*" mental health system was an '*act of colonization*', and explains this as:

> The hierarchy of status which structured the [Cape] society outside the asylum was maintained within its walls, with white men tending to fare better than white women, and all white insane being better cared for than those marked as black.

The American Psychiatric Association (APA 1980) conducted a study in South Africa, which examined the status of mental health under the apartheid regime. The report revealed that Blacks were differentially treated with respect to race and gender during the years of 1977-1980. Most importantly, the findings concluded, "The South African government subsidizes white mental health patients at a higher rate than black patients." It outlined many of the conditions endured by blacks in mental health institutions, such as: (a) Blacks were diagnosed by different standards than were whites; (b) Blacks tended to be *kept* for longer periods of time than Whites in private institutions that were reimbursed by government funds (c) the physical conditions of the facilities were inadequate with respect to poor quality of food, bedding, space, and general care; (d) Blacks were physically assaulted by staff and were treated under the same *apartheid mentality*, that is, by degrading and dehumanizing behavior; (e) Black patients were expected to provide physical labor for institutional maintenance; and, (f). Finally, Black patients were frequently hired/contracted out for their labor by private companies.

Subsequent studies confirm the mental health services that were available to Africans were severely substandard and fragmented. Strous and Hickson (1993) report from numerous documentation that many of the conditions described in the previously referenced study continued to exist during their research. In fact, the authors suggest that post-apartheid South Africa be not prepared to deal with the mental health concerns of African women who are employed as domestic workers. Other important observations are made with respect to the service delivery and treatment for Africans:

> In South Africa, psychology is criticized at the levels of practice and function for being irrelevant not only to the needs of Black domestics but to the needs of the majority of the Black population as well.

The authors further argue that professional discriminatory practices exist with respect to gender, culture, and race in South Africa. The conditions under which Africans are admitted or treated in institutional care mimic the way they are treated in the general society. For example, discriminatory, racist structures that were experienced under apartheid are parallels to the fragmented services offered in psychiatric facilities. Additionally, there is a severe shortage of qualified professional providers who are able or willing to treat African clients/patients. Another important factor is related to the cultural differences that exist between caregivers and clients/patients.

Inconsistent data are provided in recent South African documents (South African Yearbook 1996; Census 1996); for one, these documents indicate that there are approximately 20-26 (this figure is not stable, hospitals and other institutions were closed during this study) national psychiatric hospitals in the country that provide in-patient services for the severely mentally ill. Additionally, the data indicate the availability of

private hospitals and clinics for purposes of hospitalization when required for treatment of the less severe in terms of diagnosis.

The data gleaned from other statistical services (OHS 1995-1996) reveal that there are 90-96 hospitals in the Eastern Cape Province. There is no breakdown for mental health or general health services. However, based on my personal observations and information obtained from professional informants, it is strongly suggested that these numbers are too high. In fact, there was at least one psychiatric hospital closed when I visited the area, Enzelebeni Psychiatric Hospital near Queenstown. The remaining psychiatric hospital Komeni services the same population. At the time of my fieldwork, there was at least one outpatient mental health non-government organization (NGO) in close proximity, that provides psychological and social services to women and their children in the rural communities.

In the former 'Ciskei", Victoria Hospital in the town of Alice, coordinates and supervises community health services. One of the programs is a mobile service system that takes health to the rural areas. Again, both the informants who staff this service and informants who are beneficiaries of the services, articulate the inadequacies of the services.

Towers Psychiatric Hospital in Fort Beaufort is one of the two racially segregated Eastern Cape mental health institutions that was established in 1894 by the colonial administrators. Towers was designed for Black patients; the second facility in Grahamstown was established for Whites (Swartz 1995; Martello Newsletter 1994) All of the private and public service facilities for Africans are grossly under-staffed and under-funded.

Other recent sources reveal serious discrepancies with respect to the government documents. Dartnell, Modiba, Porteus, and Viljoen (1999: 75) who are mental health providers in the Eastern Cape, report on the 'state' of mental health in post-apartheid Eastern Cape, to be 'unchanged' from the conditions that existed under apartheid. The report makes an additional observation: "Unfortunately, the 'asylums' of the past have become the 'psychiatric hospitals' of today, often with little new to distinguish between them."

In the Eastern Cape context, there are many socio-economic indicators-previously alluded to, which can be contributors to the poor mental health status for African women. One factor that continues to plague Eastern Cape African families is the fact that many household members are totally dependent on women for all of their basic human needs. In turn, these women often experience symptoms of chronic stress that may be indicative of other mental or general health conditions. A major component of this study has been to discover the degree to which women can articulate their experiences with respect to well being, stress and the coping strategies they employ to buffer stress (Appendix VI).

Finally, there are recent South African case studies which document the relevance in using anthropological methods to explore the connection between culture change, individual case histories of informants' experiences under the apartheid structure and the relationship to stress-related conditions, particularly Eastern Cape African women who are heads-of-household. Some of the more recent case studies are mentioned below.

Hickson and Stous (1993:113) conducted a study of Xhosa-speakers in South Africa, which explored some of the factors contributing to the mental health status of women.

Although this study focused on urban domestics, there are some characteristics that are comparable to the Eastern Cape context. The researchers report a link between the treatment experienced by domestic workers and their expressed feelings of powerlessness: "Her powerlessness in the face of discriminatory laws, low wages, long working hours in unsatisfactory conditions, and racist employers, adversely affected her self-esteem and feelings of self-worth."

Meer (1994) and Mlisa (1997) examined the relationship between political, socio-economic, and environmental factors to poverty and mental health disorders. They concur that women in the rural areas most often do not have adequate social supports and health resources needed to offset the conditions which contribute to poor health and mental health concerns.

Meer (1994: 15) describes some of the conditions based on her study of women who lived in the rural community of Cleremont, outside Durban. This area resembles the rural communities in the Eastern Cape. The results of the study conducted by Meer reveal the following:" Twenty percent of the women described their own health as bad to poor and 45% considered the health of their families to be poor." Furthermore, the findings reveal significant health concerns that are related to poverty conditions experienced by these women and their families.

Mlisa (1997)[8] in describing conditions that exist in the Eastern Cape concludes her study by relating health and behavioral indicators to a mental condition referred to as Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). The results of her research attribute level of violence

women and families experienced during apartheid and as it continues in the contemporary society to the health concerns that face today.

Although there are no official statistical data available for the Eastern Cape population with respect to mental health, this study analyzes data obtained from health professionals in the Eastern Cape. Additionally, informants contributed to the database with information contained in their respective oral life histories. Also, I was able to obtain relevant documents and papers written by professionals in the Eastern Cape. These documents provide further insight into the status of mental and general health service delivery with respect to diagnosis and treatment of stress-related conditions experienced by African women.

III. Chapter Summary

This chapter introduces the scope of the research project by outlining the research objectives, approaches, and foci. The conceptual framework for the dissertation evolved out of an interdisciplinary perspective, which includes anthropology as the primary discipline, mental health-psychology, African history, and gender analysis. Additionally, several theoretical approaches provide the analytical structure. These include political economy theory, dependency theory, development theory, Selyean stress theory, and gender analysis theory.

A demographic and qualitative profile is provided which describes the research environment and the target population, Xhosa women who are heads-of- households in the rural communities of the Eastern Cape Province in South Africa. A historical overview

analyzes the scope of the problem beginning with European colonialism up to the apartheid era, which officially ended after the election in 1994.

Particular emphasis is given to the role of migratory labor; the transformation of indigenous social organizations, especially the deconstruction of family and kinship systems; the impact on the political economy; and, the mental health status of women-dependent households.

Finally, a overview review of the literature with respect to the mental health status and conditions in South Africa beginning with the colonial '*Cape*', up to the contemporary situation in the Eastern Cape Province is included.

The next chapter provides a detailed discussion of the research approaches and methodology utilized during fieldwork which was conducted in the Eastern Cape Province during December 1997-December 1998.

---

[1] All figures are rounded up if it is 1.5 or greater.
[2] At time of study, Rand fluctuated daily. Converted to U.S. currency, $2460.00.
[3] This organization was formed in 1993 and has four components: literacy, family education, and vocational and technical education. Also known as the Ilingelihle Women's Project.
[4] African sharecroppers were referred to as *squatters*. These were peasants who lived on White-owned land and farmed part of it with their own seed. To use the land, they had to provide labor and crops for the White farmers.
[5] Apartheid is an Afrikaans term which means 'separateness'.
[6] The word Bantu as used by the apartheid regime, has derogatory connotations for Black South Africans
[7] Poverty Datum Level, an estimate that measures poverty based on basic human subsistence. For 1993-95, it is estimated R840 for an urban household, R740 per month for a rural household.
[8] Mlisa does not specify exact locations where research was conducted; however, she is a clinical psychologist who matriculated at the University of Port Elizabeth and is the founder of a NGO of Psychological services specializing in women and children who have been abused in a location near Queenstown, Eastern Cape.

Chapter Two

Research Methodology

I. Introduction

This exploratory study examines the transformation of Xhosa-speaking socio-economic and political structures in the Eastern Cape and the impact of change on the status of women. Multi-disciplinary methods have been integrated to include conventional anthropology, psychology, sociology, and history.

Chapter one briefly describes the research focus, design, objectives and rationale and introduces the major themes and theories as they are presented in the body of the dissertation. This chapter provides additional detail regarding the research design and methodology used in the research field. More importantly, the study population is defined using the results of the research survey data (Appendix II).

Research questions as previously presented in Chapter one can be briefly re-stated in the following objectives: (a) to identify emerging trends in the Eastern Cape that impact women-dependent households; (b) to examine perceptions and attitudes women and men hold about marriage, family and parenting; (c) to identify changes in social, economic and political structures of Xhosa-speaking people in Eastern Cape; (d) to identify and evaluate life-events and experiences of women in the Eastern Cape that may contribute to chronic stress, mental health and general health problems; (e) to identify the cleavages in the contemporary Eastern Cape that may impact social, economic and health status of

women; (f) to evaluate the implications of cultural and political transformation in terms of gender roles and the impact on the status of Xhosa women who head households.

The Study Population Profile

The majority of the Eastern Cape population lives in densely populated rural areas. Racially and ethnically, the former homelands of the Transkei and the Ciskei are very homogenous, as the majority population belongs to the Nguni[i] language group and speak Xhosa. Hammond-Tooke (1965:143) describes Nguni at the time of European contact:

> The term cape Nguni refers to the congeries of tribes, all patrilineal and practising a combination of pastorialism and hoe-culturing that inhabit the eastern seaboard of the Republic of South Africa, from the Natal border in the north to approximately a line drawn just west of Port Elizabeth in the south. All are Xhosa-speakers...the majority live in the Transkeian territories... Large numbers of Cape Nguni are also found in the Ciskei, including the districts of King William's Town, Peddie, Herschel, Victoria East, Keiskammahoek, and Queenstown.

Characteristics of the contemporary Eastern Cape ethnological Xhosa-speaking people are composed of two main groups that are referred to as the Rharhabe, or otherwise as the *real* Xhosas and the Mfengus. The Rharhabe clan is divided into the following clan groups: Ngqika Jingqi, Dushane, Gwelane, Ndlambe, Gqunukhwebe, Ngcangathelo, Hleke, Dange, Ngqalasi, Qhayi, Ntinde, Gasela, and Gwali. The following groups are referred to as Mfengu/Fingo: Hlubi, Bhele, Zizi, Toto, Khuze, Zotsho, Maduna, Gubevu, and Ngwane. There are also remnants of the Thembu and other clans, located in the Transkei and Ciskei areas (Appendix IV)

Clan names are important to the Xhosa. When they greet an unfamiliar Xhosa-speaker, they will inquire about the father's clan and reciprocate with information about their own father's clan.

An important factor is that the ethnological characteristics of all these groups are so similar that ninety-nine percent of the informants did not make important distinctions during the interviews. Therefore, no distinctions will be made between the various ethnic groups, since this dissertation considers all of the informants to be members of a homogenous society.

Selection criteria for participants

Selection criteria for participation in the research study included the following: (a) informants had to be Xhosa-speakers who have been residents in the Eastern Cape since birth; (b) women informants had to be in age groups ranging from 15 to 80 years; (c) informants had to live in a household that had more than one member; (d) informants either self-identified as head of household or identified by the definition used by the South African Central Statistics Services; (e) male informants were to be in age groups ranging 20 years to 65 years; and (g) all informants were advised of confidentiality, and had to sign the Informed Consent Form (Appendix I).

Although this study was a cross-section of the Xhosa women in the Eastern Cape, the majority of the participants were residents in rural areas in the Transkei and Ciskei (formerly the Victoria Magisterial District). Research assistants and the investigator randomly selected the informants. The selection of the interview sites often dictated where the participants would be obtained, since the research assistants interviewed in their home villages and in locations in close proximity to their respective homes. This was very helpful since in most cases tribal authorities had to be consulted prior to interviews.

Preliminary report on target population

Qualitative and quantitative methods were used to determine the demographic profile of the target population, changes in customs and cultural practices/beliefs, relevant gender issues, and coping strategies (or psychological/behavioral responses) in response to socio-economic indicators related to chronic stress and general health issues. A total of two-hundred participants were interviewed; fifty of those interviewed were men.

The following preliminary summary considers one hundred and sixteen women, who completed the survey (Appendix II). Ten of the women, who were key informants, provided case studies. Their individual oral histories and the responses of the men will be incorporated with the women responses and discussed in subsequent chapters. Twenty-four respondents failed to complete the interview process or provide inconsistent information; therefore, data regarding these individuals are not included in the demographic profile.

All of the informants self-identified *culturally* and by language as *Xhosa*. The average age of the informant was 45 years old, and lived in a rural area. In terms of household composition, there was an average of five members in each household. There was one informant who reported nineteen members, the largest number, and two households with a total of two members, the smallest households.

In terms of literacy, the majority of the informants have less than an 8th grade education. In fact, none of the women who live in the rural areas in the Transkei speaks English and few have received less than two years of formal schooling. However, most of

the women who live in the (former) Ciskei, even those in the rural areas tend to be more literate.

Seven of the women hold college degrees, while fourteen of them are trained to be teachers, two are nurses and twelve are employed as cleaners/domestic workers. All of the informants, who have an education equivalent to an 8th grade level, are totally literate in Xhosa and some are able to read, write and speak English, as well as other southern African languages.

The lifestyle of the typical rural informant is one of hardship. Only sixteen percent of the interview participants work in the formal sector, as teachers, nurses, and in service occupations. The majority of the informants are employed in the informal sector as domestic workers, and as *hawkers/* street vendors. Some of the women report receiving financial assistance from other family members or from pensions. All but three of the informants expressed feeling 'stressed' because they did not have enough money to take care of their families.

Inadequate housing, high levels of crime, problematic domestic relationships, and the lack of basic human resources are the major complaints of informants who live in rural areas. Housing is a concern for women who live in overcrowded housing and often lack enough space for all of the members; privacy is problematic, especially in homes with young adult children who are also parents. Crime is another factor: more than fifty percent of the respondents report being victimized directly or indirectly by crime. One of the units of analysis is safety and security in the community; for many of the informants, the environment is not safe. Women and children frequently report experiences of crimes perpetrated on them by youth and men. One of the most frequent responses to the

question: "*Do you feel the police are capable of protecting you?*" is a resounding "*No*". In fact, many of the women believe the police are a part of the problem, and are not trusted (Fieldnotes 1998).

Another important variable is the nature of domestic relationships as reported by the informants. For the majority, even those who are married, men are not providing financial, physical or emotional support to women and dependent children. Informants report feeling *overwhelmed* and unable to *cope* because of the way they are treated by men.

Finally, another important stress factor identified by the informants, is related to the lack of adequate infrastructure and the proximity of rural households to basic human care services: more than ninety-five percent of the informants live in areas that do not have the capacity to provide decent living conditions nor able to meet the basic human care needs of the women and their families.

II. Field Research Methods and Approaches

Conventional qualitative anthropological methods that include participant observation, formal and informal personal interviews, oral histories, focus/group interviews, and documentary analysis of historical/archival documents, were used in conjunction with research approaches as suggested by the disciplines of sociology, gender theory, psychology and history. This multi-disciplinary methodology was useful in the development of the interview instruments and in reviewing and analyzing regional demographic and historical data. Each method or approach was adapted to conform to the

guidelines as defined by the University of Oklahoma Research Administration, Department of Anthropology, and the University of Fort Hare.

Qualitative and Quantitative Methods

Ethnography uses a combination of research methods that include qualitative and quantitative approaches. Qualitative methods used in this study have been described above and are standard approaches used in field research in anthropology as well as other social sciences. (Quantitative methods and analysis of demographic and statistical data will be discussed in chapter four).

The overall research design for this study was developed by utilizing multi-disciplinary approaches, namely those suggested by the following: Briggs (1995), uses a sociolinguistic approach when conducting fieldwork. His extensive research in northern New Mexico focuses on the importance of utilizing intercultural communication interviewing skills; Emerson, Fritz, Shaw (1995), explain the standard anthropological techniques used in ethnographic fieldwork; Pons (1983), developed research instruments for conducting household surveys in Tanzania. Finally, Meena (1992) who believes it is important to consider gender theory analysis especially when conducting research in southern Africa.

Participant Observation

Participant observation is a technique that involves a number of skills. Active listening and effective interpersonal communication skills are needed when interacting with and observing people in different societies. Observation allows the anthropologist to get acquainted with the research environment while learning acceptable social behavior. In

the Eastern Cape context, participant observation took place in various venues: on the university campus where the research office was located; in the urban areas of Alice, Fort Beaufort, Hogsback, East London and other locations where the investigator resided during the project; in rural and urban interview sites; in civic and social meetings; during special cultural events, including religious institutions and aspects of civic affairs; and, in interactions with the families and close relations of key informants.

All observations were recorded on a daily basis. A major focus of each observation was to observe how people interacted with each other during social engagements and in daily life situations, especially regarding individual and group social behavioral and interpersonal patterns between Xhosa-speakers. Particular attention was focused on daily activities such as marketing; gathering firewood and collecting water; tending children; religious practices; cultural events; in tending household chores and in the working environment.

Another example of participant observation was the focus on mental health diagnosis and service delivery in hospitals and social service organizations. To this end, I was able to observe limited medical practices in the Eastern Cape and the delivery of social services. Another example of the utility of participant observation for the purposes of this study was illustrated upon my arrival in South Africa. From the moment I arrived in the Eastern Cape, I listened to the lengthy greetings exchanged by Xhosa people. I observed their behavioral patterns and noted the consistency of verbal greetings and overt behaviors of affection displayed throughout my field experience. These greetings can take up a lot of time, but for the Xhosa, this is an important social custom. Mlisa (1997)

discusses the importance of appropriate greetings for cultural continuity and links the absence of it to cultural breakdowns.

Participant observation was helpful in meeting other informants and observing cultural practices; as well, it afforded an opportunity for subsequent rapport building with potential informants. A significant amount of the qualitative data discussed in this dissertation was collected using this method.

Personal Interviews

Personal interviews were both formal and informal. The formal interview was facilitated by the use of a survey (Appendix II) that was developed to solicit qualitative and quantitative data. The four-part instrument was used in interviewing of two hundred individuals. A formal interview process was useful in ordering the data. In this case, sections one through three (Items A-C) were used to develop individual and household demographic profiles, as well as identified quantifiable socio-economic indicators.

Section four (Item D) consisted of open-ended questions that allowed respondents the opportunity to talk more openly. The data obtained from this source contributed to a modified life history of each informant.

The formal interview survey is dependent upon the skills of the interviewer and the efficacy of the instrument. This instrument was designed to allow at least an hour for each interview. The majority of the interviews took place in the residential or work locations of the informants.

Essential to the interviewing process was prior knowledge regarding the study population and the research environment. Equally important was the consistency of the input provided by key informants and South African professionals.

The investigator hired eight research assistants. Six of these assistants were post-graduate students at the University of Fort Hare (UFH). Two of the assistants were health professionals. All research assistants were Xhosa and spoke English, since most of the interviews took place in rural areas where English was not frequently spoken.

Additionally, it was often necessary for the research assistants to obtain permission from the rural tribal authorities in order to arrange appointments for the interviews.

The Informed Consent Form (Appendix I) was translated into Xhosa with the assistance of the secretary in the office of Govan Mbeki Resource Research Centre at UFH and staff from the Xhosa Dictionary Project at UFH. Each research assistant met with the investigator to review questions, and was provided with verbal and written instructions. The assistants were extremely helpful in providing input to the cultural aspects for discussion topics and interview questions.

Informal interviews were primarily unplanned and unstructured. These interviews were frequently conducted in the format of discussion and informal social, civic or academic settings. For example, an informant would often engage the investigator in a discussion involving the research objectives, which generally added substantively to the interview process.

The majority of the informal interviews occurred between the investigator and key informants during the life of the project. All informants signed an Informed Consent Form prior to being interviewed.

Oral Life Histories

Oral life histories are useful and fundamental tools in ethnographic research, and often provide the substantive qualitative data. The initial interview sessions for the oral life

histories were conducted prior to the development of the survey. Each informant consented to a minimum of two days for the initial interviews. Pre-interview questions were used to facilitate a discussion.

Oral histories collected during this study are used as case studies, represented by substantive input from a cross-section of the Xhosa women. Each of the case studies was developed from interviews and discussions that occurred between informants and the investigator during the course of the research project. The individual and collective historical accounts were shared by informants who highlighted personal life experiences, traumatic life events, cultural and gender-related issues, all of which serve to document the impact of transformation on the social, economic and political structures of the Eastern Cape, Xhosa-speaking society.

Case histories used in the body of this manuscript represent the cross-section of women who participated in the research. Their ages range from 37 years old to 60 years old, and represent women who head households in semi-rural and rural communities. The informants are single, divorced or widowed. Two are married. All but one identified herself as *head-of-household.* One married informant described herself as *equa*l in her household. The literacy diversity of informants includes women who are illiterate, the majority, to those who hold professional certificates. One woman, a 60-year-old widow, is a retired professional and entrepreneur. Eight of the women were born in the Transkei and considered it *home,* while two of the women were born in the Ciskei, although they claim clan linkages to the Transkei (Fieldnotes 1998).

The venues for the interviews varied according to the needs of the informant. At least one interview was conducted in the home of each participant, while subsequent

interviews took place in other locations. The information extracted from the case studies contributed to the topical themes, i.e., stress indicators, coping strategies, domestic relations, etc., considered in developing the final interview instrument. Two of the informants became key informants and were involved in the research study, in different capacities, for the duration of the field research.

Focus Groups

Focus groups were conducted which provided linkages with the individual personal interviews, oral life histories, and participant observations. The qualitative data collected from the four focus groups supplemented and often validated the data that was obtained from other oral and written materials. The group format was also useful in observing behavioral interactions between the participants. All focus group sessions took place in community or academic settings. Two of the focus groups (all included four to six participants in each group), were conducted in the Alice community. The sessions were in Xhosa and in English. The investigator used two research assistants to interpret and facilitate the discussions. Two other sessions took place in the Transkei area; one of the sessions was conducted in Xhosa and the other in Xhosa and English with the facilitation and translation provided by research assistants. Similar to other interview processes, each participant signed an Informed Consent Form.

A profile of the participants in the focus group would indicate the following: (a) the median age was forty-five (45) years old; (b) twenty-four of the (Ciskei) participants were domestic workers or cleaners in Alice or the surrounding communities, with forty percent unemployed or engaged in the informal sector; (c) in the Transkei, participants lived in rural areas and were employed as domestics; (d) all of the participants were reluctant to

refer to selves as *head-of-household,* regardless of the situation; and, (e) none of the focus group participants were educated beyond a second or third grade education.

Historical or Documentary Research

Historical research is used to fill gaps in the literature with respect to the Eastern Cape. It is helpful in assuring reliability in using other source documents obtained during the data collection process. Historical documents were located in the Archival Room (referred to as the *African Room/Howard PIM*) at the University of Fort Hare, Fort Beaufort Museum, and the Kaffrarian Museum in King Williams Town. These documents include oral histories, household surveys, and demographic/vital statistical information relative to the Eastern Cape (or the former Ciskei homeland). Many of the narrative sources provided additional insights with respect to the reality and perceptions of cultural change relative to the social organization of the Eastern Cape Khosa. They have been useful in documenting and tracking the rate and degree of socio-political and economic transformation that has occurred through time and space in the Eastern Cape Xhosa organization. Many of these documents reveal the racial and gender distortions that often exist in the contemporary literature regarding southern Africa. All research conducted during apartheid, was subjected to censor and possible banning. Much of the work was under the supervision and authority of the apartheid Afrikaner government and academics. Therefore, most of the literature has never been published outside South Africa. The quantitative and qualitative data obtained from these reports highlighted many of the issues relevant to this study.

Data collection and Analysis

Data collection and analysis are on going processes that occur simultaneously. Therefore, data collection and analysis should not be viewed as separate processes, but rather as interdependent. In the Eastern Cape context, one aspect of interpreting the data, especially the qualitative information, was to solicit feedback from trusted key informants. Informants who participated in the interview processes often provided a wide range of variations in response to similar questions. It was valuable to have input from professionals and key informants to help sort out some of the variances, especially regarding same historical and shared events. This was very informative since meanings assigned to similar events were frequently in agreement when there were variances in behavioral patterns and verbal expressions. Insiders could only explain these meanings.

A research diary was instrumental in daily planning and tracking of the research process. Daily observations, note taking, calendaring of events and systematic monitoring of the research study were essential. A significant amount of time was spent in recording observations, analyzing and cross-referencing information.

Content analysis was used to interpret and analyze the qualitative data; gender theory analysis is used to define gender-related research units of analysis and in the interpretation of the data.

III. Research Instrument

The initial research survey was adapted from a questionnaire household survey developed by Pons (1983), and used by the government of Tanzania in conducting extensive household surveys during the late 1970s. This survey was revised during the course of the fieldwork to fit the Eastern Cape situation. In fact, two pilot surveys were

conducted prior to the completion of the final research survey. An important addition to the survey process was the inclusion of men as research assistants and as informants.

Other less structured interview instruments were designed to solicit information from collateral informants, mainly those who were in the health, civic, and non-government organizations. Interview forms were not given to informants to complete. Instead, the researcher and research assistants to conduct the interview process used the forms.

Organization and Construction

The research survey was revised three times. Two pilot surveys tested the utility of the research instrument, that allowed the research assistants, professionals, and key informants to review, discuss, and provide input. The final survey took an additional four months to revise, which included two months for conducting the pilots for men and for women.

The questionnaire was divided into four sections. The first three sections were designed to solicit quantitative and demographic data. The fourth section consisted of open-ended questions designed to collect qualitative data and to afford informants an opportunity to discuss topics openly. Quantitative data was used to develop individual and household demographic profiles of the target population. Questions were designed to solicit information regarding individuals and their respective household members with respect to socio-economic and health indicators. The units of analysis included: (a) age of respondents and household members; (b) marital status; (c) literacy status; (d) employment and income factors; (e) location of household and composition; (f) dwelling types and infrastructure elements; (g) dependent adults and children residing in household; (h) health and mental health indicators; and, (i) individual coping indicators.

Section four (Item D) of the survey was designed to collect qualitative information. This section consisted of questions that solicited feedback regarding attitudes, perceptions, and life experiences of the informants and their respective families. Relevant variables included topics that covered attitudes about individual health status, coping strategies, marriage, childbearing, cultural traditions/customs, family and community relations. Information obtained from this section helped to define the concepts of family, household and female heads-of-household, also referred to in this dissertation as *women-dependent* households.

The interview process allowed women to give *voice* to their personal lives; it afforded many of them for the first times in their lives to discuss many of the issues important to them. It was a time for them to express some of the concerns regarding the future of their families, especially those with children. Many of the themes discussed during the open-end interviews of women who lived in the rural areas were similar to those expressed by women who lived in urban areas and had received some type of formal education.

The next chapter three is an analysis of the qualitative data with the major focus on marriage forms, traditional and Western. Other concepts such as household, family and head-of-household are also included. Stress indicators are illustrated with eight case studies of successful and unsuccessful coping strategies that are employed by women who head households under varying circumstances.

---

[i] According to Wilson & Thompson (1969), the Nguni can be distinguished in terms of language and custom. The Xhosa-speakers belong to the Nguni language group.

Chapter Three

Women, Marriage, and Stress: Qualitative Research Analysis

I. Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of the qualitative data collected during fieldwork in the Eastern Cape, South Africa. Data collection methods that include participant observation, personal interviews, oral life histories and focus groups, provide a rich qualitative documentary source. Additionally, data was obtained from participant observation activities during the year of fieldwork which included social events, informant family gatherings, and collateral meetings, birthday celebrations, weddings, funeral and burial ceremonies. (Copies of the research survey, the Informed Consent Form, and other collateral/professional interview forms are included in the Appendices).

The scope of the qualitative data is presented in analytic summaries obtained from informants in response to the following research objectives: (a) to obtain informant self-definitions with respect to marriage, head-of-household, and family; (b) an evaluation of the perceptions and attitudes as reported by the informants regarding marriage, domestic gender relations and cultural change; (c) an analysis of oral life histories related to marital, gender relations and culture change; (d) the identification of critical life-events and social indicators as reported by the study population, that contribute to mental and general health problems related to chronic stress; and, (e) an examination of coping strategies reported by women in response to interview questions and informal discussions.

The collective qualitative data has been useful in developing thematic categories in order to analyze the results logically, consistently and reliably. Moreover, the findings confirm many of the socio-economic and political changes indicated in the literary history of Eastern Cape documents.

This study has provided a microscopic view of the Eastern Cape majority population and acknowledges its limitations with regard to the relatively low number of informant contacts with respect to the broad range of diversity in terms of socio-political, economic, and genders ideologies. Even so, other research results have revealed the similarities that exist in the informant thematic content, and the frequency of major themes when discussing important events that have taken place in the lives of individuals in the Eastern Cape.

Content analysis techniques, that include thematic and word identification, were used to analyze the qualitative data, while gender theory analysis was useful in determining relevant gender-related concepts in the Eastern Cape context.

Information collected by utilizing an interview/survey instrument, and other methods as (described in chapter two) have been coded for relevancy and frequency in terms of the thematic value with respect to expressed beliefs. As well, each statement is considered within the social and environmental context in which the interview was conducted. Categories for sorting out the data have been linked to the research objectives that have been consistent throughout the data collection and analysis processes.

Therefore, to avoid a preponderance of categories, related themes have been combined and integrated where feasible so that the analysis of the qualitative data, will adequately and correctly articulate the collective *voice* of all of the women who participated in the

study and are assumed to be representative of their respective cohorts. In order to protect the confidentiality and identity of all participants, pseudonyms are used throughout the document.

Thematic categories are based on interview questions and informant responses that include the perceptions and attitudes discussed by women informants regarding marriage forms, domestic gender relations, culture and social change.

Other related thematic components that are addressed in the survey include family relations, kinship and social support systems. Additionally, stress indicators and coping strategies most commonly used by the study population, are considered in the analysis of the qualitative data.

II. *Marriage*

African social structures were seriously affected after European contact. In the pre-colonial society, women were the primary unit of economic production in a male-dominated, patriarchal society, particularly in the domestic sphere. In the Eastern Cape context, the early nineteenth century saw an increase in activity of change agents who came to South Africa with the dual mission to 'civilize' the indigenous population and to appropriate land. The diverse institutions representing the Western Christian churches and the missionaries who served as change agents, transmitted the ideology of Christian principles to the indigenous people, representing a major force that is attributed to the disruption of the socio-political organizations and cultural life-ways of the majority Black populations of the Eastern Cape. The resulting impact of this force can be examined on several levels: for one, on the macro-systemic transformation of the political economy of

the Xhosa political order (and elsewhere in southern African indigenous societies). For another, on the related micro-systems which transformed the social organizations of Xhosa, specifically with respect to marriage forms and customs.

In terms of marriage forms and customs, there was an immediate clash between Christian/Western attitudes relative to conjugal relations, indigenous spiritual beliefs, and rituals. For example, the Xhosa marriage custom of lobola *or bridewealth* was considered by Christians to be a *pagan* custom and perceived as a burden on African women. For another, the practice of polygyny which European Christians believed to be a *sin* (Walker 1990). However, before discussing these two issues in a later section, it is important to briefly highlight some of the relevant historical events and circumstances that have contributed to the transformation of pre-colonial marriage forms.

Traditional/ Customary Law and Marriage Form

Marriage was traditionally perceived to be a union between two kinship groups, an alliance that incorporated the needs of the couple and the children. Traditionally, residence after marriage was patrilocal, which meant a wife would move to her husband's father's homestead (*umzi*). There have been many changes, which have altered this custom. The institution of traditional marriage structures and customs have become more fragmented, although marriage continues to be the most important social institution with customs and rituals that are respected and practiced, albeit in altered form (DeVos 1970; Wilson 1971).

There are many variations in the Xhosa marriage process reported in the anthropological and historical literature that attempt to reconstruct the pre-colonial life-ways and traditions of Eastern Cape populations (Raum 1972; Hunter/Wilson 1971). In

contemporary Xhosa-society, most of the rural households are headed by women and tend to be poorer than the urban households. Twenty-three percent of this cohort have never been married and have dependent children. This represents a significant change in marriage patterns in the study population.

For the sake of these analyses, tradition is defined as "An inherited, established or customary pattern of thought or action; the handing down of beliefs and customs, by word of mouth or by example without written instruction" (Webster 1997). The social organization of the Xhosa included customs and practices, which sanctioned the institution of marriage. Furthermore, Xhosa social organization provided the structure which dictated sex roles regarding the division of household labor; domestic relations between husband and wives in polygynous arrangement; appropriate behavior and functions expected in kinship units; interpersonal and spatial taboos/avoidance's (*hlonipha*); female reproduction; and, child-rearing practices. The marriage union consummated the conjugal relationship between husband and wives while simultaneously sanctioning an alliance between both kinship units. This provided the structure that was needed for agricultural production, reproduction, and for the performance of necessary traditional rituals and customs. The following section describes some of the marriage customs that are still practiced, in some form, in the Eastern Cape.

Anthropological studies in the Ciskei (DeVos 1971; Raum 1972) and document four types of marriage: (1) Traditional/Customary, the majority of the informants had participated in this type; (2) Christian marriage/church marriages--the second most frequent form; (3) Civil law marriages; and, (4) Marriage by abduction (*ukuthwala*)--a

less acceptable form that needs to be distinguished from the traditional abduction, which had the consent of the woman's parents.

According to oral histories recorded in written accounts with respect to the Eastern Cape Xhosas (Hunter 1961; Raum, de Jager 1972; Mayer 1971; Wilson, Thompson 1969, 1971), there were several steps involved in the Xhosa-speakers traditional marriage customs. To begin the marriage negotiation process, the man initiated the marriage union by selecting his potential mate. This may have included advice from a parent, or close relatives, but more than likely, once the young man made his choice known, his father's family would begin the negotiations with the kin of his potential wife. However, once a potential bride had been chosen, it is highly likely that the person(s) (*unozakuzahu*) who assumed the role of negotiator(s) would begin the negotiation for *lobola* between the two families, with an additional important goal to develop *good relations* with the prospective in-laws.

The terms of the marriage (*ukucela*) determined the conditions of living arrangements for the new couple. In the past, after the appropriate rituals had transpired, the new bride moved to her new husband's homestead. There are many rituals and festivities that took place before and during the marriage arrangements. Although there was a betrothal (ukuqashana) period, it did not have the same meaning as in Western engagements. In fact, many contemporary informants cite different meanings to the engagement period. For those Xhosas who acknowledged the betrothal as an important part of the marriage process, they acknowledge that in the past, it was important for the young woman to show respect for the transition from a young girl to that of a woman about to be married. This transition required the woman to alter her behavior in terms of what she ate and what

she wore in public. In fact, there were social behaviors demanded by custom and culture requiring her to show appropriate respect (*hlonipha*[i]) towards her future in-laws. For one, she had to cover her head with a hat/scarf (*doek*). Additionally, she would be expected to cover her breast with a cloth. Another important indicator of respect would be the bride's avoidance (*hlonipha*) of her future father-in-laws' space and the use of special terms of reference when addressing him personally or when discussing him with others.

In terms of the time frame for pre-marital negotiations, ceremonies and rituals, these processes varied according to the particular clan and kinship customs of the couple. For some, this process began after the first installment of *lobola--commonly understood to be a negotiation between a couple's kinsmen for the exchange of cattle in the traditional society* had been made. For others, the process would start at the point when the parents/kinsmen had finalized the terms of the negotiation process.

Lobola

European Christians, who did not understand the significance of this custom, believed *lobola* (commonly referred to as *bridewealth* in anthropological literature), to be a custom whereby African men *purchased* their wives with cattle (Walker 1990). Nevertheless, *lobola* was the traditional custom, which had important social, economic, and cultural significance for Xhosa-speakers relative to the continuity of their social order. The practice was considered to be an important attribute that conferred a higher status to women and their potential children.

The customs, financial circumstances and social status of the families dictate the negotiations for lobola. Many visits are made between the homesteads before both sides of each family agree the final plans to. What is important is that in the past, men were the

primary negotiators. Although the groom's sister could have a role in the arrangements, the settling of the *lobola payment*--in the form of cattle (*ikhazi*) would involve the groom's male kin. The results of the negotiation would determine the amount of cattle (or a comparable resource) the groom's kin/family would provide to the bride's kin/family. This amount was intended to compensate the kin/family for the loss of the bride's contribution to the household production and other services. In subsequent years, if the woman had received a formal education, the negotiations would consider the appropriate compensation for the costs of her education.

L*obola* was essential in the traditional social organization of Xhosa-speakers. In conjugal relations, *lobola* was a contract that was linked to the social control of the couple, the conjugal and procreative rights of husbands over their wives, and the establishment of an alliance between the two kinship groups.

In contemporary Xhosa society, this custom has been transformed. Informants often cite *lobola* as a contributing factor in abusive behaviors that wives may endure at the discretion of their husbands. Many of the informants link the status of women and *lobola* to be important for the continuity of *the culture, for it links us to the culture of our ancestors.* Even so, there are those who hold ambivalent attitudes which suggest the diminishing values and relevancy of *lobola* in contemporary Eastern Cape society. A male informant expresses the notion that participating in the custom of *lobola* in the contemporary society is just "*going through the motions,*" for he believes "*it has no real meaning.*"

Regardless of the attitudes regarding *lobola*, all of the married informants perceive *lobola* as an essential element in marriage ritual that will continue to survive in the

Eastern Cape Xhosa community. Even those who are not married agree to the importance of *lobola* with respect to women status and cultural continuity. The following comments by a woman rural dweller is indicative of the views of other informants who have negative attitudes regarding *lobola*:

> Husbands mistreat women because of the *lobola*. This practice is being abused. What they [women] have is bad treatment from men who treat them like scabs. And to make things worse, [men don't]... support the family.

Lobola remains an essential custom, which is consistent across all socio-economic classes. As previously mentioned, this custom is the exchange of cattle or a comparable substitute between the bride's family and the groom's kin. In the contemporary society, regardless of the marriage form, this custom continues to be negotiated prior to any marriage ceremony-taking place. However, *lobola* is more likely to be cash payments or a combination of cash, cattle or animal stock. Ultimately, this custom is perceived by the Xhosa-speakers to be a bridge between the past, present and future Xhosa-speakers. It is so important that it is sanctioned by the new South African Constitution as one of the cultural elements recognized by Customary Law.

Customary Law

Customary law (often used interchangeably with *traditional, Black* or *Native law)* was legitimized in 1927 by the South African government with the passage of the Native Administration Act. This legislation established women as *perpetual minors*, and with the passage of the 1953 Matrimonial Act, declared all African women legal minors (Walker 1990).

It is important to understand that the *customary law* sanctioned by the South African constitution was a guarantee that the position of African women would be subordinated within the extended family, economically, socially, and politically. The patriarchal family was institutionalized and African women were considered to be under the guardianship of their husbands, fathers, or sons. This law which presumed to sanction the social organization of pre-contact African institutions, in reality was an invention of the South African government (with input from African leaders). It reinterpreted and often distorted essential elements pertaining to *traditional* African institutions such as marriage, domestic gender relations, distribution of land (and other resources), and more importantly, the role of tribal authorities over the lives of women who lived in rural communities.

Prior to colonialism and subsequent apartheid, chiefly legitimacy was inherited and a council of elder men gave legitimacy to the position by providing input prior to making decisions. During apartheid chiefs were appointed by government authorities and paid as civil servants.

Thus, understanding the impact of social and political transformation, that is, the combination of Xhosa-traditional marriage customs, colonialism, customary law, migration labor, and subsequently, the imposition of apartheid, is necessary when analyzing data concerning the Eastern Cape.

Under customary law, marriage, family relations, property and land ownership, inheritance, and contractual powers are regulated and implemented by tribal authorities. In post-apartheid South Africa, men who are considered 'traditional' leaders, represented by chiefs or headmen, continue to administrate the resources in rural communities, by

exercising the patriarchal powers that was vested in tribal authority, under the Native Administration Act of 1927 (Walker 1990). In the post-apartheid society, customary law is often central to the administrative control that is exercised by men over women in the rural communities. Female informants tend to use the terms *traditional* interchangeably with *customary law.* Many of the women, who have lived their entire lives in the rural areas and were isolated by European contact, have never known other forms of socio-political organization.

With regard to women, especially those who function as household heads, tribal authorities often fail to respect the role of women as heads-of-household. In fact, there are three components of the legally sanctioned customary law which present considerable influence on the daily lives of rural women in the contemporary society: (1) African men under are legally allowed to take more than one wife; (2) African women are denied the right to inherit property, usually at the discretion of the tribal council or Chief; women are denied the right to engage in contractual relations without the consent of male relatives, most commonly husbands, fathers, brothers, or sons; and, (3) tribal law requires payment of *lobola* before marriage. This payment gives men the right to make decisions relative to women's reproductive life, and determines the status of her children, especially regarding inheritance. Although the 1953 Marriage Act which considered African women to be legal minors has been repealed, in the contemporary society, Customary Law still impacts on marital and gender relations, particularly those who live in rural communities.

The following discussion is a review of the research that considers the impact customary law has on the daily lives of rural women informants who continue to be

excluded from major decision-making and from full participation in the Eastern Cape political economy.

Christian/Western Marriage Forms

During the late 1800s, there was the persuasive influence of Christianity on traditional marriage forms, which affected domestic gender relations and kinship (family) systems. Walker (1992: 72: 254) suggests: "...under the influence of Christianity...gender roles must be undergoing major change in a very stressful context, no doubt generating considerable emotion and confusion among the people." By the 1920s, Walker continues: "Victorian Christianity offered a contradictory package to African women: a way to escape from some of the constraints of pre-Christian society and yet a firm incorporation in the domesticity and patriarchy of Christian family life."

Regardless of the differences in Christianity/civil, and African traditional marriage forms, African women were usually unable to voluntarily leave a marriage without considerable problems. In the traditional Xhosa marriage form, lobola was one practice that would allude to conjugal permanency, although there were ways to dissolve conjugal relations (this will be discussed in another section of this chapter). However, they were less likely to be able to terminate a marriage performed by a Christian ceremony. For the Christian/westernized form of marriage was based on the premise that '*those whom God hath put together let no man put asunder*' (Murray 1972: 101). The Christian marriage forms contradicted many of the values cherished by Africans. Polygyny was not acceptable to Christianity whereas it was an important tradition essential to a large extended family. These differences in ideology served to create additional cleavages

between Xhosa-speakers: those who embraced Christianity and those who held to the conservative Xhosa traditions.

In the context of the Eastern Cape Xhosas, three primary marriage forms have evolved traditional, Christian, and civil (Western) forms. Walker (1992) suggests that prior to the arrival of Christian missionaries, colonial agents were intentionally involved in the transformation of indigenous populations' social, religious, and political organizations, which included the institution of marriage. However, it was within the leadership of the Christian churches and missionaries, who eventually served as change agents in conjunction with colonial and post-colonial administrative rule, that European and Christian marriage forms were introduced, thereby transforming the indigenous social organizations. This reordering of the most important component of the Xhosa social organization affected all levels of African society.

Wilson and Thompson (1971: 86) present a historical basis for the displacement of the indigenous marriage structure with Western forms of marriage: "Civil marriages between Africans were recognized within the Cape Colony from 1838.... by the turn of the century, many 'School people' [ii][Xhosas] were marrying by Christian rites." Roman-Dutch law was the governing principle regulating the marital and legal status of women and men, especially with respect to inheritance rights, land ownership and property. The impact of Christianity (European law) was the impetus for altering the indigenous marriage form, especially the change from polygyny, to monogamy. This concept of monogamy is based on Biblical scripture, which considers polygyny to be *adultery/sinful.* Both ideologies are foreign concepts in the Xhosa' cosmology.

Although the Christian (or European) forms did not sanction the custom of *lobola*

(discussed elsewhere in this chapter), for the most part, this custom provided an important level of continuity between the indigenous and European forms. The Xhosa were not quick to surrender this custom. Although transformed, the practice has provided a link for many that needed to feel a connection to the past. Also, the changes in the *lobola* custom have been contingent upon factors other than mere changes in marriage forms and Western ideology. In fact, during the period between the late nineteenth century into the 1930s, *lobola* was very much influenced by labor migration, availability of cattle, land, and other circumstances that regulated the life-ways of indigenous people in southern Africa, in general (Bundy 1979; Murray 1981, 1995; Wilson, Thompson 1971; Walker 1990).

During the apartheid era, as land became less available to men, there were modifications in the traditions of African customs and the social organization, especially in terms of marriage forms. This was due in large part to remnants from previous eras when Westernized forms of social customs were imposed on the social organization of Eastern Cape populations. Additionally, the process of urbanization intensified the level of transformation of Xhosa kinship systems. Particularly, domestic gender relations and household patterns relative to the division of labor were radically altered. Beginning in the 1950s, there was an increase in widowhood, concubinage, illegitimacy, and a decline in polygyny. By the 1960s, there were more women available for marriage than men--attributed to the high levels of male migratory labor (Walker 1990).

Migratory labor forced African men to work in urban and industrial centers. These aspects of political and social change diminished the economic capacity needed for the Xhosas to regulate their daily levels of subsistence and affected the stability of Xhosa

kinship cultural practices. Wilson and Thompson (1971: 93) suggest: "A radical change in traditional kinship systems began with the opportunity for individuals to earn stock for themselves, the growth of a money economy, the Christian insistence on monogamy, and the establishment of worshipping groups which were not based on birth." Xhosa-speakers experienced the erosion of their social- political organizations: culturally, politically and economically.

The transforming patterns of marriage unions altered the structure, function and attitudes with respect to Xhosa-speaking households, domestic gender relations and kinship (family) systems. One very important cultural and attitudinal change was relative to the concept of individual rights versus collective or group duties and responsibilities. Christianity transported the European marital perspectives, which regarded the primary focus of marriage on the individuals versus the opposing indigenous perspective, which was based on the premise that marriage was a union between families and kinsmen.

III. Marriage and Changing Structures

The fourth section of the research survey (Item D) consisted of eighteen structured, open-end questions which focused on perceptions and attitudes about marriage, domestic gender relations, socio-economical indicators, life experiences, cultural change, and household structures. The following questions (although not exclusive), are thematic representations of the questions that were asked of women and men informants who participated in the interview process and are related to the following research objectives: (a) what are some advantages and disadvantages of marriage? (b) What are your feelings, beliefs and perceptions about marriage? (c) What does family mean to you? (d) What are

your attitudes and feelings about relationships between men and women regardless of marriage? (e) How do you define head-of-household? And, (f) do you consider yourself head-of-household? (Appendix II)

A significant number of the responses indicate that the majority (85%) of women, share same or similar perceptions about marriage, domestic gender relations, and the role of women who may be considered as heads-of-households in the Eastern Cape. The majority of the response correlate with data obtained from the 1996 Census and household surveys conducted by the Central Statistics Services (CSS) in South Africa. Much of the demographic data correlates with the data contained in a report developed for CSS by Budlender (1999) which focuses on female-headed households in South African rural communities.

The following section is a summary of the analysis of the qualitative data with respect to women and marital status, marriage termination and disruption in the contemporary society.

Women and Marital Status

The concept of status used in this dissertation refers to social position, which helps to define the rights, obligations and constraints of married and unmarried women. Social position, relative to status and roles of women, is not an isolated concept but consists of elemental sets of interdependent elements. Kinship structure, conjugal relations and parent-child relations are examples of those structures that operate interdependently.

Paired relations between husband and wife is so defined in terms of the elements of sharing resources and goals, such as achieving similar interests or resolving conflicting interests (Ratcliffe-Brown 1952). Conjugal relations, in the context of the Eastern Cape

Xhosa, have undergone considerable transformation since contact with Europeans and the influence of Christianity.

For the sake of analysis of the qualitative data, relative to conjugal relations, the findings reveal the degree to which informants have experienced and perceive social change. An important outcome of this study has been the assumed low status of women who have never married, based on cultural indicators. Even so, informants provide a variety of reasons for women not marrying. Some of the reasons given fall in the category of *"never been asked by men."* A similar and frequent response concerns the many unmarried mothers who are considered not *marriageable.* However, there are others who chose not to marry: *"It is unnecessary to those who are born to be not married in their lives."* Others responded that they did not want to marry because of the way men treated their wives. One of the informants says she does not want her daughters to marry: *"Marriage is not good. I would not like my daughters to get married."* However, regardless of these attitudes, women are ambivalent about the disruption in the marriage patterns.

Based on the traditional *Xhosa* culture, men and women are expected to be married, for it is important to establish a sense of *belonging* to the husbands' lineage. Even when they marry, women are still considered to be *strangers in their husband's house.*

Never married informants frequently articulated feelings of *not belonging to* anyone. Therefore, they perceive themselves as being unable to improve their status if they are not married, an attitude shared by over ninety percent of the informants. One-informant reports: *"Women are to be married, if they want to have status."*

Marriage in the Xhosa-speaking society is an indicator of social status for women, in their respective households and communities and is often tied to socio-economic conditions in the Eastern Cape context. This study reveals the cleavages that exist between generations, although many of the perceptions women hold about marriage may be more relative to socio-economic, domestic relations and self-identity. For example, women informants who live in rural areas in the Transkei, talk about the importance of marriage and women status: *"[It] gives a sense of pride and belonging"*; another respondent who is not married says she, *"Can call [her] self Madam"*; while another woman talks about marriage in terms of responsibility as, *'[Marriage] builds a woman, makes her responsible. Gives her family, the belonging"*; finally, a widow discusses status in a lingering voice, *"Even though he is gone, I am still Mrs."*

According to the traditional Xhosa world-view and social customs, a woman's status changed after she married and can continue to change. Initially, she was referred to as young married woman (*umfazana*). After some time and various rituals performed, she was elevated to a higher status level, now a term of reference to her as a *wife* or a *matured woman* (*umfazi*) which denoted a change in status.

In the opinion of the majority of informants, a married woman has higher status than an unmarried woman does. In fact, twenty-three of the respondents reported never being married, nor desired to marry, even though all of them admitted to the higher status afforded to married women.

Mrs. Tumayla, age 42 years old, idealizes marriage even though her husband deserted her many years ago. She makes a connection between married women, status and identity when she reports: *"Marriage is good for a woman; it secures her life, gives her children*

who will help her later in life. It gives her self-esteem." Desertion provides one explanation for the low incidence of legal divorce in this population. Further discussion concerning marriage termination will be presented in a subsequent section of this chapter.

Another issue relative to the marital status of women occurs when a first child is born. Motherhood is a major indicator of a mature woman. According to the informants, a very important traditional value elevates married women with children to a higher status. This factor is related to the Xhosa patrilineal descent patterns, whereby children belong to their father's descent group. Of course, this is contingent upon the exchange of *lobola* and other factors as mentioned in another section.

The transformation of the Xhosa social organization in terms of marriage form, especially with respect to *lobola* and children, is significant to the contemporary political economy of women-dependent households. This is especially the case for women who are not married with children, as well as those who are married but receive no form of support from fathers or husbands. The high incidence of never married women with children and those women, who are not supported by men, reflect a structural and cultural value change in Xhosa gender domestic relations and kinship systems (especially the extended family unit). An example of structural and cultural adaptation can be observed in the number of women-dependent households that have been transformed from patrilocal residential patterns to matrilocal patterns. This is particularly evidenced in the number of informant reports in which women have set up their own households or have assumed the responsibility of heads-of-household under various circumstances.

The following discussion is an analysis of the informant responses regarding marriage termination and disruptive marital patterns.

Marriage Termination/Disruption

There are several ways for a marriage to be terminated in the Xhosa-speaking population. The most common ways include separation or abandonment and divorce or death. Most informants consider divorce and separation to be social stigmas, which denote a loss of respect and status. Widows believe they have more status than never married women do, even if they are not living with their spouses at the time of death. Widows very rarely remarry while widowers tend to remarry soon after the death of their wives. Five percent of the informants who completed the research survey admit to being divorced; seven percent are separated or abandoned by husbands; and, thirty-two percent are widows. Only two of those divorced had gone through a legally sanctioned process.

The concept of divorce in terms of a Eurocentric view of marriage and divorce law cannot be made applicable to the traditional union of the Xhosa-speaking peoples. According to informants, the termination of a marriage is almost unheard of, although there are those who divorce their spouses.

Dr. Shosana, a Xhosa woman and a medical doctor advise that divorce: "It is not acceptable, especially in considering the relationship between marriage and the kinship relations in the traditional social organization of the Xhosa-speakers."

Even when women are divorced, they tend to consider themselves as still being married. A woman in her sixties who lives in the rural area of the Transkei identifies herself as "*a married woman who is divorced.*" One reason for the rarity of the termination of marriages is related to the fact that a man and his relatives will lose all of his *lobola*, even though in most cases the payment of *lobola* is never completed. But in older marriages, where there has been an exchange of *lobola* cattle (ikhazi), it would be

almost impossible in contemporary society to replace the cattle. Also, if there are children born to the marriage or even if there have been miscarriages, a man is responsible for the repayment of *lobola*, which considers all miscarriages as a live birth in the repayment scheme.

Another consideration is the relations between the wife and her in-laws. If a woman lives with her husband's family, typically she has developed relations and obligations in that household. This is not taken lightly, especially in rural communities where family units tend to be more traditional in the practice of custom and rituals. However, divorces and separations do occur. Most frequently, household separation and abandonment terminate marriages by the husband, and less frequently by legal divorce.

In the Eastern Cape context, divorce statistics (Statistics South Africa 1998) fail to offer much information with respect to Xhosa-speakers. At the time of the last countrywide census in 1996, traditional marriages were not registered. In fact, it was not until 1997 when a new bill was passed that this type of marriage was covered.

Informants talk about divorce in terms of the influence of Christianity and the impact of "*white laws on our culture.*" One woman who lives in a village outside Umtata (Transkei), talks about divorce:

> Divorce is painful for a woman. I don't think men feel the same for they can move into another relationship or marriage. For women, it is different. It is hard to get another man on the rebound. This is the reason women go along with their husbands being adulterers. Even though the law says we can divorce him, it is not done too often, at least for this reason. Women who were married in a traditional ceremony and ritual cannot get a legal divorce in the courts. She has to get the families involved.

The above attitude is one shared by the majority of informants, men and women. It was also discussed in a seminar I facilitated and Xhosa-speaking participants agreed (August 4, 1998).

For those who do seek marriage termination in terms of traditional unions, the following are grounds that can be considered: (1) adultery of a woman but not that of a man, although this is seldom considered serious enough to bring about permanent dissolution. If adultery can be proven, the man who has participated in the affair may have to pay restitution to the husband; (2) bad treatment towards wife and children by the husband. This is difficult to prove and is usually tolerated by the wife; (3) witchcraft (*ubugqwirha*) is considered the most serious offense but must be certified by a diviner (*Songoma/Igqira*); (4) a wife who is unable to have children is considered a reason; however, a husband can adopt children or have children by other women[iii] and claim them as belonging to his household; (5) neglect of spousal duties by a man and a woman. Informants do admit that only in exceptional cases would a marriage be terminated for this reason. A man or woman may temporarily leave the household but may not terminate the union. Informants frequently refer to a person as lazy; implying a person is not meeting his/her obligations in the household, which can be a consideration for marriage termination or disruption (Raum 1972).

The following section is an analysis of stress factors encountered by the target population and will identify coping strategies women use to deal with stressful conditions.

IV. Household And Family Relations

Xhosa social organization, and especially household and kinship relations, was transformed through time and space by the imposition of colonialism and after the 1948 election by apartheid. The manipulation of customary law and apartheid jointly operated to create a state of oppression, vulnerability and powerlessness for African women. Apartheid was a political and socio-economic system that regulated the mobility of South Africans. The legacy of apartheid was the ultra-exploitation of people based on race, ethnicity, gender, and language. The change of government in 1994 represented more than a change in governance and structure; it was a shift in ideology and a paradigm shift between the political position of the majority and minority populations. It was to represent the end of a racist political regime with the beginning of a new era for a democratic society. For the minority population it meant the end of political dominance; however, economically things have remained the same for many people. The White population continues to control the majority of the country's wealth and land ownership. A minority Black elitist class controls the governance of the country, while the majority Black populace remain at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder. For these Black South Africans things are the same or worse. Migratory labor and the process of urbanization contributed to the intensification of the oppression of women making them even more vulnerable to poverty, with fewer opportunities to sustain themselves or their households. Under apartheid women were marginalized by the forces of change and disadvantages, particularly in terms of unemployment, underemployment, victimization by high levels of crime and the inequality of laws, often forcing them to remain in the rural areas without any support from men.

This section analyzes the results of the research survey and oral histories of the target population within the Eastern Cape context with a limited analysis of household and domestic relations. Also, a conceptual framework which defines family, household, and head-of-household is introduced, illustrated by case studies of the four dominant types of rural households in the Eastern Cape.

Household, Family, and Gender Relations

Gender relations are commonly hierarchical with one partner having or assuming to have more power than the other does. Traditionally, the male partner has assumed this power or authority. However, Xhosa women do not always see their life experiences in relation to men as powerless. In some instances, they tend to express more ambivalence with respect to the *ideal* conjugal or domestic relationship. Even when women have talked about the pain experienced in abusive domestic relations, the majority of them spoke of having some power or control.

Another interesting aspect to the study was the degree to which informants shared their sense of humor when disclosing their life experiences. In rural settings, women talked about the strengths they received from their mothers or grandmothers. In spite of some of the horrific stories I heard during meetings with women, they were more likely to see themselves as survivors rather than as victims. They tended to articulate how they have endured and coped with the problems in their lives rather than whining about the day to day struggles. This attitude was frequently demonstrated in the conversations I had with women. Also, when I visited women, they would extend their hospitality, proudly sharing the little they had. Frequently, women would discuss the adversarial experiences they had with men by joking. Hardy laughter is common amongst Xhosa women; singing and

dancing is how many of them cope with their daily lives. Several of them shared their stories of hardships they experienced in domestic relations, and would often express a non-defeatist attitude of hope for the next day.

The research study population was centered primarily on female heads-of-household; even so, I decided to check the perceptions men held about cultural change especially with respect to marriage, heads-of-households, and domestic gender relations. Therefore, I designed a shortened version of the survey instrument, which was used to solicit information from fifty men (Appendix III). Male interviewers conducted these interviews. Additionally, I had several informal discussions with Xhosa-speaking men who live or work in the Eastern Cape Province.

For both female and male respondents, there is much ambivalence expressed when discussing domestic issues, in terms of expectations spouses have about their respective mates in conjugal and other domestic relations. The ambivalence that is often heard when informants discuss their '*culture*' can be related to two factors: (1) the conservative or traditional Xhosa beliefs influence perceptions and attitudes men and women hold with respect to cultural and gender-based concepts; namely, *head-of-household*; and, (2) the individual life experiences and traumatic events, relative to apartheid, have affected their daily lives and attitudes. One example of this is understood when informants have conceptualized household and female heads-of-household in order to make sense of their individual cultural perspectives and socio-economic status.

Early into the process, I adjusted the interview questions to show respect for an informant's expressed cultural preferences or to respond to the variation in the levels of

literacy amongst the informant population. This was the case when I could sense a respondent's lack of comfort with references to women as heads-of-household.

Frequently, both men and women idealized aspects of tradition, and referred to the past as "*our culture,*" when discussing domestic gender relations or the concept of female heads-of-household. A fact is that ***all*** of the male respondents refer to themselves as *heads-of-household,* regardless of the economic conditions and their individual contributions to the households. Male informants tended to focus on their individual expectations of the women's role in a household unit. One male respondent with five children and a working wife, provides a typical response:

> It's important for a [woman] to bear children and look after them and keep [the] house clean, and cook for the family. [A wife's role is] to care for me, so that I should care about her, and [she] wash my clothes.

A very important social indicator with respect to the characteristics of domestic gender relations is the increased numbers of women who are physically abused by their partners. In the contemporary society, this attitude is usually expressed by behavior, which frequently contributes to violence. Women are often beaten severely, sometimes to death. There is also an increase in the number of sexual assaults within domestic relations in the Eastern Cape context, as well as in the general South African society (Daily Dispatch 1998).

In terms of how men responded to the issue of the maltreatment of women, they tended to agree with women informants that this is a serious problem in the Xhosa-speaking community. Some of them admitted to hitting their wives, and all but one attempted to justify this behavior. Men and women often discussed marriage customs and

traditions that emphasized their respective beliefs in terms of respect for male-dominant gender relations. According to these traditionalists, in the past society men were allowed to "*chastise their wives, especially when they were lazy.*"

The marital relationship and the stigma of non-married individuals in the contemporary Xhosa-speaking Eastern Cape primarily centers on the woman. One of the reasons for developing research approaches and strategies that consider the *traditional* constructs of marriage is the interrelationship between the role and function of gender relations in marriage, family and household structures. In the Eastern Cape context, when analyzing the data regarding marriage and gender relations, it is very important to recognize the connection between changes in Xhosa social organization, division of labor and the relationship to the contemporary Eastern Cape political economy.

Another important research variable is related to the use of constructs, especially as they may relate to domestic gender relations. Meena (1992) and O'Laughlin (1998), as well as others, would agree that this frequently occurs when researchers apply Eurocentric concepts and constructs, while failing to consider gender and important cultural aspects that may influence research objectives in the final analysis. In order to minimize and deflect a level of exploitation that may presently exist in the Eastern Cape, I have applied indigenous cultural and gender constructs, when available, with respect to marriage customs, defining head-of-household, domestic division of labor, and household composition. Chapter four will delineate relevant social and economic demographics while highlighting many of the conditions that are confronted by women and their respective households in the Eastern Cape.

Culture change hit the Xhosa homestead hard. It changed the way people interacted and behaved. It changed domestic gender relations, aspects of family (kinship), and community relations at all levels of the society. Many of these changes were discussed during the informal gatherings, social events, and formal interviews, in the study.

Domestic relations in the context of the Eastern Cape Xhosa is indicative in many respects of the level of disruption that has occurred in the social organization of kinship patterns, household structure, gender division of labor, and customary sex roles. According to informants, domestic gender relations also influence other domestic relationships.

The following discussion is an analysis of aspects of family/kinship, household, and head-of-household.

Family, Gender and Household Relations

"What does family[iv] mean to you?" was asked of each participant. Some of the respondents define the concept of family in terms of cultural attitudes relative to their perceptions about past customs and rituals of Xhosa-speakers, or they assign meaning to *family (kinship)* based on the relevancy family has in their daily lives and how they have experienced critical life-events as individuals.

The collateral, extended family was the primary social, economic and political organizing unit of the Xhosa-speakers. In terms of defining the concept of family, to the Xhosa the traditional family structure consisted of kinship units organized into various household and community level functional structures. The collateral, extended family was the primary social, economic and political organizing unit for the Xhosa social organization.

This research study explores the conceptual relationship between family and household, beginning with Pons (1983), who conducted research on households in Tanzania. He suggests a universal definition is not *real*. Instead, based on his conceptual explanation regarding household, he posits that any definition has to conform to the contextual situation of the study population, while considering the relevancy of cultural and structural elements to fit the conceptual framework, which includes *household* as a research variable. This definition provides an additional perspective:

> A household comprises a person or group of persons usually bound together by ties of kinship, who live together under a single roof or within a single compound, who share a community of life in that they are answerable to the same head and share a common source of food.

While Pons provides a corporate explanation for defining household, gender analysis theory strongly suggests that researchers be careful when constructing units of analysis with respect to gender and the African household. Meena, a gender theorist, (1991: 41) provides the following perspective which suggest that *household* as a construct has played a role in the oppression of women when she observes: "Many donors and researcher's situate women's oppression within the household and domestic sphere in 'peasant household agriculture', and within reproductive relations (as opposed to production)."

Budlender (1999) questions the 'concept of household' by asking the question; *"...what is a household...in the first place?"* She identifies some of the variations that exist in the conceptualization of household, namely: (1) by the identification of economic factors; (2) through the identification of household composition and membership; (3) using a determination based on the presence or absence of men; and, (4) characterization of the major decision-maker. However, even when researchers use these criteria when

constructing units of analysis, there are flaws in every methodology of conceptualization. Budlender frames her theory within the context of southern Africa: *" All definitions of household (and family) are messy...and complicated."*

While Budlender questions the validity in conceptualizing the term *household*, O'Laughlin (1996) connects poverty in rural households to the high incidence of female headed-households. Additionally, she discovered the research using household surveys in Lesotho and other southern African states useful in tracking male-migration patterns to increased poverty levels in rural communities where women headed-households were in the majority. Murray (1981: 49) who offers a definition for household that considers residential patterns of migrant workers in Lesotho (culturally similar to the Xhosa) has conducted similar studies. He differentiates between *de facto* and *de jure* households types, and explains: "*De jure* household membership includes temporary absences, while *de facto* household membership refers only to those persons actually resident in the village homestead at any one time."

O'Laughlin (1999: 4) strengthens her argument regarding the observable patterns between migration labor, poverty, and changing family structures from male-headed to female-headed households, and suggests this is attributed to: "Pre-colonial forms of domestic organisation and property, cultural images of marriage, children and sexuality, [which] is the heritage of the migrant labour system."

Finally, Stack (1974) in her classic research on kinship conducted in a Black community in the Chicago area discusses the overlap that exists when conceptualizing family, kin and household for analysis. She concludes with the notion that during her study: "It became clear that the '*household*' and its group composition was not a

meaningful unit to isolate for analysis of family life...." Furthermore, she suggests that any conceptual difference between household and family may be relative to members who may participate in more than one household at a time and claim membership in all of them. This statement contrasts with her definition of family which is: " ... the smallest, organized, durable network of kin and non-kin who interact daily, providing domestic needs.... family network is diffused over several kin-based households and fluctuations in household composition..."

Pons' (1983) concept of household seems to be comparable with one important criteria established by the United Nations[v] (in defining the concept of household), and also is compatible with the definition of household used by South Africa in the 1995 OHS and the 1996 South Africa Census: " [Household] consists of a person or a group of persons who: (1) eat together and share resources; (2) normally reside at least four nights a week at the specific point, where the interview was conducted." This definition is not inclusive since it does not include live-in domestics who are regarded as living in separate households (CCS 1995; SSA 1996).

Household surveys are generally collected for the following purposes: (1) to measure socio-economic and health indicators; (2) to track social change and household patterns; and, (3) for community planning and development of human care resources. Chapter four analyzes data revealed in the 1995 Household Survey (Eastern Cape).

For the purposes of this study, I used the meaning assigned to the concept *household*, as defined by CCS, and by Xhosa-speakers, who typically used the term interchangeably with other terms of reference, e.g., *umzi*, *house* and *home*. At all times, the concept was discussed early in the interview process, in order to insure a shared understanding with the

informants. However, male and female informants, were more likely to interpret the term *head-of-household* as a cultural concept, structurally or as an isolated construct. Even so, the concept of household is used most frequently when informants are referring to the structural elements, such as type of dwelling and composition. This distinction is made for they generally refer to their *homes* or *homesteads* when implying a personal or cultural dimension. An example would be when one is talking about '*going home to perform a ritual or take part in a ritual*'. This same person defined her household as the '*place where her father's ancestors belong*'. This is especially important to understand for many of the informants, regardless of the assumed poverty in the rural areas, may consider belonging to more than one household.

Although the South African definition is useful when sorting out and analyzing the demographic data obtained from the October Household Surveys (OHS), overall, it fails to consider some of the important variables with respect to culture and gender. In the Eastern Cape context, informants commonly used a variety of terms of reference for household. To mention a few: *my home, homestead, place where my father lived, umzi, place where my husband's father lived,* etc.

Defining Head-of-household

The concept of female *head-of-household* is one that has different meanings in the diverse Xhosa-speaking population. African women account for the largest proportion of the population in the Eastern Cape, a pattern directly related to male migratory labor that has not changed since the end of apartheid (Census 1996). For the majority of rural informants, women do not refer to themselves as *heads* because it is *culturally* unacceptable. There is a fundamental cleavage between women who refer to themselves as

heads and those who believe it goes *against the Xhosa culture* to do so. This cleavage exists within rural and urban boundaries, although rural women are more likely to feel uncomfortable when referring to women as heads-of household, regardless of the type of household composition and household economy.

The following discussion will provide an analysis of informant responses regarding heads-of-household. However, for the sake of consistency in the thematic content, a brief discussion regarding *head-of-household*, as a research construct, is necessary.

Traditionally, the *household head* was assumed to be a man, who was considered to be the *'direct representative of the ancestors.'* The primary role of the man would include mediation between the living and the dead. In addition, the male head-of-household was responsible for all decision-making with regard to marriage negotiation for his dependents and general welfare of all household members. Also, depending on the individual status of the man in the kinship system and community, he would participate in the community affairs, that include arbitration of disputes. In addition to these responsibilities, the head was expected to provide economic and social support to his household. Furthermore,

Walker (1992: 19) suggests that rural African women were "...able to assert themselves as *de facto* heads of household and gain a new autonomy in the absence of their husbands [due to male migration] and were forced to assume more...of the burden of an increasingly attenuated homestead."

Kayongo-Male and Onyango (1986) provide another aspect in their conceptual framework regarding African families and female-headed households. First, they consider the increase in single-parent households in Africa an emerging trend. Second, the authors identify female-headed households in terms of economics, which they suggest as "....

merely means that the woman is the main income earner in the family as the one responsible for the financial management of the household." They estimated female-headed -households in all of Africa had increased by thirty percent especially in terms of rural households, where men participated in migratory labor in large numbers.

Murray (1981: 154-55) conceptualizes rural heads-of-household in the context of *'wives who are left behind'* due to the migrant labor system in Lesotho. He makes the comparison between household composition and the level of subsistence provided by women, as wage laborers under varying circumstances, as food producers in the rural community, and as persons who have assumed the *"primary responsibility for the reproduction and socialization of the next generation."*

Informant Responses

Head-of-household has a cultural and economic connotation for Xhosas: seventy-seven percent of rural women, who completed the survey, can be defined as heads-of-household. This figure includes women who are not married, do not have men in the household, nor receive any form of support from men. Additionally, the results reveal that even though fifty-eight percent of women informants *do not* receive any support from men, in households with or without men, most of them do not *perceive* themselves as heads-of-household. This attitude is shared and expressed by both women and men informants who believe the concept of women as heads-of-household are incompatible with Xhosa culture. Informants suggests, *"It is not cultural"* or, it is *"against the culture"* for women to be considered heads-of-household.

Kyle, a middle-age man who lives in a rural area outside Alice said: *"It is impossible for a woman in our culture to be the head. She cannot make decisions for she has no*

authority over the man. Even when men don't work and have been away, he can come home and assume his place."

Domestic relations, household and kinship structures, and the division of labor between men and women, continue to be in a state of flux. Thompson and Wilson (1971: 266-267) observe "Family relationships and the political structure was radically changed by condemnation of polygyny..." Furthermore, the traditional social organization, kinship systems, and household economy of the Xhosas were forever altered.

The transformation in household structure and kinship/family systems can be better understood by examining and comparing some of the data that was collected in the Eastern Cape that cover the years, 1970-1997. Two earlier household surveys conducted by anthropologists at the University of Fort Hare for the Ciskei homeland during the years 1970-1981, reveal a steady increase in female headed households in rural areas (Raum and deJager 1972; Ciskei 1981). Although this matter will be addressed in terms of the quantitative data in chapter four, it is important to briefly refer to informant responses that may uncover better insight regarding the increases in female heads-of-household in the Eastern Cape and socio-cultural issues that may be relevant.

. Informants report how they continue to struggle with the residual effects of social and cultural transformation, especially as they may relate to the political economy of domestic households and family units. This is particularly important in considering the impact of the increase in women-dependent households and in the quality of domestic gender relations.

The following summary provides an informant's perspective relative to the status of the Xhosa family/kinship systems.

The survey was designed to meet research objectives by soliciting data that would help to define heads-of-household, as well as analyze the constructs in terms of gender, social and economical indicators, with respect to household composition and domestic gender relations. Each of these elements has been used to delineate the study population as described in chapter two. As previously mentioned, another research objective was to obtain informant self-definitions of other key concepts that have cultural and gender connotations, e.g., *marriage*, *head-of-household*, *household*, and *family*.

Characteristics of Rural Women-dependent Households

For the most part, rural households in the Eastern Cape can be characterized by the following elements: (a) more likely to lack access to adequate infrastructure which includes electricity as an energy source, tap-water, in-door toilets, paved streets, and telephones; (2) human energy for sustaining life-activities, such as fetching water, wood for fuel and cooking is necessary on a daily basis; (3) high levels of unemployment and violent crime against women; (4) women are responsible for household economy, daily subsistence, social support, child-rearing, and performance of household and agricultural chores; (5) inadequate dwellings; (6) high population density; (7) over-crowded households; and, (8) lack of close proximity and access to basic human care services resources.

In the contemporary Eastern Cape society, the most frequent household unit is comprised of one adult, most often a woman, who provides total support for the family unit. Seventy-seven percent of the participating households is headed by women with a family composition, (those who claim residence in the household), that include at least five dependent children ages 0-16 years. The second most common family unit or household

composition consists of three-generations, which in general includes one to two adults with an average of five dependent children and youth. This type of composition is usually women who supports the family and may include men, who have been absent from the household for more than a year for a variety of reasons. It is also the most typical family pattern of the informant households in the rural Transkei locations.

Rural households that are in close proximity to urban settings where more employment opportunities are available are more likely to include men who live part of the time living in the household and may occasionally contribute to the household.

In urban areas, similar situations may exist. Instead, these households are more likely to consist of two-generational, nuclear family unit, consisting of a husband, wife and dependent children. When comparing the rural areas of the Transkei and the Ciskei, there are variances in household structures and composition. For one, there are more three-generational family units in the Transkei, where informants tend to express traditional/conservative views with respect to family, marriage and domestic gender relations. However, in the urban settings where there are a higher number of intact marriages with dependent children and youth, both parents are more likely to be employed and contribute to the household economy.

V. Types Of Women-Dependent Households in the Eastern Cape

Poverty is endemic in the rural areas in the Eastern Cape and is defined in this discussion as the "inability of individuals, households or communities to command sufficient resources to satisfy a socially acceptable minimum standard of living" (Budlender& Rogerson, et al 1999). This definition adequately describes seventy-seven

percent of the informants who live in the rural areas. The most salient feature informants comment upon is some aspect of their poverty where living conditions were frequently described as '*unbearable*, *stressful*, and *difficult*'.

In ninety percent of informant households, (rural and urban/ with men or without men), women assume all household responsibilities with respect to chores, child-rearing and financial support. Even so, married women seldom divorce their husbands or initiate the disruption of their domestic relationships, even when men have been absent for long periods of time, or have been abusive. Informants describe the cultural concept of *myamezela*, which refers to a coping strategy that has been communicated to Xhosa adolescent girls as the acceptable social norm for dealing with stressful conjugal relations. It is interpreted as enduring and accepting and is the appropriate attitude married Xhosa women should conform to in domestic relations. This concept includes stressful situations that exist between wives and their in-laws.

The next section introduces case studies to illustrate the four most dominant types of women-dependent households, which include the following categories: (1) never married woman with dependent children; (2) married women with dependent children and man in household; (3) divorced woman with dependent children; and, (4) widows who are heads-of-household with dependent children.

The following stories are representative of the collective story told by Xhosa women in the Eastern Cape Province. (One of the research objectives was to use the *voice* of real women in developing the thematic content. These *voices* can be heard in the oral histories discussed in this section). They represent a cross-section of women—those who live in large houses in the semi-urban areas, or smaller dwellings in near urban areas; in roughly

constructed dwellings in rural communities; and, a combination of dwelling types in townships in peripheral societies.

The stories begin with the aspect of change: change meant different things to the range of cohort groups represented in the study: for the majority of the rural women, who are heads-of-households, this continues to be a time of chaos. Each of the following case studies illustrates successful coping strategies employed by women: Betty ages 37, is an unmarried mother who tells her story that depicts a clash between rural conservatism and Western culture. This is a concern for women who are very vulnerable to exploitation intensified by poverty and traditional patriarchy; Daphne 40 years old, lives in the same household with her husband who does not work. He will not move out of the home even though he provides no type of support and contributes to her daily stress with his drinking and infidelity; Mrs. Momfundo, a divorced 40 year old mother of four, deals with her interpersonal struggle which she describes as "living in two worlds." And, Mrs.Nosisa Ksona, a 60-year-old widow, her story contains an historical account of her family's migration patterns. She describes a typical life of women survivors who have endured the hardships of living in rural and urban Eastern Cape areas prior to and during apartheid.

VI. Illustrations of Stress and Successful Coping Strategies

Case Study One: Never Married Woman with Children

Betty is a thirty-seven year old woman who has never married. She lives with her youngest child, a nine-year-old son and has two daughters. Her daughters live with her

parents in Ntoleni, a location close to where she was born outside Fort Beaufort. The youngest of six siblings, Betty has three brothers and five sisters but does not see them often. She says she has a close personal relationship with her eldest sister who also lives in the same location. In terms of the other family members, they see each other for important family events and rituals.

Betty describes her early years with her parents and during apartheid, as bleak. In 1976, her parents were forced to move from their natal home to the over-crowded rural location where she was born:

> It was not nice. [they] had to build a new house; father had no job. Money was horrible. I was in school without shoes. I decided to pass the standard [test] in order to deal with this [lack of money]. This was so that my children would not have to suffer. During this time, Fathers have [had no authority in the family during apartheid] no say days like today. My mother always used to sell food, vegetables, and meat to educate us. She had garden stock. Mother planted vegetables, and they had cows and goats. This becomes a blank in my head. You know the world was bad for us [during apartheid].

Betty describes her mother as being very depressed and both parents overwhelmed by the '*situation in which they had no control over their lives.*' The memory of her mother's depression has a lingering affect, which remains with her today. She continues to describe her childhood:

> Mother was never able to really talk with us and share our traditions. My grandparents were dead, so no one was able to socialize us the way we should be. You know, [to] tell the girls how to behave and the various rules of our culture. I learned what I could from my eldest sister and other extended family. I feel I missed something important.

Betty moved away from her parent's home when she continued to have children:

> I wanted a place of my own. I was old enough and there were too many children at my parents. I wanted privacy and it was too expensive and far to get work. There was no clean water. Roads were bad. No electricity, although they have it now.

One of the first things she shares about her life as a single-parent is that all of her children have different fathers. At one time, she wanted to marry one of the fathers, but she says: "I am now too old, and don't want to change my ways." Later Betty tells me this man was married to someone else when she was dating him.

This household is in a location, referred to as Tinis location, the only legal Black area near Fort Beaufort, and the White urban community of apartheid. It is a rural area but has a diverse range of dwelling types, which reflects the variations in the socio-economic populations who reside there. There are no services provided within the location other than an occasional health mobile unit. People have to walk into the urban area for resources and most of the population work in and around the Fort Beaufort community. Others commute to Alice, about thirty miles from the location.

Betty, who calls herself 'B. D.' completed Standard 8 and has a nursing diploma. She works as a nurse at Towers Psychiatric Hospital in Fort Beaufort, and worries about her son's safety, since there is a lot of crime in the community. He attends school in the area and has to walk when the bus that transports him fails to come. Another concern is that her daughters want to live with her parents. *"They don't like living here. I am very proud of my home and they don't think much of it."* She shows me all of her possessions although she does not give me a tour. The house is very clean and small, like a box, so I can see how it is structured. The interview takes place in a medium size living room or *lounge.* There is one bedroom and kitchen with a toilet. She has in-door plumbing, but no

telephone. She tells me others in the community do not have electricity in their homes or tap water. They use the communal water system.

When Betty was asked to discuss the major stress she experiences as a head-of-household, she mentions the crime that takes place in the community. Also, she is concerned about the high taxes she has to pay for the house, which are deducted from her payroll. Other stress factors include job-related stress and her current financial situation, which she perceives herself to be in a *no-win situation*: "Although I built this house myself, I still have to pay a subsidy, which is deducted from my paycheck. I would move if I could afford to move."

Although Betty has been employed for 15 years as a nurse, she does not earn enough to adequately take care of herself and three children. Even though two of them live with her parents, she still has to financially support them, for her parents are too poor to do so, although her father attempts to support them by farming.

When asked about support from the children's fathers, she laughs and says, each had disappeared after she told them she was pregnant. The only outside support she receives is occasionally from her parents who loan her money she must repay. This puts her '*further in the hole*.' Betty talks about the struggle she has experienced in supporting her family. Previous strategies to improve her financial condition have not been successful. She tells me: "I used to sell produce that I grew. I had to stop for I did not have the time, but also because we needed the food for ourselves."

Her location was built as part of a government scheme prior to the 1994 election. It was a 'self-help' venture that allowed individuals to build their own homes. The lot was assigned to them for a fee. Betty's house is constructed of raw bricks with a perforated tin

ceiling. It has no insulation. The patch work design of the house indicates it was built by amateurs, mainly women. In addition, to the diverse dwelling types and housing structures, there are herds of cattle, goats, sheep and fowl roaming around the highly littered landscape on this hot day when the interview was conducted.

The house has one entrance but has an iron fence with a large pad lock where she grows a small garden and tries to protect herself and her small son from the high level of crime. This has not been effective, because someone has recently stolen her car radio by climbing over the padlocked fence. The ground immediately in front of her house is paved: otherwise, the location is muddy in most places.

This single parent describes herself as a '*born again Christian.*' She is short and plump with a very soft voice. She apologized for not offering me *hospitality* for she did not have any *extras* these days. While we were discussing her family relations, she mentions obstacles to a smooth relationship, with the exception of the eldest sister who lives nearby. One of reasons given for the discord that exist between her family is because her parents are *traditionalists*, and do not believe she should embrace Christianity. They consider Christianity as '*the religion of the people who enslaved us Africans.*' However, for her, the Christian church and the people she has met there, is her support system. Her religious beliefs have reconstructed her social support system: "*God will take care of me, and has helped me to make good decisions about my life, even though I am poor, but not as poor as others in my family or in this community.*"

This case study illustrates a female head-of-household who is successfully dealing with her stressful situations. Although she comments on the areas of stress in her life, she has learned how to adapt to her living conditions. Betty uses a range of coping strategies,

which provide her with a social support system that replaces the role of the traditional kinship system, although she has a positive relationship with one family member. Her church membership offers additional support and social contact when needed. Similar to other women in her situation, she has replaced the Xhosa traditional social support system with the organized church and traditional aspects of spirituality by converting to Christianity.

Finally, she admits to suffering from health problems when stressed. Her strategies for dealing with mental distress and health problems include: seeking counseling services; attending prayer meetings with her church members; reading her Bible; listening to music; socializing with her sister by joking; and getting medical aid when it is needed.

Case *Study Two: Married Women with Children and Man in Household*

Daphne is a married women who lives with her unemployed husband and three children, in a compound that includes a brick house and two mud *rondavels* (huts). This combination of dwelling types in the Eastern Cape is not as dominant as in the Transkei. She also has her sister's three children living with her. Daphne has been employed as a nurse for over 15 years in Alice. Although she has lived in the area for most of her life, her current residence is In-Group Five, an economically stratified, densely populated African township near Fort Beaufort.

Her early impressions of the Eastern Cape are the over-crowded conditions and the high level of violence involving policemen: " The South African police would harass the young men." Daphne continues with a description of the political climate that existed during the late 1970s and early 1980s:" I have seen many people hurt, killed and arrested. Some of those who were taken away, never returned."

For Daphne, apartheid was worse when the Ciskei and Transkei became 'independent' homelands. In fact, she talks about the changes in the Eastern Cape Province as a time of chaos and violence:

> For women, it was really scary. My mother used to be afraid every time one of us left the house. There was a lot of violence in the 1970s and 1980s One day, my father did not return from his job in the mines. We still don't know where he is or even if he is alive. My mother died without knowing. But of course, many men made new homes with other women, who became their concubines or they had a civil marriage ceremony, especially if the men were married in the traditional way like my parents. They could get away with it." She laughs as she continues: "Men always claim this is part of the culture to have more than one woman."

While talking about her 'spiritual development', she describes herself as a 'born again Christian.' She becomes excited and talks very loudly as she explains the history of the domestic relationship with her husband:

> This man I am married to has not worked in years. He says he is retired or that he can't find work. He sits around all day waiting for me to come home and cook for him. One day, I got fed up. I had a domestic worker who I discovered sleeping with my husband. I fired her and reported this to her family. My sons were learning bad things from this man, their father.

Daphne receives no support from her husband and tolerated his drinking and extra-marital affairs until a few years ago, she says she became *suddenly* very ill. She describes the symptoms of her abrupt illness:

> I could not find a reason for my illness. The doctor's were baffled. All of my hair was falling out. I had gained a lot of weight and was suffering from a low self-esteem.

At this point in the conversation, she becomes very animated, waving her hands in a fluttering way and clutching her breast or rubbing her hands through her hair. I observe the thinness of her hair, as she talks. Although Daphne does not tell me her correct age,

laughingly, she admits to being over 40 and believes she is *going through the menopause.* However, she is quick to tell me the symptoms she has reported had nothing to do with menopause. She says very slowly: "I think I was having a nervous breakdown."

After awhile, she begins to whisper and says: "I have been talking so loudly, you know Xhosas don't like to share intimate details of their life with others."

Daphne discusses the concept of head-of-household with a sense of humor. She laughs at the idea that men refuse to accept the fact that women can be heads-of-household:

> In actuality, I am the head of this household, but I would never admit this in front of him or others in my community. There are many women who take care of their households, one hundred percent, but they are afraid to show disrespect to the men.

Later, she talks about how she met her husband:

> It was during the time when I was in nursing training in the old Ciskei. He came to the hospital for an exam before he could take the job. I took his vital signs and asked his name. I was pretty in those days. He said he had never dated a *Fingo* and never a woman with long legs. We met several times later when he would return from the mines. He eventually asked my father if he could marry me. Although father resisted at first, he thought I could do better. The negotiations began for the marriage, and to this day, *lobola* has never been paid off. A major problem was the fact that he is a *Thembu* and we have some similar customs but they are not identical. *Fingo* women are more independent than *Xhosa* women are.

Daphne jokingly told me she would never say a Fingo was more independent than a Xhosa. When I asked her about the stress she experiences in her daily life and how she copes with stress, she tells me that most of her stress is now job-related. She talks about the condition of her work environment:

> The hospital is run down and there are not enough nurses." She has to provide instructions during the day and sometimes she is on call. Additionally, she tells me about the stress in her domestic situation, where she says she is the *Head*: "When I come home, I have to take care of the house. My children rely on me to take care of them. I go to all of the school functions and when my son was initiated, my

husband left me to deal with everything. I really don't believe in this stuff anymore, but my family wanted my son to go through the initiation.

When asked about coping strategies in dealing with her stress, she admits that her marriage is still not a good one. Her husband continues to deny drinking and extra-marital affairs, but she knows that he does both. Daphne says she joined the charismatic church movement in Fort Beaufort a couple of years ago and is very involved with recruiting other women. The church membership consists mainly of women who recently formed women's prayer group (manyano), which is similar to the other manyano groups in African churches. She claims this organization is not as formal as other groups but is focused on '*praying and helping each other*'.

This loosely structured organization of women is one of the ways Daphne copes with stress; another strategy is helping other women. She says: " I don't have a lot of time to find ways to cope, I just pray and sometimes when I am really angry with my husband, I entertain the idea of putting him out of the house, but his children would be upset." Most of the time, Daphne says she has learned how to accept whatever comes her way. She feels '*blessed*' in that she has more than most of the people who live around her.

This case study illustrates a successful coping (ukumelana) pattern developed by a woman who admits to having a stressful marriage and has learned how to accept it. One of the issues she discusses with me is the cultural aspects of learning how to be patient in order to be able to accept and endure (myamezela). She has learned how to find some satisfaction and joy in her world by spending time with her children, her family, colleagues, and church/community members. Although she has totally assumed the full responsibility

of her household, she refuses to say she is the *Head* in the presence of her husband or others.

I was able to observe the many ways Daphne deals with stressful situations on a daily basis, at least overtly. She laughs a lot and she has a great sense of humor, and she enjoys helping others.

Case Study Three: Divorced Women with Children

Mrs. Momfundo is a forty year old divorced mother of four children who lives in Nstzamanzi, a township outside Alice. She also has a rural homestead in the Transkei near her birth home, Cala. Mrs. Momfundo provides the sole support of her children who range from 17-20 years of age. They all attend school and she pays all of the fees and tuition.

Momfundo describes poor living conditions during her childhood, but she adds this was true for all of the families in her village. She continues to be very connected to her birth home and to her culture. In fact, she expresses ambivalence with the fact that she is educated, but adheres to the Xhosa traditions. She explains:

> I embraced Christianity but it conflicts with my cultural traditions and beliefs about the ancestors. My mother was a *songoma (a traditional diviner/healer)*, and I believe I am being called by the ancestors to be one, too. My family wants this and have encouraged me to follow the call.

This woman has entered the initial stage that leads to becoming a *songoma*. During the interview today, she is wearing the symbols of an initiate including a special necklace and white clay on her face.

Mrs. Nomfundo is the eldest of two sisters and three brothers. When she became an adult, she learned that the person she thought was her sister was indeed her mother and her maternal grandmother was her birth mother:

> This was hard to deal with. All I had known about myself was not true. They lied to me to protect my mother/sister who would not have been able to get a husband. Back then, people followed the traditions and a woman who became pregnant before marriage was 'damaged goods'. Her family could not get *lobola* for her.

Later, she discovered the identity of her biological father at the time he was dying.

Mrs. Momfundo summarizes her marriage by saying:

> Marriage was the only future for the girl. I was married for 19 years in an abusive relationship until 1986 when I left my husband. In 1991, I divorced him. Divorce is still considered a stigma among my people. The older generations [are embarrassed] when a woman is not committed [when a Xhosa woman is divorced, she is blamed for the break-up of the marriage, regardless of the situation].

Although Mrs. Momfundo is strongly connected to her rural conservative Xhosa heritage, she perceives her past traumatic experiences that include rape and molestation to be the norm for Xhosa women who are often exploited and abused by the Xhosa *culture*. She gives an example of how women are exploited in the contemporary society:

> Men worked mostly in the mines and were gone from 6-9 months at a time. Retrenchments contributed to poverty which was borne by women and families. Men often took advantage of innocent girls and could get away with it because of the culture which allowed men to be over women.

The of exploitation of women by traditional leaders in the rural communities is an issue and is discussed:

> Chiefs were respected in the past. They helped families which was called *umundo* or support. Now with the scarce resources, sharing is a problem. Chiefs are worse with women. In the political arena, they cannot be trusted. If you want land, [you] have to give [them] him something. Of course, this varies and you have to be cautious when visiting the villages.

Another issue, which surfaces during our discussion, regards the socialization of adolescent girls who reside in rural areas. Mrs. Momfundo believes this is situational and

varies according to the culture of the clans. However, she believes the changes in the behavior African youth is related to what she refers to as *the break-down* in *our culture*:

> [It] depends on the families. I know for me, it was important for me to receive information about my culture. When things go wrong, I believe the ancestors are not pleased. This is like saying God is not pleased.

She admits to being ambivalent regarding traditional spirituality, and Christian ideology which contributes to her confusion and stress, which she believes is the reason other African people are confused about domestic relations, socialization of the young, and *customs that used to bind us as a people.* She continues:

> A lot of young women are angry and not prepared. Relationships are not explained in the same way in terms of culture and western customs. Potential young heads-of-household, are women who are worried about their children being left behind. There is a lot of cohabitation which is against culture. Young girls are not going through the rituals; rites of passage [*intonjane*[vi]]. I did this for my daughters for I had experienced what can happen when you deny [your] culture and the dangers in not doing so. All types of problems.

Mrs. Momfundo, an attractive woman with a great sense of humor, does not want to remarry, but admits to being very lonely. Her family lives a long distance from her and she only sees them when she goes *home,* which is at least twice a month or for special events. Even though she is mistrustful of men, she admits to having occasional, but brief intimate relations.

Today, she describes the major stressors in her life as financial, job related and loneliness.

Mrs. Momfundo talks about coping strategies she uses when stressed. Even though she shares with me the difficulties she has in relaxing or finding ways to offset the '*misery*' in her life, I spent a lot a time with her and observed how she dealt with some stressful situations. Again, Xhosa women tend to use humor and joking behavior when dealing with

stressful situations. Momfundo is indeed one who uses her wit to get others to laugh; in doing this, she says she *'feels better'*.

Another coping strategy she uses effectively is tied to her spiritual beliefs, even with her admitted feelings of ambivalence. She says: "I feel like I have been caught between two worlds. One that contains the spiritual ancestors and the other involving Christian beliefs." Even so, she attends church and loves to sing. Which is another observation regarding Eastern Cape Xhosa women, they love to sing and dance whenever there is a gathering. Momfundo says it is a way to share ones problems as well as the joys. Another way she copes is when she volunteers her skills in a social service center where abused and battered women and children come for recreation and counseling. One of her gifts is teaching ballroom dancing, which she admits, is really helpful especially when she is depressed. This helps her to deal with 'bad feelings' and allows her time to think about solving problems.

Case Study Four: Widow Head-Of-Household With Children

Mrs. Nosisa Ksona, a widow, has a household structure that includes a three-room mud rondavel and a five room cemented house, in Mhlanganisweni (location Libode). She is head-of-household that is composed of her two sons, who attend tertiary institutions and are totally dependent on their mother for support, and a number of extended family members who are beneficiaries of her household support.

When I first met her at a gathering of women in Umtata, she told me, "I am typical of the people you are interested in." For the past 18 years she has been employed as a part-time nurse. She lost twelve years of her pension due to the changes in government, from

the *independent* Ciskei 'homeland' government that became a part of the new South Africa after the 1994 election.

Although she is very active in pursuing a change in the status of her pension, she feels pessimistic about ever receiving it. She discusses the impact the changes in the political governance have made on her life and others in the Eastern Cape: "*Life has not been good for the vast majority* of working *Africans, for the new government is not sensitive to us, unless we were involved in the politics*".

Nosisa was born 60 years ago in Gatyana Ramra, a rural area in the Transkei. She tells me her parents were 'traditional', although she was baptized as a Christian:

> My mother was a hard-working person. She made dresses for people in the community, and head gears—the traditional garments. We were traditional blanket-people. Our mother did a lot to improve and help the conditions for people who were not educated. She wrote letters [for them]. We had a beautiful home because of our mother. White people would come to our home for accommodations, and stay there for awhile. Our father worked in Johannesburg. He was not a responsible person. But he had a good position for the times as he was in charge of people in the mines. He did not pay much attention to the family; [he] did not send [us] money. He would come home and buy cattle, the only important thing to him. Otherwise, mother would fend for us. She grew vegetables. She got up very early in every morning, 5 a.m. Mother was very prominent in Umtata. She would display her produce, beans, peas, potatoes, and we children [there were four children] would help her, but we had to travel long distances to school. We were not far from the town Umtata which was a White town then.

When I asked Nosisa to tell me more about her father. She says:

> [I] have nothing good to say about our father... so [often]... he was cruel to our mother. The first born sister went to school, the one who lives in Cape Town, and our Father refused to help her go to school. Mother decided to take her to her mother in the Transkei, a different location. This was in the early 1950s, when our sister went to Langa Metro School in Cape Town. What we appreciated was [how] our mother stripped herself of her dignity to work in kitchens, a domestic servant just to get a little money from White women to augment money from domestic service. She also knitted and made vests when she started to work at

> Somerset hospital in Cape Town, only when she receive a decent salary could [she] relax to pay school fees.

She had a problem when the officials in the Qumbu district took her and her siblings to a relative, her father's brother, and '*asked if he would put me through high school.*' She continues:

> [Later] My brother and sister left with [my] maternal grandmother. Our oldest sister went to Cape Town school. At a later stage, mother took [my] youngest sister with her. My mother's father [who was really her mother's father's brother] applied to Victoria Hospital [in Alice, Ciskei] for me to go into this nursing [program] and this is how I got into nursing.

.

Nosisa describes how clan relations have changed:

> [A] clan is traditionally associated with the father's clan, but most of the time; [we] grew up with mother's side of family. What is most important to us, [they] were there. In our society, [a] father's clan is still more important, even if he doesn't do anything. You don't part with [your] father.

Nosisa Ksona's maternal grandmother took care of her six daughter's children. She tells me her mother's sisters used to 'dump' their children on her grandmother, which started with the eldest daughter. She adds: " Because so many of my cousins were raised by this grandmother, we called each other brothers and sisters."

According to Mrs. Ksona, male and female children were treated the same. Her grandmother ignored many of the traditional patterns of socializing children. To her, age was more important than being a boy or girl. She explains this:

> [It is] difficult to say whether or not children were treated differently based on their sex. It depended on the age; because our brother came after us [he was younger], anybody younger was protected, even if mother had special feelings, he was the only male figure in the home. No way to say he [brother] was the favorite, for we all cared for him. We all adored him.

In 1974 Nosisa Ksona met her future husband. They were married in a Christian ceremony in 1976. She was a nursing sister at Frere Hospital and he was in East London, working for a lawyer.

> He was an old bachelor when I met him and he decided he wanted to get married. His parents had died, and his family was in Middledrift. He told me he was lonely away from home, and was seriously looking for a wife. I knew him for two years before we were married. We had a Christian wedding. I was not with a father; my mother had left our father in Cape Town. So, lobola was paid to my mother. She had an extended family attend to her affairs, her cousin's father. It was impossible to [negotiate] cattle payment, so he [fathers' kin] sent people to Cape Town with some money to pay lobola which is not traditional, but cattle is.

She continues to describe her marriage:

> My marriage was not much different from my parents. The turning point in my life was what made me a stronger person. We were staying in East London (Mdantsane) when my husband changed. He fell in love with another woman. One day a woman came to my house and told me about it. This affair went on for four years. He was attending school; UNISA and he failed his courses. Then he came to me and told me he wanted to attend Fort Hare. I decided to help him get a degree.

Nosisa's husband was employed by the railroad while she worked as a nurse. This was in 1973 when he was teaching (he had received his degree from Fort Hare College in 1970). Prior to this, he had worked at various jobs. She continued to take care of him financially. By this time, the couple had two sons. Her husband failing in his courses in law at UNISA strained the marriage, while he continued to have affairs and not support the family. Eventually, he left her with the children. Nosisa talks about this breakdown in her marriage as a very stressful time in her life:

> When he started teaching, he changed. He was drinking and giving no money at home. He did a lot of funny things. It all became worse. This woman had come to tell me that my husband was giving his money to another woman, who came to collect it on his paydays. I had wondered why he did not give me money. I was paying for his school fees and would never beg him for money. It was at this time I began to look for employment elsewhere, in the Transkei.

The marital situation is only one of her life experiences, which she considers difficult. She was faced with external forces that controlled the economic and residential mobility of Blacks and women. Race and gender-based laws in South Africa determined the living conditions of all non-whites. This presented additional constraints in her endeavors to support her family.

Finally, in the late 1970s, Nosisa obtained a nursing position in the Transkei and had to leave her children in East London with her husband. She could only visit them on weekends. One day the marriage had reached a crisis. She had to face the reality that her marriage was over:

> One weekend we quarreled [she and her husband]. He wanted me to come back and I didn't want to. I had observed that he was not sleeping at home, but with the woman. I took my children and everything with me to Umtata escorted by the policemen. I took everything that belonged to me back home. He pretended not to care. I went my way until 1981 when we saw him. He was in a bad situation. His behavior was strange. I thought it was the liquor. He did queer things. It was recommended that he go to a rehabilitation center, [a mental health center]. When he was discharged, the administrators asked me to leave my position and take care of him.

Nosisa describes this time as the worst for her and the children. The children were young and she found herself thinking about what was best for them. Later, the government who told her to give up the only security she had ever known to take care of a man who had never provided for her and their children confronted her. In addition to the government, her mother was also pressuring her to do so. Her mother told her: *"This is the father of your children."* The irony of this statement was not lost on Nosisa who says she could have responded with *"But you left my father for the same reasons."*

In 1978, her husband was still ill. While she refused to take him in, she took her son to visit him. "I was staying in a dilapidated house in Umtata finishing a course for nursing. Mother looked for another site; the government to other Black areas was removing people. Our father could not take it. Fortunately for him, our older married sister took him to live with her family. So, our mother built me a new home in Umtata [rural area] and she moved to Cape Town [Langa]."

Nosisa's husband was related to a high official in the Ciskei government. They continued to put pressure on her to take care of her husband to nurse him back to health. She tried to explain the total situation to the authorities. However, she was later transferred to a location outside Alice. This transfer was short-lived because her husband died soon after the move. After his death, Nosisa began to make arrangements to be an 'independent ' woman. She owned property in the Transkei and was trying to secure property in the Ciskei, where her new position would be located. It was difficult because she had sons who could eventually claim her property. However, she was fortunate in that none of the property was in her deceased husband's name. Otherwise, she would have had no legal claims on the house:

> After his death, I started to think about the house I live in today. There were a lot of remarks about getting this house. I quickly arranged to buy this property in my name, although my husband had wanted it allocated it to our second son [her first son had died]. But we had not made any legal arrangements. I believe God was at work. If it had been in his name, it could have been a problem.

After her husband's death, Mrs. Kosana worked hard to secure property in the rural areas in the Transkei and Ciskei. Her sons attended school in the Transkei and in Cape

Town. Nosis retired from nursing when the government changed in 1994. Her parents were deceased. Her father had died in 1986 and her mother in 1992.

This woman believes the new South Africa has sacrificed quality of standards in the medical field:

> Because of the person I am, I like to have things done properly, I always wanted things to go straight, I have dealt with a lot of characters. My reasons for retirement were [related] to the changes in the government from apartheid White to African controlled Ciskei.

Mrs. Ksona is active in a number of organizations and is considered to be a *Head* by the elders in the community. Today, she describes herself as a '*strong, powerful, Christian woman.*' She considers her major stress factor to be related to the fact she has to fight for her pension. She uses a number of coping strategies to cope with stress. For one, she is very involved in the 'politics' advocating for pensioners. Another strategy is her use of integrating spiritual practices from both worlds—Christianity and Xhosa rituals.

Due to her *achieved* status, which she acquired based on her age and because she is a widow with property. Therefore, she is treated like a male-head. Although this level of respect and status tends to diminish some of the stress she would normally experience as a Xhosa woman, Mrs. Ksona attributes her status to her perceived *power, which* she uses to help herself and other women with less status and authority. She says it gives her a sense of pride and independence and empowers her to *keep going.*

Mrs. Ksona also makes use of her extensive social network where she has relations in both the Transkei and Ciskei. For her, this is an important coping strategy. It keeps her connected to her Xhosa roots while maintaining the lifestyle of a modern woman. When I asked her how she learned to cope so well with her problems, she laughingly tells me that

she learned how to cope from her mother who used to go shopping when she was upset, even with little money.

She says: "Our mother told me, when you feel really down [depressed], go shopping for a new dress."

VII. Stress and Coping Strategies

This section presents the qualitative findings with respect to stress indicators and coping strategies as reported by informants. Stress is a concept that embraces the relationship between critical life-events and how human beings react and adapt to these life events. In general terms, stress may include physical or psychological stress from abusive behaviors, verbal and emotional abuse, and social or economic stress due to a lack of sufficient support or adequate resources.

The Selyean stress model is used to analyze the data with respect to the political economy of women-dependent households in the Eastern Cape, with special attention given to individuals who report stress indicators that are assumed to affect their mental and general health status.

The structure of the apartheid system, have been the major sources of fear, stress, anxiety and trauma experienced by many Black South Africans. Migratory labor, influx controls and passes laws help to destroy family/ kinship structures and social relations. The lack of or inadequate race-based education system, combined with unemployment, underemployment and social and political unrest are all factors that help to create chronic stress and other serious mental health conditions in the Eastern Cape population. Chapter five provides more discussion on this issue.

Stress is a major contributor to mental and general health problems in the majority of informants who reported health conditions that could be related to stress factors. One of the affects of the many changes in the social organization of the Eastern Cape Xhosa-speaking population is the psychological disassociation that has occurred when *culture* and *reality* have become ambiguous or conflicting. Clinical and medical professional informants refer to this phenomenon as *a loss of culture.* This is often cited as reason women have been admitted to mental health facilities and/ or being designated as witches (*igqwira*) in their communities. This subject has been explored in earlier South African studies that have focused on the connection between trauma and Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) in African women (Mlisa 1997); and, Hirschowitz and Orkin who examined over four-thousand South Africans suffering from PTSD. Hickson and Strous (1993) report on research results that link mental health problems to employment and economic factors; while Spangenberg and Pierterse (1995) examine the relationship between stressful life-events and mental health in Xhosa women.

It is relevant to understand stress theory, which substantiates the connection between stress indicators and conditions that may be attributed to poor mental health and related physical illness. Additionally, it is equally important to review social support theory regarding coping strategies used in human populations in dealing with stressful situations.

The discussion below provides a brief review of stress theory based on case studies with a focus on poverty and social indicators similar to the Eastern Cape situation. Second a brief review of the research on social support and coping theories, with illustration. Next, case studies developed from oral life histories will illustrate the connection between

stress indicators, mental or physical health problems, and coping strategies employed by women.

According to Blakey (1981: 3): "Stressors can not be evaluated without considering their relationship to the subject's means and goals." His study of a Black community in Britain, focused on social stress attributed to social and economic factors and the coping strategies employed by the study group. The implications to the conclusions he makes in this study are useful when analyzing the data obtained in the Eastern Cape.

McQueen and Siegrist (1982) provide an overview of the research that examines the relationship between social factors and stress-related illness. They draw heavily on the Seylean model bio-cultural model, which emphasizes the impact on the physiological condition of humans caused by external conditions such as psychosocial and sociopolitical factors (Selyean 1955). Others who have explored the connection between the political economy, psychosocial indicators and stress-related illness include Goodman (Thomas, Swedlund, and Armealegos, et al 1988) by, comparing the 'interdisciplinary roots of the stress concept' with the biological aspects of the Seylean model. Additionally, they make a connection to what they refer to as the 'sister concept of adaptation', which is relative to traumatic life events experienced by humans and the disruption that can occur in whole populations.

In terms of social support theory, Dean and Lin (1977) examine social support literature which emphasizes the importance of social networks when buffering the effects of stressful life-events; Cobb (1976) defines the importance of social support when developing coping strategies and links this aspect to the impact of 'life stress'; while,

Folkman and Lazarus (1983) develops a conceptual framework which establishes the connection between coping and emotions.

Cobb (1976: 300) defines social support as: "...information leading the subject to believe that [she] is cared for and loved, esteemed, and a member of a network of mutual obligations." This definition is useful when analyzing the data obtained from women informants who perceive coping strategies in terms of effective social support systems.

Family is the most important social support system as reported by the majority of the informants. However, there are others who have minimal or no dependable family connections. For these informants, when there is a problem or when there is a need to do a ritual, they often have to rely on non-relatives, community members, social service organizations, health professionals or friends. When there is no one to participate in a ritual, this causes considerable psychological distress.

In the contemporary Eastern Cape, treatment and ancillary services that deal with mental health is in crisis. Although informants report using modern interventions when dealing with mental health issues, they also admit to consulting traditional healers, which is a part of the culture. Hopa, Simbayi, and duToit (1998), discusse the integration of traditional and western healing systems. Even so, there are not enough mental health facilities nor are there sufficient personnel to deal with the mental health needs of the majority population. In fact, mental health services are fragmented in South Africa, especially for Africans, which is related to the legacy of apartheid. Those who work in the facilities in the Eastern Cape consider those services that are available for mental health and general health inadequate. A recent study conducted by the Centre for Health Policy and the Centre for Epidemiological Research in Southern Africa, Medical Research

Council (Dartnell, Modiba, et al 1998: 76), reports on the current status of mental health services in the Eastern Cape (and KwaZulu-Natal). The following statement confirms many of the findings of this study:

> This review found that mental health services are fragmented, mainly institution-based, inaccessible to the majority and inequitably distributed. Staff morale is very poor and uncertainty over jobs are a constant concern. There is a lack of a clear-shared vision of mental health services. Little integration, particularly in terms of training and staff, ...Community services are few.

VIII. *Stress Indicators*

Stress Indicators

Questions were asked regarding the types of stress relevant to the experiences of women informants. One open-ended inquiry was asked of women informants: "*What are some of the problems you have to deal with on a daily basis that cause you stress?*" This question allowed informants the opportunity to discuss their individual experiences while providing a diverse range of informant responses. The collective data reveals the scope of interpersonal, environmental, social and economic factors that are contributors to the mental and general health conditions of women in the Eastern Cape. The analysis of the responses, with respect to chronic stress indicators, tends to fall into singular categories or combinations of these four: (a) Psychological; (b) Behavioral; (c) Physical or Physiological; and, (d) Cultural (Appendix VI).

The number one stress category reported by informants is related to household economy which include the following characteristics: (a) work-related issues in terms of treatment, job satisfaction, employment/underemployment and unemployment; and, (b) lack of sufficient financial resources for basic household subsistence. The second stress

category identifies relevant causes of chronic stress and includes the following characteristics: (a) gender relations; and, (b) housing, infrastructure, and environmental conditions.

The third stress category include elements include cultural and psychological characteristics, such as: (a) feeling disconnected from the culture; unable to participate in rituals, especially regarding ancestors; (b) feelings of extreme loneliness and isolation; (c) feelings of shame and loss of status; and, (d) not having a social or family support system or other resources to help when problems arise.

Concept of Endurance

Women in the Eastern Cape, often use the concept of coping (ukumelana) previously introduced in section two. It is a concept used to describe how one deals with problems, as well as to express how one feels about some traumatic event. It is sometimes used interchangeably with the concept of endurance or acceptance (myamezela). Therefore, to cope (*ukumelana*) is to endure (*myamezela*). This concept is illustrated in the following section that deals with Xhosa women's coping strategies.

IX. COPING STRATEGIES

Women of all socio-economic groups tend to deal with stress in various ways. In general, Xhosa-speaking women respond to stress in ways similar to people in other cultures. However, in the Eastern Cape context, stress, coping strategies, and health concerns are often connected to meanings that are culturally sensitive. Although culture is not always a factor, informants in this study tended to cope with stressful situations, dependent upon their individual coping and general problem-solving skills. They often sought meaning for their psychological and physical symptoms within the Xhosa

cosmological framework. Additional mental health problems develop when there are issues of social isolation and the lack of a viable social support system. This becomes even more problematic if there are limited or no available human resources. One of the most common informant responses regarding coping strategies is relative to the limited availability of human resources in close proximity to rural households and the work environment.

The changing structures in the Xhosa social organization have disrupted many of the social networks that previously provided physical and emotional support to family and community members. This is very relevant in the contemporary Xhosa community where informants articulate concerns about the difficulties they experience when dealing with stressful life experiences without supportive networks.

Women report various strategies for coping with stressful situations. The Xhosa women often find creative ways to deal with stress: these are illustrated in the next section by case studies of women who utilize different coping strategies to offset or buffer stressful situations. For some, coping is a way of life. Four women share their stories revealing successful coping strategies that include using joking//humor, social supports, and other skills that help to offset the stressful situations. However, other women use other means to cope. Sometimes these alternative methods consist of harmful or maladapted responses to stressful situations, such as, alcoholism and engaging in aggressive behaviors. Still others often express feelings of being isolated from supportive adults. Additionally, they often feel depressed. Frequently, these women may experience suicide ideations.

Over eighty-five percent of the informants report social support systems that include close family members, as the most important factor when dealing with stressful situations. When asked how they coped with stress, informants provided a wide range of coping strategies that included behavioral, physical, psychological and cultural strategies. Coping strategies can often be effective in problem-solving but as previously mentioned, many of the coping strategies reported by the informants often exacerbated the level and degree of stress.

Many of the responses linked socio-economic conditions to the type of strategy that was most commonly used to cope with and buffer the effects of stress.

The collective oral histories provide data that reveal behavioral and psychological patterns which suggest the similarity that exists in the stories told by women informants, especially those who have shared traumatic life-experiences, usually the major factor in the mental and physical health conditions of the target population. In addition, there appears to be an evolving pattern with respect to the coping strategies women use to deal with stress.

The following case studies reveal problematic living conditions endured by women and indicate some of the maladaptive coping strategies used by women, which further exacerbates the level of stress in their daily lives.

ILLUSTRATIONS: STRESS AND UNSUCESSFUL COPING STRATEGIES

Case Study Five: Stress Due To Poverty and Domestic Relations

Nomkmthe is fifty-seven years old and is the head-of-household in a rural location outside Mdantsane. She is currently unemployed due to retrenchments (layoffs) at the local school where she was working as a teaching assistant. Her husband and other adult

members of her household are alcoholics. This presents problems for Nomkmthe because of the frequent violence that erupts when they are all drinking. She fears for the safety of herself and her children who range in ages 10 to 15 years old.

The only source of income for this household is the money earned by Nomkmthe from selling the things she makes and her food products in town. She grows chickens, vegetables, and picks prickly pears off the road to sell. Frequently, she does not have enough food for the family. When she tries to explain this to her husband and in-laws they get angry and blame her for their hunger.

Nomkmthe lives too far from her family who lives in the Transkei in Mhlanganisweni location at Libode where she was born. She moved to this location when she married. Her husband has never paid all of the *lobola* to her father and mother before they died. Her siblings are not able to help her for they have some of the same problems. She fears she will die from hypertension and diabetes, the combination of illnesses that caused her mother's death.

She complains of feeling isolated and fearful about her children living in poverty. There is a *constant ache in my heart* when she gets upset over her family drinking problems and their fighting. Recently, she has begun to cry and drink with the others. This has affected her work and now she has nothing to sell, except the chickens and vegetables.

This woman is without social support. She lives too far from human care resources and does not trust the medicine or help that has been offered by professionals who come to the area in mobile units. She has somatic complaints often associated with stress-related disease: stomach aches, migraine headaches, and constipation. She has psychological

complaints that include sleeplessness, anxiety, depression, rage, which she takes out on her children, and obsessive worrying about the future.

Case Study Six: Never Married Woman with Dependent Siblings

Bukelwe is twenty-seven years old and is supporting her siblings, two sisters ages 8 and 11 years old and one brother, age 13 years old. They live in Mavuso, a location near Alice, in a roughly constructed house that is surrounded by roaming animals, fowl and debris.

Currently, she is working as a primary school teacher and would like to return for a degree at Fort Hare. However, she is not able to do this and support her siblings. Her mother died a couple of years ago and her father abandoned them. She has no idea where he is living. She tells me:

> I decided to take care of my sisters and brother even though I am overwhelmed by this responsibility. There is no one else we can trust. We all have been abused by family members, so I have to keep the doors locked when we are alone. We have been robbed and assaulted. I don't know where to turn.

Bukelwe describes her stress in terms of the responsibility she has assumed and finds herself angry and upset all of the time. When she is feeling depressed, which is most of the time, she does not cook or clean. The kids have to do the work. Sometimes, she spends all of the money she earns on clothing before she pays the bills. This causes her to borrow money. When I asked her whom she could turn to when she needs help, she says she has friends but they have their own problems: "Sometimes I feel like I have no future. I am raising my mother's children and will never have my own. No man wants an old lady, and that is how I feel. It is hopeless."

Case Study Seven: Widow Woman with Adopted Dependent Children

Mrs. Zombalo is fifty-eight years old, a widow who has never had children of her own. She adopted the children her husband had with his other wife. (This is the only case history where an informant admitted to a polygamous relation).

Her husband was killed in a mining accident five years ago. The mother of the three children, age's 7 years to 10 years old, said to Mrs. Zombalo that she was going to town to seek work. That woman never returned.

Mrs. Zombalo has never had to work outside of the homestead. She is a very conservative Xhosa woman who believes she is doing what her husband would want her to do; raise his children. She talks about how the past year has been really difficult for her. She does not have enough money to support her and the children. They need school uniforms and extra food. Also, she has been having problems with hypertension and arthritis and can not afford medical aid when she needs it. She is also worried about what will happen to the children when she dies. She tells me: "I don't think their worthless mother will ever return. She was never responsible in the first place. She was too young when my husband took her as a wife. He only did this because we could not have children with each other."

Mrs. Zombalo was educated in the mission school near Umtata and wanted to be a nurse. Her father arranged the marriage to an older man when she was sixteen years old. She says she wishes she had completed her nursing training, which would enable her to provide more for the children.

When asked about her personal indicators of stress and how she copes with stress in general, her response indicates she may be experiencing suicide ideation: "I don't cope very well. Sometimes I just want to sleep my life away. I have dreams and believe the

ancestors are calling me to come to them. One day, I may take some *muti* [poison] and follow them."

Case Study Eight: Woman, Parents and Dependent Children

Jean lives in Tyara near Umtata. She is forty-eight years old and is the head of her household which is comprised of her two elderly parents who both suffer from a number of illnesses, and her two dependent sons ages 12 years old and 16 years old. She has never married and receives no support from the father of her children, who lives nearby with his wife and child. Jean tells me she was the concubine for this man for many years until he found him a younger woman. He married this woman a few years ago and stopped coming to see Jean and his children. This man did help her secure this house which is near her birth home.

Jean receives a small pension on behalf of her parents, which is the main source of dependable income. Her earnings as a part-time domestic in Umtata, helps to pay for school fees and uniforms. Sometimes, she finds things to sell on the weekends. Otherwise, there are no other reliable sources of household income.

Her parents both receive some form of medical assistance when it is needed, so this helps to offset medical bills. However, she has no form of medical aid for herself or for her children. One of her sons suffers with asthma and is often ill. This contributes to her experiencing anxiety attacks and affects her work performance. Recently, her employer of 10 years told her she could no longer afford her services as a domestic could. Jean has been looking for full-time work.

Although Jean reports that she is able to cope with stress, she contradicts herself when she describes the symptoms of depression and anxiety. When this happens, she does not

know where to turn. She is afraid to seek Western style methods because it would mean telling strangers her affairs. When asked her about traditional approaches, she says she doesn't believe in them. Instead, Jean admits to smoking and drinking too much, especially when she is overly stressed.

Each of the four case studies reported above illustrate the variations of inadequate coping strategies women use to deal with stress. When compared to the previous four case studies where women report successful methods of coping, these women indicate high stress levels, contributing to mental health disorders and general health problems. Each of them would benefit from a positive social support system and appropriate interventions from mental and medical health providers.

X. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter presented an analysis of the qualitative data that included information obtained from participant observations, personal interviews, focus groups, informal discussions, and oral life histories. Several thematic components have been useful in delineating analytic categories needed for analyzing the findings as experienced and articulated by the study participants.

Major themes that have been discussed in this chapter include: marriage, traditional and Western/Christian marriage forms; changing structures in Xhosa marriages, disruption and termination; relationship between household and family; defining head-of-household; and, characteristics of women-dependent households in rural communities.

Eight case studies illustrate types of women-dependent households, stress indicators, and successful and unsuccessful coping strategies employed by women. An analysis of the most common types of stress indicators and coping strategies are presented along with

four case studies that illustrate unsuccessful coping strategies employed by women who head households.

Finally, this chapter reports the status of mental health in the Eastern Cape and provides an overview of the literature, which defines stress, social support and coping.

The next chapter (Chapter four) provides a demographic profile of the Eastern Cape households and rural communities.

---

[i] This term is used interchangeably to refer to behaviors that indicate respect and avoidance 'taboos'

[ii] This theory, which suggested by Mayer, discusses the dichotomy between Red/conservative/rural Xhosas and School/educated/urban/western Xhosas is discussed at length in Chapter 5

[iii] There are various ways men can claim children outside marriage: concubinage, adoption, and other arrangements agreed to by wives who have not had children or sons.

[iv] family is used interchangeably with kinship systems and household units

[v] The UN 1974 Manual includes following elements in defining household: a. based on personal arrangements; b. sharing providing food and income essential living for individuals/groups; c. one or more persons/multiply persons who share living provisions; d. persons may/may not be related and can be different combinations

[vi] A period of seclusion for adolescent girls who are beginning their menses. Traditionally; it was an important step in the marriage process.

Chapter Four

Rural Household Characteristics, Employment, Literacy, And Stress Indicators: A Quantitative Analysis

I. Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of the quantitative data, with the primary focus on rural household characteristics, employment, and literacy, economic and stress indicators, that have impacted the quality of life and well being of the women who participated in the study. Additionally, demographic data quantifies many of the living conditions of the vast majority of women-dependent households in rural areas in the Eastern Cape. The relationships between indicators of poverty that exist in rural domestic households and other factors which influence the quality of life of rural residents, are examined.

In this chapter, I am expanding the demographic profile of the study population and research environment introduced in chapter one. This chapter will present additional quantitative analysis of the data gathered from my research survey and other demographic materials, namely, the 1995 October Household Survey (OHS), and the1996 Census.

Two important units of analysis, household composition and level of poverty have been conceptualized in chapter three. In terms of a quantitative analysis, it is important to review both concepts, beginning with two basic definitions of household: one which is discussed in the previous chapter suggested by Statistics South Africa (SSA formerly Central Statistical Services); and, a second definition, which is a composite taken from statements made by informants and professionals in the Eastern Cape.

The following definition of household is useful as a conceptual model, which has the capacity to incorporate culturally sensitive aspects. Many of the elements conform to those commonly used by Xhosa-speakers when discussing family and household:

> As the most common unit of production and consumption, bound together by social ties and economic forces, members are dependent on the household population for most human resources and social support.

An analysis (Daily Dispatch 1998) of the post-apartheid economy argues that the majority of jobless South Africans are Africans and the unemployment rate amongst African women is the highest in the country. This article further states: "A *New form of apartheid* is developing in South Africa and this time factors such as joblessness rather than race form the dividing line...."

However, in the context of this discussion, it is essential to realize that poverty has a number of elements, comprised of social, structural and cultural characteristics. In terms of the household economy of female headed-households in rural communities, each of these components have been explored, at least on a micro-level, in order to comprehend the depth of the extreme deprivation and disadvantages endured by women.

In the context of using gender analysis to interpret statistical and demographic data, the following analytical inquiries are considered below:

For one, how do women-dependent households perform and organize themselves in terms of providing adequate subsistence for its members? Next, to what extent do the following indicators influence the degree of poverty and other disadvantages that describe the quality of life for women heads-of-household in the Eastern Cape that include: (a)

physical and environmental factors such as dwelling types; (b) access to electricity and other energy sources; (c) population density; (d) and level of crime/ violence in the community? Finally, with respect to household composition, are there special concerns relative to space and privacy particularly in large households? For example, are there spatial indicators to determine sufficient living space in terms of age, gender, and total household composition?

It is irresponsible to quantify poverty without qualifying *how* people experience poverty. More importantly, in order to analyze the degree of vulnerability, which confronts women-dependent households in the Eastern Cape, one needs to characterize the nature of poverty by considering qualitative and quantitative data. Chapter three identified many of the issues with respect to poverty obtained from interviews and oral histories. This chapter integrates both data sets.

In order to identify the nature of poverty in every respect, it is important to understand the relationship that exists between factors, which can be, experienced as psychological and as cultural phenomena, I refer to as a state of *poverty of mind.* This concept refers to the cognitive aspects of stress and the ways in which women cope with it as a way of life. Others may assume this to be a healthy adaptation to ones' living conditions. Additional components that include structural and politico-economical elements are referenced throughout the body of the dissertation.

Gender and race-based inequalities are both attributes of poverty that started long before the apartheid regime. Other forms of inequalities characterize the nature of poverty in South Africa. the political disenfranchisement of African women. This was an

intentional strategy of the apartheid regime: to keep Africans at the bottom of the economic and political hierarchy; first, to gain control over their land resources; secondly, to gain control over their labor. Blacks continue to exist at the poverty levels determined during the apartheid era (This is discussed in Chapter one). Only a small number of Black South Africans are able to participate in the political economy similar to Whites. For the most part, African men are dependent on the wages obtained by employment in industry, such as the mining companies. Otherwise, households are more likely to depend on earnings obtained by women in the informal sector, such as domestic services or street vending/hawking.

These elements of poverty are the legacy of the apartheid era. The demographic data contained in the South African documents and the results of my research survey confirm the extent of poverty conditions that exist in the Eastern Cape, previously discussed in chapters one and four.

The patterns of gender and race-based inequality (exacerbated by the apartheid economy) altered the social organization and political economy of Xhosa women in the Eastern Cape. Discriminatory practices of social/political exclusion lack of access to community and family support systems are all attributes to the individual and collective underdevelopment of Black women both economically and educationally.

Another aspect to poverty conditions that impacts on women, can be attributed to the social dimension, a reference to exclusion from the political arena, access to social support systems, and the capacity to provide adequate household subsistence. This is especially the case with rural female heads-of-household that lives in harsh conditions.

Frequently, external forces of social and political circumstances dictate these conditions. Strategies for dealing with extreme disadvantage will be discussed in a subsequent chapter. The focus of this chapter is an analysis of the demographic data collected by my research survey on a micro-level considering my small sample.

In general, female-headed households are more likely to be poorer than male-dependent households are. The Poverty and Inequality Report (Statistics South Africa 1999) indicates a poverty rate of sixty percent for female-headed households compared to a rate of thirty-one percent for male-headed households.

Seventy-six percent of the South African population lives in rural areas; seventy-two percent of those who reside in these high-density locations are poor. Using any of the standard methods for determining poverty, seventy-six percent of the total rural population is Blacks who live below the poverty line.

Wilson and Ramphele (1989: 14-17) explain poverty in the context of apartheid South Africa:

> Poverty is like illness. It shows itself in different ways in different situations, and it has diverse causes...Not only are there several different dimensions of material poverty but there is also a complex interaction between cause and effect...Poverty is not one-dimensional; it has many faces...the most striking feature of poverty in South Africa is the degree of inequality that exists.

In analyzing the statistical and demographic data, rural poverty in the Eastern Cape is further defined by the extreme lack of essential resources which includes inadequate levels of food subsistence, lack of basic human care needs and the extreme vulnerability

of women who head households, especially in terms of the degree of economic and employment disparity that exists between gender and race.

Earlier chapters have discussed some of the salient elements, which have contributed to the extreme poverty conditions, and the underdevelopment of the Eastern Cape. In general, previous sections have suggested historical explanations for the causes that are attributed to the desperate living conditions of the majority population of women Xhosa-speakers in the rural communities.

The following discussion provides an overview of relevant literature, which focuses on the experiences of African and other Third World women.

Boserup (1970) argues that the "increasing marginalization" of women relative to restrictions on their access to land and labor resources, is related to the impact of urbanization, patriarchy, and labor migration on the household economies of women. She further suggests that women have not gained access to economic resources because "the role of internal factors." Thus, governments often do not consider gender in terms of economic growth and income disparities.

Using a world-systems approach, Ward (1984) explores the relationship between gender, household economy, and poverty. She argues, "The status of women's access to economic resources relative to men's, is negatively affected by the intrusion of the world-system and patriarchal relations."

Harris (1990) also, utilizes a world-system approach in her cross-cultural comparative study that examines the political economy between women in southern Africa (Lesotho) and Native American women in North America. This study is relevant because it

identifies some of the gender and racial biases that contribute to the lack of visibility of ethnic women in the global economy.

Robertson (1984: 181) argues that African women are 'invisible' in the global economy, which she relates to the formulations used by African governments and Marxist analysis relative to African labor. She suggests that previous theoretical approaches have failed to consider the contributions made by women in agricultural production (and self-employment).

Robertson provides additional substance to this argument with a statement by Blumberg (1981: 33): "*Thus, women are invisible workers in many ways-but they do over 70% of African agricultural labour, especially food production, and over 60% of food marketing.*"

Ward (1990: 2) discusses the dichotomy created by the constructs of gender paradigms that have been used over time by social science researchers who have conceptualized and categorized the labor activities in which women tend to participate in certain societies, as either being in the informal sector or the formal sector. These gender-based paradigms serve to diminish the value of the work that women do when categorizing activities as being either *informal*, which includes unregulated domestic service, small-scale or household production, or in the category of a *formal* sector when the work involves the participation in regulated wage-earning activities.

This *dualistic* conceptualization regarding wage-earning activities employed by women has been pivotal in distorting the level of contribution made by women in the global economy. Robertson (1988: 181-186) argues that the exclusion of women's small-

scale production (from the GNP) is due to the difficulty in gathering and statistically calculating the results. She believes this is "*...because of the assumption of low productivity and inefficiency,*" which generally suggests a lack of real value when considering the inclusion of women's labor in the political economy.

Dennis makes the connection between gender and the historical division of labor in Africa: "As in all societies, wage employment in Africa has been categorised on the basis of gender." She (1988: 129) reviews pre-colonial and colonial labor practices that existed in African societies, where traditionally, the work of women was within the confines of household units and kinship obligations. During colonialism, these efforts were incorporated into the global economy, thereby, intensifying the level of exploitation of African human energy and environmental natural resources. Robertson and Berger (1986) agree with this viewpoint and suggest gender *must* be considered especially when analyzing '*African source material.*'

The following section considers the above debates when analyzing the data obtained from the use of the research survey with respect to factors that impact household economy of female heads-of-household in the Eastern Cape.

II. Household Characteristics

When considering the characteristics that define poverty, it is important to analyze the resources that are available to female-headed households, in the rural areas in the Eastern Cape. In terms of the perceptions held by informants, housing is a major factor, since

dwelling types and environmental conditions are often indicative of the income levels and social status of the residents.

This study attempts to avoid stereotypes with respect to women headed-households. One way of accomplishing this is to consider the Eastern Cape situation as unique in terms of the historical and contemporary events that have contributed to the current status of female-headed households. For one, aside from the impact of the migratory labor system, other factors must be considered. The incident of AIDS has left many orphaned children. There are some girls, under the age of 16 years old, who are heading households. For another, rural household dwelling patterns are often complex and difficult to explain. Therefore, this study sets out to examine the diversity of living conditions most frequently confronted by women who live in the eastern Cape rural communities. Typical conditions may include: scattered rural household dwelling patterns; inadequate living space; lack of household and environmental amenities; and the lack of proximity to basic human resources. In the following discussions, I will provide an analysis of income and employment demographics; and delineate stress indicators relative to illness and mental health and the variations in women's coping strategies and other resourcefulness women employed to adapt to their social circumstances.

Rural Households-Dwelling Patterns

Chapter three has described the typical characteristics of rural households of the study population. Questions were asked regarding the residential dwellings of female-heads of household in terms of household composition, spatial and privacy, access to facilities such as in-door plumbing, water, electricity and other energy sources. In addition, the

research survey included questions concerning sanitation, levels of safety in the community and the proximity of social services to these households.

This section provides an analysis of the data collected by the research survey with respect to indicators that affect the household economy and quality of life. The units of analysis are concerned with household composition, dwelling patterns, spatial and structural patterns, as they exist in the research environment.

As previously described in chapter one, there is variation with respect to the rural communities. The landscape of the typical rural community in the Eastern Cape can best be generally described in the following terms: (1) residents are isolated from basic human resources; (2) there is a high density of people who reside in the communities; (3) dwelling types range from poorly constructed edifices/shacks, variations of the traditional huts, and 'modern' houses constructed of concrete, brick and other material combinations; and, (4) a markedly limited availability of adequate infrastructure with respect to electricity, energy sources, sanitation, and clean water.

The data obtained from the research survey and others, qualitative and quantitative methods, reveal fewer categories, compared to the range delineated in the South African analysis with respect to rural dwelling patterns. They are as follows: (1) fifty-five percent of the dwellings are mud huts or consists of other versions and combinations resembling the *cultural images* of the traditional *umzi* (homestead); (2) twenty-six percent of the dwellings consist of mixed construction materials, such as wood, tin and less stable materials; and, (3) nineteen percent of the dwellings are European models roughly constructed brick/cement edifices. Table 1 below, illustrates dwelling patterns.

Table 1: Household Economy: Dwelling Patterns	Number of Women	%
1. Traditional/ *umzi* (hut/rondavel)	64	55
2. Shack	30	26
3. European/stable	22	19
Totals	116	100

Table 2
Household Economy
Access To Services
Transportation Modes*

Walk	70%
Taxi	20%
Bus	8%
Car	2%
	100%

*Burden of transportation due to spatial housing segregation. Constitutes a high share of household income

Table 3
Social /Medical/Mental Services*

Medical doctor/private	7%
Social services	8%
Traditional healing	12%
Clinic	7%
Hospital	6%
No Services	55%
	100%

**% of individual responses

Access to Services

An important indicator of economic disadvantage (poverty) is access to residential amenities. These services include clean water, electricity, and sanitation. One way of analyzing well being and quality of life is to examine the level of disadvantages with respect to these amenities, otherwise taken for granted in better-developed societies and communities.

The disparity that exists between the rural areas and urban communities in the Eastern Cape illustrates the burden placed on women who head households. For these households, women are responsible for collecting water, fetching wood and other resources. These activities take considerable time and energy and are a chief complaint of the informant population. More than eighty-four percent of the female informants have to fetch water and wood on a daily basis. For others who do not have access to water in close proximity to their households, they often employ a number of strategies that may include paying others with cash or services to transport, sharing water with neighbors, and transporting water using wheelbarrows.

Oftentimes, the water is not from clean sources and thus contributes to health problems experienced by rural households. Poor sanitation is also a contributing factor: over ninety percent of the rural households do not have proper sanitation for human waste, a contributing factor to the high rates of communicable disease in the Eastern Cape. The overcrowded rural communities and their respective households exacerbate all of the above-mentioned issues.

Residential amenities available to women in the rural areas can be characterized as 'lacking or inadequate.' In terms of tap water inside residential dwellings, eighty-four percent of rural informants do not have access to any in-door plumbing. A minimum number of rural dwellers sixteen percent have access to communal taps, with the majority eighty-four percent without clean water sources in close proximity to their residences. They often have to haul water from long distances (averaging one or more miles).

Only forty-nine percent of the informants have access to electricity and other energy sources used for cooking and heating. (Kerosene is the most common energy source used for cooking in the rural areas; wood is the second most common source).

In terms of telecommunications, the majority of Eastern Cape people use public telephones. Sixteen percent of the informants have access to a cellular telephone. Rural residents often have to walk long distances in order to locate a public telephone. Even so, prepaid telephone cards are needed for many public telephones. The majority of female informants spends most of their time in rural communities and has limited financial resources. This contributes to another level of stress, particularly for heads of household that have children in school and are living away from home. They are less likely to have access to employment and needed resources, which translates into a stressful environment for women in rural communities.

Urban African women are also confronted with many of the same challenges as isolated rural women. They are less likely to have to cope with the same levels of stress. Even when they have to deal with similar issues, resources are usually in closer proximity to their residences.

Chapters one and two provide a profile of the target population and research environment by highlighting significant research findings obtained by the research survey. The 1995 October Household Survey (OHS) and the 1996 South African Census are useful for interpretation and comparison of relevant data with respect to rural household characteristics and economy in the Eastern Cape, as well as other indicators regarding the lack of economic parity and other important disadvantages experienced by female heads-of-household.

The changing patterns of household relations, gender division of labor, differential access to employment, and the lack of basic human resources, translates to a binding and pervasive impact on the quality of life of rural communities, households dependent on the resources of women.

Even though African households are not a monolithic category, women-dependent households are the most dominant pattern in rural communities. The variations in household structure are as follows: (1) those where men have been absent for extended periods of time from the homestead due to labor migration (many of whom have never returned, having left during the apartheid era); (2) households where the male head has died; (3) households where men have abandoned the homesteads for different reasons; (4) households that were displaced during forced removals leaving generations of women to fend for themselves; and, (5) households where women have never married but had children and/or took in those of relatives and friends.

The next section reviews some of the relevant demographic trends by providing a microanalysis of demographic data with respect to specific socio-economic indicators

relative to the quality of life for the vast majority of the Eastern Cape African female population.

III. Demographic Trends: Employment, Unemployment, Income Levels, And Literacy

By using selected demographic indicators, it is possible to measure change in development over time. The October Household Surveys (1994-1995) and the 1996 South African Census have attempted to measure many of the changes in economic growth in order to obtain detailed information about the living conditions and quality of life for all South Africans.

The method of sampling for my study has been described in chapter two. However, a brief review of the methodology with respect to quantitative collection may be useful. Two hundred informants participated in the research survey; however, fifty of these were men who used a different survey. Only one hundred and sixteen surveys reported by women have been included in the analysis.

Demographic characteristics of the research environment are presented in Chapter one; similarly, a profile of the study population is introduced in Chapter two. Both of these profiles are developed from data obtained by the research survey which included questions regarding the head-of-household as well as other household residents, and included inquiries about relevant demographic details, such as age, gender, education, marital status, health issues, income levels, employment status. This chapter expands on the data offered in the previous chapters.

The following discussion analyzes the relationship between poverty, (using the definitions introduced in earlier discussions), and gender-based indicators that include issues related to employment status, occupation types, distribution of household income, and education levels.

Employment and Household Income

The household economy of women-dependent households suggests a high level of poverty as defined in chapter three. Based on Census 1996 (Central Census Statistics 1996), the gender ratio in the Eastern Cape is fifty-five percent of the population is women compared to forty-five percent of the male population.

Prior to the 1994 election, a 'poverty study' was conducted to measure the living conditions of provinces according to race and gender. This study documented the vast inequalities by race and gender that exist between provinces. It suggests that African Blacks are more likely to be living in poverty conditions, and female-headed households in rural areas tend to be poorer with differential access to services and resources (Klasen 1993[i]).

One of the limitations of this sample survey was a lack of consistent data regarding the income levels of the individual informant households. Only forty percent of the respondents provided information regarding their respective household incomes. Many expressed reluctance in providing definitive information, even though they were less reluctant to admit to limited financial resources in the support of their families.

Monthly household incomes ranged from 0-2400[ii], with the majority of the respondents reporting less than R450 per month (equal to $2700 U.S. currency). The

higher ranges were indicative of professional women who were employed as teachers and nurses.

Even though the political climate has changed, the poverty rate has continued to increase since 1994. According to the 1995 October Household Survey, when compared to all of South Africa, the Eastern Cape has a poverty rate of seventy-one percent represented as the highest level of poverty. The rural areas are represented by inequality with high unemployment rates; inadequate income levels, lack of accessible human resources and services, based on gender and race and the lack of accessible human care resources.

When comparing the employment rates provided by the 1995 October Household Survey (CCS 1996), African women in the Eastern Cape represent forty percent of the economically active[iii] population. The results of my limited sample reveals fifty-one percent of the target population[iv] consider themselves to be economically active.

Table 4 below illustrates employment rates of the informant population:

Table 4

Economic Indicators	**Eastern Cape (1998) (Xhosa) Women**	
Employment Trends		
		%
Employment (formal)	19	16%
Employment (informal)	38	33%
Unemployment	44	38%
Income - Other Sources	15	13%
Totals	**116**	**100%**

Table 4 below illustrates employment rates of the informant population:

Table 4		
Economic Indicators	**Eastern Cape**	
Employment Trends	**(1998)**	
—	**(Xhosa)**	
	Women	**%**
Employment (formal)	19	16%
Employment (informal)	38	33%
Unemployment	44	38%
Income - Other Sources	15	13%
Totals	**116**	**100%**

Occupations

The monthly income generated by women who head households is insufficient to meet the daily subsistence of their households. Based on the 1995 OHS, less than twenty-three percent of the women in the Eastern Cape earn enough to provide basic subsistence for themselves and their respective households. Regardless of the methods used for computing the poverty line in South Africa, amongst female-dependent households, the poverty rate is higher when compared to male-headed households.

Female-headed-households tend to use all of their resources to generate income, which can include employment in formal and informal sectors. In terms of work and wage earning, women informants report a variation in types of activities that can be loosely placed in two categories the informal or formal sector. Among those that fit the description of informal sector (previously defined) they include the following categories that have been combined as indicated below: (a) fourteen percent are working in domestic

their respective households. Table 5 illustrates the categories of the most prevalent c occupations held by female heads-of-household:

TABLE 5

OCCUPATIONS OF EASTERN CAPE WOMEN

Occupations	Women
Domestic worker	16
Hawkers/street vendor	3
Alcohol/beer selling	1
Cleaner	12
Teacher	14
Nurse	2
Crafts	3
Sheep Assist	1
Self-employed	2
Retired/pensioners	19
Sales	3
Other-unspecified	5

Unemployment

Illiteracy and poverty are major obstacles for African women in the Eastern Cape Province. Gender and race-based policies are two factors that linger from the apartheid period. These factors contribute to the high levels of unemployment and the wage-gap that exists when women *are* employed in the formal sector. Based on the 1995 OHS, forty-seven percent of African women in the Eastern Cape were unemployed compared to

Cape. All of the above-mentioned issues are exacerbated by the overcrowded rural communities and their respective households.

Residential amenities available to women in the rural areas can be characterized as 'lacking or inadequate.' In terms of tap water inside residential dwellings, eighty-four percent of rural informants do not have access to any in-door plumbing. A minimum number of rural dwellers-sixteen percent, have access to communal taps, with the majority eighty-four percent without clean water sources in close proximity to their residences. They often have haul water from long distances (averaging one or more miles).

Only forty-nine percent of the informants have access to electricity and other energy sources used for cooking and heating. (Paraffin is the most common energy source used for cooking in the rural areas; wood is the second most common source).

In terms of telecommunications, the majority of Eastern Cape people use public telephones. Sixteen percent of the informants have access to a cellular telephone. Rural residents often have to walk long distances in order to locate a public telephone. Even so, prepaid telephone cards are needed for many public telephones. The majority of female informants spend most of their time in rural communities and have limited financial resources. This contributes to another level of stress, particularly for heads of household who have children in school and are living away from home. They are less likely to have access to employment and needed resources, which translates into a stressful environment for women in rural communities.

Other factors may include the following situations: (a) child-bearing women who have no social support systems nor mental or health care benefits; (b) lack of affordable transportation; (c) expensive school and uniform fees for dependent children and youth; (d) labor intensive household chores carried for the most part by women; (e) lack of appropriate and affordable childcare workers; (f) women heads-of-household who are responsible for the ill and the elderly; (g) the wage-gap that exist due to the discriminatory practices of a gender and race-based labor force; and, (h) literacy which is discussed in the following section.

Literacy and Educational Levels

One socio-economic indicator that has continued to contribute to high levels of unemployment and related poverty conditions has been the much-reduced access to quality education (*Bantu Education*) during the apartheid years, especially for Black women. Limited employment opportunities are available to African women, particularly in the Eastern Cape Province, where other factors affect the high unemployment rates.

Employment opportunities in the formal sector can be linked to educational factors, lack of marketable skills and literacy, defined by a person's ability to read, write and speak his/her home language. In terms of viable employment opportunities in the Eastern Cape, literacy in the dominant non-African languages, English (the *lingua franca* of the Eastern Cape) and Afrikaans is necessary. Table 6 illustrates the educational levels of female heads-of-households, discussed below:

Table 6: Educational Levels	#
No formal schooling	12
Std 1Grade 1,2,3	15
Std 2 Grade 4	11
Std 3 Grade 5	8
Std 4 Grade 6	20
Std 5 Grade 7	7
Std 6 Grade 8	16
Std 7 Grade 9	1
Std 8 Grade 10 NTC1	15
Std 9 Grade 11 NTC 2	0
Std 10 Grade 12 NTC 3	2
Degree	7
Professional/Nurse	2
TOTALS	116

The Eastern Cape has an adult literacy rate of seventy-two percent compared to all of South Africa with a rate of eighty-two percent (CCS 1995). Using educational levels to determine literacy, the survey sampled literacy in terms of a person age 15 years or older, being able to read, write and speak his/her home language, in this case Xhosa. Twenty-eight percent of the study population is illiterate, with an educational range from no formal schooling to three years of primary education. While sixty-eight percent of the women informants had less than a ninth grade (primary) education.

The relationship between literacy, educational levels and quality life, also correlates with socio-economic indicators with respect to health and mental health conditions. This is especially so when considering high stress indicators reported by female heads-of-household and is considered in the next section that analyzes stress-related conditions.

IV. STRESS INDICATORS and RELATED HEALTH CONDITIONS

The Selyean concept of stress was alluded to. The concept of stress used in the analysis of this research data integrates environmental, biological, psychological, and social factors that challenge humans. Briefly stated, Seylean stress (Goodman et al 1988) is a "*... bio-behavioral response to environmental conditions, stress-producing conditions. These are variously labeled stressors, insults, noxious stimuli, and the like.*" Using this model, stress factors can include (external and internal) stimuli generated from every area of the human experience. Furthermore, stress is experienced, as tension when one perceives "*an event... [to be]... harmful, threatening, or challenging to one's feelings of well being. It may be experienced cognitively, emotionally, or physically*" (Lazarus 1966). On the other hand, a stressor is an internal or external event that threatens, harms, or challenges personal feelings of well-being. These can be related to: (1) traumatic life-events/experiences; (2) problematic gender relations and family conflicts; (3) childcare, work, and problems with close kin; and, (4) unanticipated events, social and economic concerns. Therefore, where stress is a reaction to an event or sets of experiences, stressors become the catalysts--the events that trigger stress-related conditions (Zeitlin and Williamson 1988).

one perceives "*an event... [to be]... harmful, threatening, or challenging to one's feelings of well being. It may be experienced cognitively, emotionally, or physically*" (Lazarus 1966). On the other hand, a stressor is an internal or external event that threatens, harms, or challenges personal feelings of well-being. These can be related to: (1) traumatic life-events/experiences; (2) problematic gender relations and family conflicts; (3) childcare, work, and problems with close kin; and, (4) unanticipated events, social and economic concerns. Therefore, where stress is a reaction to an event or sets of experiences, stressors become the catalysts--the events that trigger stress-related conditions (Zeitlin and Williamson 1988).

As previously described in chapter two, the ecological and environmental factors in the research environment, are serious contributors to the poor health conditions of female informants and their families. Health hazards are present in many forms, but one important environmental indicator is related to the level of human exposure to communicable diseases, particularly tuberculosis, which is caused by, unsanitary conditions in terms of human waste and the lack of clean water for human consumption, especially for rural residents in high-density populations.

Additionally, informants are confronted with the high incidence of violence that is perpetrated on women and children. Eighty-one percent report they live in fear of crime in their communities. Informants were reluctant to discuss issues they felt were related to 'politics' or the 'police'--since these two images seem to be one and the same to most of them. Thirty-five percent said they did not have faith in the police protecting them since

are raped blamed for the rape by members of their communities and the criminal justice system. This issue will be discussed in a later chapter.

The questions regarding mental health focused on general/ mental heath status emphasizing feelings of isolation, social support systems, and medical service providers. They revealed feelings of being overwhelmed by living conditions, exposure to violence, depression, and other mood disorders typically associated with stress.

The following Table 7 provides a micro-view of the demographics with respect to stress indicators as reported by female informants:

Table 7: Stress Indicators Based on Self-Report Categories

Biological	* **Women %**
Somatic complaints	75%
Chronic fatigue	39%
Extreme anxiety	36%
Diagnosed medical/mental	50%
Unexplained illness	48%
Hospitalization last 5 years	41%
Psychological	**Women %**
Mood disorders/depression	66%
Panic attacks	17%
Ruminations[v]	99%

* Based on 116 individual responses to each question of female informants

Pervasive sadness	66%
Low self-esteem	50%
PTSD[vi]	33%
Feelings social isolation	52%
Powerlessness/apathetic	77%
Feelings loss of culture	76%
Anger management	47%

Behavioral/Social	**Women %**
Rage/aggression	21%
Alcoholism/substance abuse	12%
Interpersonal conflicts	21%
Sleeping disorders	67%
Criminal activity	4%
Work-related	64%
Environmental conditions	95%
Lack of social support systems	58%

An analysis of the data relative to poverty conditions reveals that ninety-five percent of the informants report that living in poverty conditions is the number one stress factor. Fifty percent of the informants report suffering from some form of health condition, which they connect to stress. Of this group, forty-one percent have been hospitalized for stress-related illness, which further aggravated their individual stress levels. This is a critical point since women are often unable to provide adequate financial support to their households when they are incapacitated due to stress-related conditions.

Another significant stress indicator is tied to the lack of sufficient supportive services in the rural communities. At the time of the research there was only one community hospital, Victoria Hospital in Alice and one psychiatric hospital Towers Psychiatric Hospital in Fort Beaufort.

There is a shortage of qualified medical and mental health providers in the Eastern Cape. Although Victoria Hospital provides community services utilizing mobile units that go into the extreme rural areas, the services are very fragmented and infrequent. These limited services include the dispensing of medication, and sometimes nurses provide medical examinations. During my visit to Towers Psychiatric Hospital, there was only one physician providing services and he was not a psychiatrist. Table 3, delineates the range of services available to rural informants. It also highlights the level of or lack of access to all social and health services.

For the most part, nurses provide the total care for all patients. I was informed by the matrons who supervise the care of patients and administrate medical facilities, that all mental diagnosis are made by personnel who have limited educational training in mental health. Factor into this situation that the majority of in-patients are women who live in the rural communities and are frequently diagnosed with the same mental health disorder. For example, over ninety-nine percent of the women who have been admitted to Towers in 1998 were diagnosed with the mental disorder of schizophrenia. This diagnosis is based on an *assumed set of criteria, which may include* bizarre behaviors that are assessed by women personnel who admit to having similar symptoms! Significantly, the supervising matron strongly stated to me that African women are *never* given a diagnosis of

depression because "*Africans don't get depressed.*" This degree of mental health distortion (or denial) accounts for the high recidivism rate, which is reported by the Tower medical professionals to be more than fifty percent per year. Women frequently return before the year-ends, usually after being released into the community without appropriate mental and medical health follow-up services.

Dr. Mbete, an Eastern Cape physician in private practice in Alice and a part-time medical provider at Towers, offers a professional perspective on the status of mental health conditions for Xhosa-speaking women in the research environment:

> I use a holistic approach, which means you approach the patient biologically, socio-culturally, and medically. Women have a lot of complaints that are stress-related. It is difficult to say which complaints are more frequent, since some of them are age-related. For example, older women have hypertension and diabetes whereas younger women tend to have more STDs[vii] .The somatic complaints range from headaches, backaches, and sometimes gastrointestinal (dominant in children in rural areas). Many of the medical complaints are preventable, which often stem from the environment and [are] related to socio-economic circumstances. At Towers, women are more likely to be depressed. Also, many of them have stress because of the problems in their relations with their mates, or problems with the children. Most problems have to do with their living conditions where they become overwhelmed and *stressed-out*."

I questioned Dr. Mbete about the nurses at Towers denying the existence of depression in women admitted and the nearly almost one hundred percent diagnosis of schizophrenia. His response reveals some of the problems with the delivery of all health services in the Province. He discusses the relationship between mental, physical health status, culture, and environmental and economical conditions in the Eastern Cape African communities:

> To be able to look at anybody's health properly, you have to look at the individual in a holistic manner. The bio-psychosocial aspects of the whole person, so...whatever happens to the individual, the environment plays a part. For instance, take the diseases of children-- water, sanitation, nutrition...all play a part. Also, the uneducated tend to have

> more children, which increases the infant mortality rate, which causes women to have mental problems. For they blame themselves. Therefore, equally important, is the preparation mothers get towards childbearing, all hinges around economic empowerment. For the healthy mother will invariably give birth to a healthy child. This helps her to maintain a healthier mental heath state, as well. All of this is connected, especially for women who are working heads, without the help of men. In terms of diagnosis, I don't do psychological diagnosis, so I have to deal with what is given. However, schizophrenia could be a family condition. Mental health tends to follow family patterns, so one has to be very careful; for example, one needs to go into the family history, for one could miss a lot. There is substance abuse—*dagga* [marijuana] abuse, alcohol abuse, the two main problems among our people. Alcohol or women and *dagga* for men. A low percentage [of women] experience *puerperal* psychosis/*pubertal* psychosis [post-partum depression experienced by new mothers] after childbirth a few days or so. A woman may get annoyed, but no one knows the reason for this.

V. Summary and Conclusions

The legacies of apartheid in terms of social and politico-economic factors continue to impact the status of post-apartheid women who reside in the Eastern Cape on many levels. In 1998, I participated in the launching of the Gender Forum on the campus of the University of Fort Hare. This forum articulated many of the issues addressed in this dissertation. The development of this organized effort was a part of the National Gender Forum, which participated, in a collaborative celebration of the launching of the South African Women's platform consisting of similar forums that were organized in all of the provinces commemorating National Women's Day.

The primary responsibility for the National Gender Forum is to address the major challenges confronting women in South Africa very similar to those addressed by this study. To reference them briefly: (a) to decrease and eradicate the high levels of sexual and physical assaults of women and children in domestic relations; (b) to advocate for improved housing conditions by eliminating inadequate dwellings and housing shortages

in densely populated rural areas; (c) to eradicate customary/ traditional laws of ownership and inheritance that discriminate against women; (d) to improve literacy rates, since illiteracy amongst women is rampant in the rural areas; (e) address concerns regarding the infrastructure and environment, such as, proximity and access to fuel sources, water, transport; and, (f) lobby and legislate for better security and safety issues, related to high levels of crime against women and children.

The following chapter briefly analyzes and compares relevant anthropological debates that examine the Xhosa social organization (covering the period of colonialism through the apartheid era), with the post-apartheid Xhosa communities observed during my fieldwork.

---

[i] In 1993, the Southern African Labor and Development Research Unit coordinated a nation-wide survey of households for the World Bank. Sample included the TBVC areas.

[ii] At the time of the fieldwork, the U.S. dollar equivalent was $5.00 to $6.00 per Rand, which fluctuated daily.

[iii] Economically active population consists of workers—employers and employees, in both formal and informal sectors and unemployed persons. Economically active population comprises all people 15 years or older who are available for work (CCS 1996).

[iv] Gender participation rate represents the economically active population expressed as a percentage of the population 15 years or older (CCS 1996).

[v] Excessive worrying

[vi] Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

[vii] Sexually Transmitted Diseases

CHAPTER FIVE

Social Organization of Post-Apartheid Xhosa

I. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the forces that altered the Eastern Cape Xhosa social organization with respect to household, family, marriage, and gender. Therefore, it is important to examine briefly a few of the conceptual aspects regarding the study of 'social change' and the relevance to the Eastern Cape case. Scholars have approached this subject from different perspectives. For one, Wallerstein (1974) argues that the study of social change and the selection of research variables *"should be restricted to ...phenomena which are the most* durable.." He uses his African experiences to illustrate the importance in considering the total context of a colonial situation, particularly in the selection of *units of analysis*. The following statement can be interpreted as a warning to researchers who attempt to study *'social change'* in post-colonial societies:

> It was a false perspective to take a unit like a *'tribe'* and seek to analyze its operations without reference to the fact that, in a colonial situation, the government institutions of a *'tribe,"* far from being *"sovereign,"* were closely circumscribed by the laws (and customs) of a larger entity of which they were in an indissociable part, the colony.

Magubane (1971) although he offers a similar perspective, extends the debate to another levels. He writes:

> In the choice of these indices, ...anthropologists, instead of treating the colonial system as an essential dimension of the new social structure, have tended to take it

> for granted, or to assume that its general characteristics are known. Attention has been focused on the behavior and value systems of the Africans towns—the objects of investigation—as though they exercised free choice, consequently, their attitudes and their actions have been distorted; some features have been given exaggerated emphasis, while others less noticeable but in the long run more enduring, have tended to be overlooked..

This theme will be explored in more detail later in this chapter. However, prior to any further discussion on the theoretical aspects of social change, the following discussion describes Xhosa social customs beginning with the pre-colonial period and extending through the apartheid era.

Social change in Pre-Colonial/Colonial Eastern Cape

There are many first-person accounts written by colonial officials (and others) who observed the dress, custom, and other social behaviors of Xhosa. The following accounts (King: 1853:169) describes cultural aspects of dress and division of labor:

> The only covering worn by the [African men] Kaffir[1] is the well-known kaross, ...it consists of different skins;...the married women sometimes wear a very small
> forked apron of leather, adorned with beads, over their breasts, and the wires of royalty have the privilege of a peculiar headdress of fur...in necklaces, armlets, they show great taste and ingenuity, and some of them are very interesting;

Another reporter (Ward 1848: 108) journalizes her observations and interpretations regarding the work of women:

> The women tilled the ground, the children herded the cattle, and the men hunted when hungry.

Monica Wilson (1979: 15, 17) describes the family structure (pre-contact) as the most important social organization of the Xhosa:

[1] A derogatory term used by Whites to describe Blacks.

> In each *umzi* [hut], is a man with his wives, married sons with their wives and children, and unmarried daughters....Marriage is polygynous and patrilocal...Each house (*indlu*), a group consisting of a woman and her children, has its own property in cattle, and the right to till certain fields; but all the members of the umzi eat together and work together. The women take it in turns to cook. There is no strict rotation of responsibility, but the work is fairly equally shared.

During the early colonial period, African social and political organizations were altered, particularly with respect to family structures and gender relations. These transformations took place over time and were shaped in large part by the force of missionaries and the message of Christianity.

Every aspect of Xhosa culture was affected by the Western ideology in the form of religious beliefs and practices. Wilson and Thompson (1971:266-271) advises:

> Family relationship and the political structure was radically changed by condemnation of polygamy and the insistence that death was not caused by witches....Neither the traditional kinship system nor the traditional economy of the Xhosa could survive unchanged.

The significance of discussing the influence of Christianity and the direct involvement of missionaries in the enculturation process of African people can be understood when examining the content of the images of the *African* as they have been portrayed in the anthropological record. More than not, the reality of the Africans' level of resistance and patterns of responses to contact and change agents, i.e., missionaries, colonizers, and Christianity, are omitted from the record or otherwise are distorted by the ethnocentrism of Western culture.

A cursory analysis of the monograph by Mayer (1971) is useful in deciphering some of these ethnocentric (racial and cultural) biases. In his ethnographic essay, Mayer assigns meanings to his observations of the Xhosa social organization by analyzing the verbal and non-verbal behavior of Xhosa who lived in the Eastern Cape. Seemingly, he stereotypes the behavior of personnel who work or reside in urban centers by contrasting their behavior with rural residents. His creation of personality-type categories is used to interpret his perception of the social dichotomy within the Xhosa social organization. These labels are actually social class references to Africans, which serve to determine the 'social-class' or status of Xhosas who belong to either the Red people, or to *School* people.

Briefly stated, Mayer's (1971) study focuses on the reaction of Eastern Cape Africans to the process of urbanization and the impact of long-term migratory labor. His analysis has received much attention and is considered to be a must read for any novice anthropologist who is interested in southern Africa, especially South Africa.
For similar reasons, (which includes a commitment to uncover some of the myths or perceptions that have been perpetuated by other South African researchers), I briefly revisit the conceptual framework presented in the monograph.

Townsmen and *Tribesmen (*Mayer 1971*)*, focuses on the processes of industrialization and urbanization and the impact of these processes on the social organization of Xhosa-speakers, the majority African population in the Eastern Cape. Mayer seemingly created a set of categories which attempt to define the *types* of Africans who live and work in East London. "...*Red* people or *School* people." According to this typology, Eastern

Cape Xhosa who appeared to be more conservative or traditional, where referred to as *Red people.* The other category of Xhosa were labeled *School people* if they had formal education, dressed and behaved more like Europeans, and lived in urban areas.

Mayer makes a critical analysis based on his interpretations of Xhosa social organization, rituals and customs. The meanings he assigns to Xhosa verbal and behavioral expressions are based on personal judgments and perceptions in making distinctions regarding Xhosas becoming *Westernized* or *civilized.*

According to Mayer, Africans who have achieved a particular level of cultural assimilation, which denoted acceptance of Western ideology and behaviors, were considered to be more *civilized* than Africans who did not embrace Western culture.

In contrast, Magubane (1973) challenges the analysis offered by Mayer in light of the impact this monograph has made on subsequent research and is criticized in terms of its assumed influence on the racist ideology of the apartheid White government. This side of the debate can be understood on a couple of levels: for one, Magubane (1973) suggests that a new paradigm is needed in order to 'break from the habits of the past' regarding the research methodology; and, secondly, in terms of the conceptual and ideological aspects that support and reinforce the underdevelopment of Africans based on a racist, evolutionary continuum represented by alleged degrees of 'tribalism' or levels of 'civilization.'

Magubane (1973: 1708) furthers the discussion relative to the conceptual approach used by Mayer (and associates) and strongly disagrees with his conclusions, particularly the *Red* and *School people* dichotomy. In terms of methodology, he writes:

> The methodology of Mayer and his associates reflects its conservative posture, in its inability to perceive the world in any but in the mask of mystification. ...it makes it impossible for its practitioners not to question the exploitation and oppressive relationship that the structures of a colonial type society create. The truly comprehensive understanding of social forces in a process of social change requires more than an analysis of the victims of oppression. It also requires the study of the system of domination itself particularly of the mechanisms whereby the ruling class participates in the process of change itself-how the ruling class operates to maintain, adapt, and modify the social structure of the dominated , and how it enforces its will.

He suggests the methods employed by Mayer, were racially biased and failed to consider the social and politico-economic circumstances within which Africans were forced to exist. These biased interpretations and attitudes contributed to the social relations within and outside of the Xhosa society.

With respect to Mayer's analysis of Xhosa verbal and behavioral elements in relation to their assumed levels of development or underdevelopment, Magubane concludes the following:

> The language chosen by Mayer,....reflects the conservative mood that has become self-conscious. Now we can undertake the process of demystification of the words coined by Mayer—words, which have unfortunately received wide acceptance.

Magubane (1973: 1709) strongly suggests that elements of White supremacist ideology are apparent in the Mayer monograph, furthering a conceptual development of racism congruent with apartheid ideology. According to Magubane, Mayer perpetuates the '*dehumanizing*' images used by White social anthropologists, who tend to use their subjective-self in the selection of terms when describing and studying African populations. He adds:

> The designations *Red* and *School*, *tribesmen* and *townsmen*, *Christian* and *pagan*, W*esternized*, *civilized*, and *tribal*, and worst of all, *native* and *Bantu* are not only ideological, but are racist terms.

This debate regarding *civilized* versus *tribal* or other terms which denote African people as being less civilized than the Europeans is based on the ideology of White supremacy which was the foundation of apartheid.

In terms of gender, in an earlier discussion, various reasons have been provided to explain Xhosa female migration from rural areas to urban centers. In the past, researchers have tended to interpret this phenomenon from different points of view. In terms of the reasons for female migration, Mayer (1971: 234-235) offers the following reasons: (1) some women went to urban centers to seek employment; (2) others left to be more socially and economically independent; (3) while others left to 'escape' from the traditional 'subjection to men and older women'; and, (4) still others left because they were considered 'unmarriageable' (he does not discuss married women). Mayer differentiates between male and female migrants, while reviewing both in terms of the Red/School dichotomy. Even with these distinctions, Mayer suggests women were more likely to be '*double-rooted*' than men, meaning they were more likely to maintain 'roots' to their respective rural homesteads even as they were developing homes nearby or in urban centers.

Mayer's monograph can be useful to explain many of the distortions that may exist in the South African ethnographic literature: his (1971: 1708) almost total disregard for the social and political climate that existed in South Africa during the time of his study denies the 'historical and specific relationships between people." His analysis takes on

the appearance of 'natural facts'...while in fact, the reality of the Africans in the Eastern Province have been shaped by Eurocentric subjective explanations. Fried (1967) argues that the notion of 'tribe' is another anthropological concoction, and that 'tribes' do not exist.

The above debate is relevant to my study for a couple of reasons: (1) the Mayer monograph helped to shape my preconceptions regarding the Xhosa society in the Eastern Cape in terms of the 'dichotomy' between the Red and the School people; and, (2) these preconceived notions were dispelled during my field work in the Eastern Cape; many of the meanings or behavioral explanations provided by Mayer were contradicted by informants who might have been characterized by Mayer as being either *Red* or *School people.*

Christianity and Social Change

Khabela (1996: 58-59), a protégé and biographer of Tiyo Soga (who was the first African ordained minister in South Africa), argues that Christianity and the missionaries were major change agents who helped to create the cleavages that developed between Eastern Cape Xhosa: those who attended the mission schools and embraced Christianity as a lifestyle and those who were not educated in mission schools, and rejected all Western forms, including Christianity, dress, and European behaviors. According to this author, Xhosa who rejected the Westernized cultural forms, made a conscious choice not to become Christians-not to embrace the White Gods. He makes the following distinctions between the two groups: "Tribal people [Red] sought a strategy of survival that was actively antagonistic to modernization, they refused to accept education and

Christianity and clung tenaciously on their traditional values." On the other hand, those who are referred to as 'School' people accepted the advantages of becoming educated by missionaries and embraced Christianity. This, too, was a strategy of choice: Khabela points out:

> The political view led by 'School people' argued that waging wars against Europeans was suicidal and declared the Chiefs and the uneducated tribal people *Amaqaba* or Red Faced Ones' who did not understand the vibes of modern politics. For the School people, half a loaf was better than no loaf.

The strategies and motivations suggested by Khabela present a less superficial rationale for the dichotomy that developed between the Xhosa people, than those argued by Mayer. The Christian ideology that involved the total denouncement of Xhosa cultural beliefs and practices affected the long-term transforming elements in the social organization of the Xhosa. In fact, the rift between the two groups involved two distinctly philosophical differences.

The conservative Xhosa perceived the educated Christians as sell-outs on 'the land of their ancestors.' Therefore, contrary to the reasons alluded to by Mayer, the conservative Xhosa people were motivated by their cultural beliefs--central to their spirituality and the basis of their cosmology, centered on the belief that Chiefs (tribal authorities) were able to communicate with the 'ancestors'; therefore, they had an obligation to reclaim the land and their culture.

The opposing side is that many Xhosa exhibited signs of being enculturated in cultural forms that included an acceptance of Western/Christianity enculturation, in that they began to express different cultural patterns in terms of language, dress, and religion.

These Xhosa believed that by accepting the European way of life, they would be afforded the opportunity to 'compromise' with White people which would eventually lead to them sharing the power and land.

One interpretation of this dichotomy may be relative to the level of diversity that describes the Xhosa-speakers rather as monolithic. Two opposing views emerged from the influence of long-term European contact and subsequent colonial structures: (1) the conservative/traditionalist made every attempt to maintain the cultural images and traditions as experienced by their ancestors; and (2) the development of Xhosa cohorts who embraced Christianity and other Western customs. In terms of the opposing views offered in the debates by Mayer, Magubane and others, divergent cultural groups evolved. To conservative Xhosas, others who embraced Western cultural forms/Christianity, were displeasing *the ancestors*. Khabela argues that this was a major factor affecting the breakdown in the social organization of the Eastern Cape Xhosa. These issues are considered in the context of the following discussions, which explore other aspects relative to migratory labor, apartheid, and the increase in female-headed households in rural communities.

In terms of gender, earlier discussions have offered various reasons to explain the affects of male migration and subsequently female migration from rural areas to urban centers on southern African social organizations. In previous chapters, analogies are made between elements leading to the current situation in the Eastern Cape and elsewhere in South Africa. In particular, Murray (1981) provides a focus on the breakdown in the social structure of rural families in Lesotho and the subsequent high incidence of female-

headed households that he attributes to one of the outcomes of labor migration. Contrary to Mayer, he neither infers artificial categories of African people based on where they live and work, nor does he frame the patterns of acculturation as being more or less civilized. Rather, he analyses the changing family and related social structures within the context of the southern African industrial transformation:

> Studies of migrant labour in the 1970s have been given further impetus by the new historiography in southern African studies, in which underdevelopment in the labour reserves of the rural periphery is analysed as a corollary of development in the South African industrial core... migrant labour...is regarded as a particular manifestation of a process of fundamental transformation which has taken place in southern Africa for more than a hundred years....

The debates regarding the impact of Western culture and Christianity on the Xhosa social organization are explored in terms of the interpretations and meanings assigned by researchers in the vast anthropological record and the relevancy to the scope of this dissertation. In this regard, the following section explores the impact of apartheid on the social organization transformed during colonialism.

II. Apartheid: Forces of Change in the Eastern Cape

In the context of this dissertation, this section examines the forces of change relative to Xhosa social and political structures. (Chapter three focused on marriage forms, household structures and relations). This section provides an analysis of other social forms that include apartheid legislation; religious and spiritual elements; social networks; and healing practices.

The life-ways of Xhosa-speakers, like most Black South Africans, have been greatly affected as a result of the devastation left by the legacies of labor migration and apartheid. Prior to the election of the National Party in 1948, Africans and non-white populations were subjected to racial segregation and oppressive laws. However, after the election, the ideology of apartheid, and separate development, an apartheid strategy of social, political, and spatial engineering, that would set the stage for the intensification of the oppressive laws and enhance underdevelopment of African/non-white population.

Apartheid was unevenly forced on South Africans. Mlisa (1997: 2) argues: "Apartheid is not just racism, for there is racism everywhere in the world and there are victims of racial societies everywhere. South Africa is unique because there is 'racial segregation' or 'separate development' to achieve social engineering."

Apartheid Legislation

Apartheid legislation was the emergence of forces representing racial and gender inequality and disparity. The legislation was supported by White supremacist ideology and was designed to protect White power as well as continue the dominance over the labor of the African population. Smith (1981:22) writes: "In an attempt to serve the interests of both Afrikaners and capitalism, a number of measures were undertaken to preserve white supremacy, privilege and power and to maintain the exploitation of black labour as a lever of capital accumulation."

The government's strategy to dominate the resources of the people and land was established long before the National Party won the 1948 election. As previously mentioned elsewhere, prior to 1948. The Native Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 affected

millions of Black South Africans by setting aside disproportionate land areas between Whites and non-Whites. Thirteen percent of the land was set aside for Blacks; eighty-seven percent was for Whites and some non-Whites. These acts had multiple purposes, but the most important of these was to contract the living space for Blacks into reserve areas (homelands), segregating them from Whites. The second important reason was to create an available cheap labor force for the White economy (Magubane 1975; White 1981; Southall 1982). The distinction between the National Party, which created apartheid legislation and prior South African governments, was the intentionality of the apartheid ruling party. Apartheid introduced a systemic, judicial, legislative and executive form of governance, which sought to control every aspect of Black South African lives.

Other significant legislation which controlled and dehumanized the lives of Africans and other non-whites in South Africa included: (a) the Population Registration Act of 1950, which racially classified all persons born in South Africa; (b) the Black Labour Regulation Act of 1953 and the Industrial Conciliation Acts of 1956, which were designed to regulate the labor force of Blacks, and also denied them the right to belong to or form labor unions. Later, the Promotion of Bantu [i] (Black) Self-government Act of 1959, which was designed to establish 'homelands' and served to rob Africans of their South African citizenship and forced them to claim residence in or live in so-called independent homelands. Under the Group Areas Act of 1950, that designated land usage for residential and ownership by racial group (White, Colored or Asian), urban areas were reserved for the 'non-white races'. Blacks were prevented from owning or living in urban

residential areas (Wilson 1971; Southall 1982; Walker 1990; Davenport 1991; Worden 1995).

There are other pieces of apartheid legislation which are just too numerous to mention. However, it is relevant to illustrate the level of control and oppression exercised by the South African government during the peak of apartheid (*grand apartheid*) and to understand how these prior acts have left an impact on the living conditions of millions of rural residents in the contemporary Eastern Cape.

The Black *homelands* created by the government were artificially designed to provide residential areas on the basis of assumed ethnicity and language. All of the homeland areas were in rural areas, used by the government as *dumping grounds* which increased the level of 'forced removals' of Blacks from urban areas or other designated areas considered to be in 'white areas.' The intensity of the 'influx control laws' and related regulations, established 'pass systems' whereby Africans had to present a pass in order to be in urban areas; if they did not have *passes*[ii], they could be evicted, fined or jailed.

Since the 1994 democratic election, all of the above referenced legislation has been repealed. However, elements of apartheid continue to plague women who reside in the *homelands, the African reserves.* For women in the homelands, things have not changed. The forced removal or displacement of large masses of people affected the deleterious transformation of traditional social support systems. Gender relations were extremely vulnerable in the rural communities, which served to enhance the burden placed on women.

Informants discussed *lost* relations, which occurred when people were forced to relocate. The lack of effective communication and transportation systems for Africans often finalized the displacement of important social networks. The following story is an example:

> Thandisa Khakla, in 1986, when she about nine years old, remembers her mother crying one day when she returned from school. Later, her mother told her that a neighbor that she had heard had informed her 'the father was 'missing'. The family was living at a location near Fort Beaufort, in Victoria East. Her father worked in East London and they had not seen him in months. Two days later, they were told her father was in jail, arrested for not having the correct papers. In her own words, Thandisa continues the story: " We were really scared. Many people, especially men would be missing; then they would be found dead or never heard from again. My mother did not know what to do. There was no way for her to go to find out the truth. We had no cars, no taxi, and no money. There was no way to contact the authorities to find out anything. It was two weeks later when my mother was able to go to East London to find out what had happened. It took an additional two weeks more before we discovered my father was not in jail in East London but was in another city. Apparently, he had tried to get in touch with my mother to tell her to try to find someone to help him. This was a problem, for all of the younger men were away at the mines or at other places of work too far away. Most of the women had to walk long distances to get around. We discovered one day that he would be home soon. It took three months before we heard from him. We all thought we would never see him again. My mother never really stopped being overly anxious after that situation.

The following discussion examines the impact of White governance and apartheid on the institutional structures of Xhosa society, with a special focus on spirituality, religion and other social support systems.

III. Religion and Spirituality

Christian mission activities began in the early 19th century in the Eastern Cape. Initial attempts to convert African people occurred amongst the Xhosa and Mfengu[iii]

populations. The Victoria East magisterial district with the capital in Alice was the center of educational and religious activities during this time. Lovedale College was founded there in 1824 and was instrumental in providing formal higher education to Africans as well as converting Xhosa people to Christianity. The Lovedale Press (Shepherd 1971) printed the first Xhosa Bible.

According to early Christian educators (Shepherd 1971: 2-3), Xhosa religion was described as follows:

> The outstanding feature of African religion was found to be a worship of spirits as distinct from God himself. The people carried a haunting sense that men, animals, ...and all forces of nature were the abodes of spirits requiring worship, and more especially to be appeased by animal sacrifice. Above all, they feared the spirits of their ancestors.... they had little conception of natural cause and effect and so the calamities that befell them were attributed to the displeasure of ancestral spirits or the witchcraft of enemies.

The Xhosa cosmology is one, which has been transformed overtime by many forces of change, including contact with European and other African cultures. In addition, mission education and Christian ideology have had a very strong influence on the Xhosa socio-political and economic structures and corresponding cultural practices.

Apartheid policies affected the way Africans practiced the spiritual aspects of their rituals and customs. Land, cattle, kinship, and marital structures are essential to the Xhosa spiritual world: cattle are necessary for use in rituals to commemorate deaths and burials, as well as other special occasions. However, due to the high level of poverty and high-density population in the rural areas, it has been virtually impossible for most Xhosas to obtain adequate land for grazing cattle and other domestic stock.

African women in particular had difficulty in achieving behavioral expression in religion. This is partly due to the importance of male participation in traditional religious practice and ritual. The increased levels of rural households without any men, is a major concern for conservatives who believe their ancestors are angry at them due to their limited or failure to continue traditional rituals. Even so, the majority of traditional healers (*songomas/ iqgira*) in the Eastern Cape are women.

Mndende (1997: 10) a South African theologian, discusses traditional religion within a historical feminist framework. She writes:

> The first problem encountered by women in African traditional religion is that it is denied that they have a theology. When missionaries first came to South Africa, they discovered no religion among the Black people, only culture. If they saw something that looked like religion, they labelled it either as superstition or as a false religion. Often they would look for the most suitable derogatory term, and add an *ism* to it in order to define the beliefs of Black people in Africa. ....In fact, the spiritual life of Africans is assumed to have began in 1652, with the arrival of the first white people in South Africa.

Negative attitudes towards those that expressed belief in and attempted to practice their traditional religious/spiritual customs frequently contributed to them being ostracized by other Blacks who feared conflict with Whites. This has caused major harm to the life-ways of Black South Africans, especially Xhosa-speakers. Their world-view is connected to the spiritual world of their ancestors (*izinyanya/iminyanya*), who are considered moral guardians. These ancestral spirits have to be appeased with rituals involving the *slaughtering of the beast,* which in contemporary society is usually a white goat (*ukubingelela*). If these rituals are not observed, informants report the ancestors may become disturbed and bad things happen, or, in times of need, the spirits will not respond

with help unless the appropriate rituals are performed. In this regard, they often perceive individual and family problems or illness as the spiritual world communicating a message to them.

In contemporary Xhosa society, religiosity is sometimes relative to class and gender differences. Negative attitudes expressed against traditionalists often result in their exclusion from important debates. Indigenous believers are often considered to be out of step with Western ideology and are frequently misunderstood when confronted by Christians. One example of this is an informant discussed in a previous case study. Mrs. Momfundo who is struggling with Christianity and the traditional spirit world of ancestors, is often confronted with this spiritual duality:

> I am often asked of my conservative kin why I have abandoned my culture for the religion of the Whites who enslaved me. When I am with my Christian educated associates, they asked why I am going-backwards by trying to be a songoma. I have decided I will live my life the way I want to live it. I will live with this confusion until I sort it out."

Mndende (1997: 11) summarizes her professional position regarding this spiritual dilemma which mimics the life experiences of other African women:

> The problem of representation is not only based on racial and religious differences, but is also a class problem. African traditional religion has been demonised, condemned and associated with primitiveness to the point where most blacks who are part of it are ashamed to speak of it without linking it to Christianity as they assume that by combining the two religions, African religion will appear more civilized than if mentioned in isolation.

IV. Traditional Healing

The Xhosa spiritual belief system is intricately woven into the totality of the life-ways of the informant population. Many of the informants expressed feelings relative to a sense of

well-being based on their individual spiritual connection to the traditional Xhosa belief system whereby deceased ancestors are able to communicate to Xhosas in many ways. These ancestral communications can assume different forms that are frequently attributed to the various illnesses, mental breakdowns, interpersonal conflicts, and a general sense that all is not right. Similarly, good fortune may be attributed to the ancestors.

This belief in the power of the spiritual world of ancestors, is significant in the Xhosa belief system. It has the capacity to exert its influence on living members of family and is one of the ways Xhosas make sense of their world. This worldview also contains a strong belief in witchcraft, which is often used to explain unexpected traumatic events in the daily experiences of women.

The following story illustrates how a woman name Nosenti, who holds these beliefs, has been strongly affected:

Nosenti was experiencing disturbing dreams. She returned to her rural home in the Transkei to seek the assistance of a *Songoma* (traditional healer), who advised that her ancestor's been displeased with her. Nosenti, an educated woman who lives in a semi-urban area believed the ancestors were angry for her denial of them she reports: "My ancestors were trying to get me to be a Songoma. I was resisting them." Nosenti continues:

> This woman [a *Songoma*] suggested a ritual even though I was skeptical...I am educated. I was a Methodist. My sister took me to this church where they were jumping and shouting—it was so noisy, I couldn't stand it. The second time I went back, something came over me. Next thing, I was crying and praying out loud. I grabbed this young woman and I prayed for her. Later, I found out the woman has a major problem. My sister felt this was the ancestor leading me. I went through the ritual and returned to university. Now I could read and do

> counseling without going to sleep. I talked to the psychologist in charge about this and he had referred to a black woman psychologist who suggested I go back to my culture to take care of the problem.

Nosenti is describing the ambiguity that is often expressed by others who practice Christianity and use traditional methods when ill or are suffering from mental distress. Buhrmann (1984: 100), a White South African psychiatrist, lived with Songomas to study the impact of the Xhosa cosmology on the mental health of believers and refers to this phenomenon as 'living in two worlds'. Dr. Buhrmann believes it is important for those who live in a multicultural society to develop tolerance and appreciation for cultural differences and similarities. She concludes that:

> There is considerable evidence in the Western world that our one-sided conscious ego attitudes need to be correct....The African continent is in a somewhat similar dilemma: because of the extreme pressure today on its Black inhabitants to develop a Western-orientated society, a western type of ego consciousness with western goals and measures of achievements, they now also have differences listening to the ancestors, and even more important, understanding their messages. This leads to anxiety, confusion and a search for identity.

Mental health and general medical practitioners met in the Eastern Cape in June 1998, to discuss a format for the integration of the indigenous/ traditional and modern western healing systems. This gathering included clinical psychologists, therapists, student-interns and professors representing all racial classifications in South Africa. Participants shared their perspectives and experiences regarding cultural sensitivity when treating Xhosa-speakers who seek intervention. Everyone agreed to the importance of understanding the culture and values of patients when developing a treatment scheme.

Dr. Jabulani, is a mental health professional, and an example of a Xhosa woman who utilizes all available options when confronted with health problems. She admits to being confused about the conflicts she experiences when confronted by patients with problems that seem to be of a *cultural nature*. Even though she is a practicing clinician, trained in Western principles, this professional Xhosa woman considers herself to be *spiritually confused* and expresses feelings of ambivalence when she personally encounters stressful situations or 'unexplained' traumatic events. Dr. Jabulani admits to seeking traditional and Western professional help when she is physically or mentally ill. She believes her people have been *dealt a bad hand of cards*. She said: When I think of the amount of confusion brought to our country and how we are still struggling with who we are, I become angry. Colonialism and later apartheid played a major role in our brokeness. One of my goals as a clinical professional, is to help others put themselves back together. If we don't do this, we will be lost forever.

Another aspect of cultural dualism alluded to by Dr. Jabulani is addressed in the next section, which minimally explores the integration of two dominant forms of religious/spiritual beliefs practiced by the Eastern Cape Xhosas, Christianity and ancestor spirituality.

V. Rituals: Rites of Passage and Death

Ritual practices continue to be a major cultural value in the Xhosa-world. There are rites of passages for every important life-change including marriage, birth of a child, death of a male-head, circumcision rites for young men, funerals and burials. In terms of illness and interpersonal conflicts, there are rituals that can be performed by a diviner or a traditional healer *(iqgira/songoma)*. Each of these rituals is related to the spiritual world of the 'ancestors'.

The transforming belief systems and practices have particularly affected women. Domestic gender relations and childrearing have been particularly stressful for women who are often the only adults living in their respective households. This has been a consistent theme expressed by informants. It is common for women to express feelings of anger and confusion about their socio-economical circumstances to such an extent that they begin to experience stress-related health conditions. This is especially the case for those who feel isolated and are overwhelmed by health problems related to stress, ineffective coping strategies, and the loss of social support systems.

Ancestor (*izinyanya*) rituals are practiced by over eighty-five percent of the informants. This percentage may be higher, but many of the informants seemed to be reluctant to admit to belief in ancestors. However, even amongst the more educated, ancestors are revered and feared. Nosenti's views are reflected in the introduction to this section: Christian Xhosa are often ambivalent about their spirituality and will only return to the practice of rituals when there is a crisis or unexplained event in their lives.

For male circumcision (*ukwaluka*), the rites of passage from boyhood to manhood, it is the practice of Xhosa Christians to compare it to the Biblical practices of the Hebrews (practices of circumcision and meat sacrifice). Every informant, male and female, expressed support and belief in this practice. One educated informant believed her son committed suicide because he did not go through the traditional rituals. This practice is considered to be a matter of pride which is expressed by women informants, even when they do not have husbands or male kin to participate, an oft-repeated view is:" [A male] *He is still a boy if he is not circumcised.*"

Many of the taboos associated with the role of women are often ignored. For example, one divorced woman explained that she did not have anyone to bring food to her son when he was in seclusion. Traditionally, this initiate is supposed to avoid the presence of married women until an appropriate time at the end of the seclusion period. However, since this mother did not have the necessary social network in place, she carried out many of the tasks usually done by others. Another observation of the breakdown in culture regards the initiates coming out of their huts during daylight. An example of this situation is illustrated in the following vignette:

> One day while riding in a car with an informant, we observed initiates walking on the highway. They were painted with white ochre(clay) and were dressed in the traditional way—blankets over their shoulders and scantily clothed from the waist down. Each of the young men had sticks and was casually walking in full view of the public. My informant became angry and responded: "See, this is a good example of how people are not observing the culture. They are walking around dressed like this for all to see. We should not see this. It is bad."

Now I will consider death and burial rituals. The slaughtering of the white goat (*ukubingelela*) is significant to the circumcision ritual and is replicated when a child is born. White goats are abundant in the Eastern Cape. One of the informants I shared a home with raised goats for the exclusive purpose of selling them for sacrificial rituals. She considered herself a Christian.

Another custom that is practiced by contemporary Xhosa is the custom and rituals regarding death and burial. More than ninety-nine percent of the informants considered death and burial rituals to be important for cultural continuity. There is evidence of social support networks that provide services to grieving relatives. Xhosas who lived in the former Ciskei often traveled long distances to other locations to order to honor the death of a family or clan member. Informal collections and Christian church organizations, especially the Manyano organizations comprised of women, have replaced burial associations in the urban areas.

Women informants take an active role in providing voluntary services to households where a death has occurred. The Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) is one of the organizations that are active in Alice. When one of its members lost her eldest son, the members of this organization provided many of the services that might have been offered by a traditional kinship unit. The women collectively prepared meals, collected food, assisted with funeral and burial arrangements, and organized work groups for cleaning and housing guests. This range of activities took several days; during this time, no one openly expressed any complaints about their assistance or the extent of their individual financial contributions.

The funeral service lasted over four hours. One of the women commented that she should have explained the long services. I responded by telling her many of the funeral services in African-American churches were just as long. Another observation regarding this service was that it involved Christian scriptures, but the responding congregation used traditional Xhosa songs, chants and dances movements. A praise singer told of the virtues of this eldest son who was preceded in death by his father. Community leaders and relatives gave many speeches. There were large numbers of people who attended the service in a very small church. This demonstrated respect and love for the dead man.

Later, a funeral repast was prepared, with very large amounts of food, which included the slaughtering of a white goat. One of the women who helped in the funeral preparation told me that traditionally, the family was responsible for all food preparation, which was usually a simpler meal. She told me: "But in these days, things have changed. When we go home [to rural areas], things are the same."

The ritual associated with the unveiling of tombstones of male-heads is very important to the Xhosa. There is slaughtering of animals, usually cattle or goats, depending upon the status of the deceased and the resources of the family. There are many variations to this practice. Christian informants often integrate traditional and Christian rituals. The traditional values attached to this custom are incorporated into spiritual beliefs regarding the world of the ancestors. It is a way to pay homage to the dead. In terms of Christianity, there is a sense that one can help save the soul of the deceased. Although Christians talk about salvation, many seemed confused with respect to relating the spiritual aspects of their ancestors to the Christian belief in a savior for all

people. Overall, Xhosas seem to feel more personally connected to the spiritual world of the ancestors than the salvation theories of Christianity.

The following discussion describes the social networks that have been observed in the community and briefly summarizes the transformation of traditional Xhosa social support systems.

VI. Social Support Networks

I define social support networks in the context of this discussion as the relationships that exist between individuals in the same environment. These relations can be formal or informal and can involve close kin, associates or non-governmental organizations.

This definition is seemingly congruent with the relations observed in the contemporary Eastern Cape, although this varied according to the interview location. In the former Ciskei, many of the available social support systems were comprised of individuals who were not related by kinship. In fact, most of the leadership that exists in the Eastern Cape with respect to the provision of social services, is provided by women (as individuals) or by non-government organizations (NGOs).

The indigenous social support systems have been transformed: traditionally, social networks were based on criteria such as age, sex, and community. An example of this can be illustrated in adolescent groups. Membership in a particular age-set would include others who are of the same age and represent the same community. These groups are heterosexual and the range of activities they would share would include dancing, singing, and stick fighting, hunting and educational activities. Often, young men would participate

in the circumcision rites with members of their respective cohort groups. Young girls would be expected to participate in the initiation of young men in various capacities. These cohort relations often extended into participation in marriage customs and rituals.

When informants were asked to prioritize their concerns regarding changing their traditional support systems, many mentioned influx control during the apartheid era as one of the reasons the social support network was disrupted at every level: family and kinship units; community relations; and, domestic gender relations. The fact that husbands, wives, children and parents, were frequently separated for extended periods of time, seriously altered the Xhosa support systems. One women explains this:

> When we were younger, our parents were forced to move out of their homes, away from the clan. Before then, they had kin to go to for help, especially with the children. Today, we live so far away from our *homes*, so we do not have this support. Many of us live next to people we do not know or understand.

In the Transkei, most of the rural women continue to rely on each other for support. The majority of these women has lived in their communities for years and has not lived in urban centers. While many of them are without men, they often articulate feeling supported by people who care about them more frequently than those women who live in rural communities in the former Ciskei.

It is significant to discuss the range of support services that are provided by women volunteers and organizations in the Eastern Cape. These organizations provide social and psychological services to women and children as well as to provide for such basic needs as clothing, food, and scholarships for tertiary (university, technikons, and colleges) institutions. The YWCA, previously mentioned, provides a range of services to

adolescent girls in the Alice community. It collects funds to create scholarships for girls who want to attend college but are unable to afford the tuition. Additionally, there were several times when members of this organization provide assistance to other members in crisis.

Another important social network is the Ilitha Psychological Service Centre outside Queenstown. This organization has one paid staff and the others are volunteers. It is designed to be a self-help agency with all members contributing resources when able. There are other social networks systems that operate throughout the Eastern Cape. On the campus at the University of Fort Hare, there were a number of projects to address the economic development of female heads-of-households. One of these projects, which was very successful, is in danger of being eliminated due to insufficient funding. This is troubling to the women who have provided resources to this organization. It is a much needed service which attempts to provide a range of services and support that were previously the role of the family, kin groups, and community.

The transformation of social networks has to be considered within the framework of the destructive forces of colonialism, industrialization, urbanization and, finally, apartheid.

The dismantling of the Xhosa social organization is a major contributor to the current mental health status of women. It is a social condition with politico-economic implications that have to be addressed by the people and the new government.

VII. Chapter Summary

The impact of European colonial administration and the domestic form of colonialism apartheid are recognized forces of change. As a result of these and other contact influences, Africa indigenous cultural forms were transformed. One outcome of this transformation is relative to the aspect of cultural dualism, whereby African people often 'live in two worlds': one world is seemingly governed according to the rules dictated by conservative/traditional customs; the other world is more likely to a merger of Western elements and African.

The notion of 'cultural dualism' is discussed regarding Xhosa who are practicing Christians, even though they continue to engage in conservative/traditional rituals. An example of this is funeral and burial services tend to blend spiritual/religious aspects from both cultural forms.

The cultural dichotomy theorized by Mayer (1979 et al) is another example of cultural dualism, which argues the degree to which Africans have integrated and accepted the European aspects of gender relations, marital structures, material culture, and education, which may contribute to the strained relations that exist between rural and urban Eastern Cape Xhosas. This dichotomy is explained by the different lifestyles of the Eastern Cape Xhosa as members of either the *Red* or *School People*.

This chapter concludes with analyses of the notion of social change, the impact of forces of change that include colonialism and apartheid. Relevant apartheid legislation is discussed with emphases on the impact on the lives of Africans. Linkages are made

between migratory labor, which became intensified during the apartheid regime, influx control that regulated the mobility of African people, and the increase of rural households without men for long periods of time.

Healing, religion, and spirituality are discussed with respect to rituals assumed to be *traditional* and the impact of Christianity on the contemporary Xhosa society.

Christianity is discussed relative to the ambivalence often expressed by informants who want to hold to their beliefs regarding the *spirit* world of their ancestors.

Finally, an analysis of the changes in social network systems and several of the *new* forms of social support systems are identified, such as non-government organizations under the leadership of African women in the Eastern Cape. For the most part, these are *grassroots* endeavors, where women of the community work together to solve problems with respect to social, political, and economic inequalities encountered by rural women. Many of these organizations have been organized for more than twenty years. Others are newly organized since the dismantling of apartheid. All of them face problems similar to those confronted by their constituencies and themselves-- inequalities in resources to meet their basic human needs. The effectiveness of these organizations has to be determined in the long-term by the women who are beneficiaries of the services. Even those informants who expressed ambivalence about some of these services articulated appreciation for them.

Some of the constraints to effective service delivery include: insufficient financial funding or lack of funding in some cases organizational/administrative leadership issues; and, recruitment of volunteers and clients.

A final factor impacting the quality of service delivery is dependent upon residential proximity to service providers. Overall women who are leaders and serve as volunteers in providing services to other women and their families, demonstrate their commitment by helping other women.

Although there are some tensions that can be observed between service providers and clients, for the most part there is a feeling of kinship, which brings Xhosa together when they interact. They demonstrate feelings of solidarity when they come together and sing in their rich language, in their sharing of jokes and humor, and the hospitality that is displayed in their homes.

The next chapter six, discusses other dimensions of the lives of Xhosa women, and considers some of the strategies they employ to challenge the stress they encounter in their daily lives. It concludes with emerging trends identified by informants, and theoretical implications for this study. Finally, traditional literature illuminates some aspects of gender cooperation in agriculture.

---

[i] This is a derogatory term used by white south Africans to refer to Blacks; in the Xhosa language the term refers to 'people' or humanity, which was not a derogatory term of reference.

[ii] Section 10 of the Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945, a pre-apartheid law used to enforce practices and policies of apartheid law.

[iii] A rival Nguni language group who migrated to the Eastern Cape during the 19th century.

Chapter Six

Survival in Post-Apartheid Xhosa Organization: Conclusions and Implications

I. An Overview

This study has provided a microanalyses of the changing structures in the Eastern Cape. The primary focus was on rural households. However, data collection involved a cross-section of the Eastern cape African women, in order to highlight the conditions experienced by rural and urban households.

A profile of the study population and subsequent oral life histories provided the rich ethnographic materials.

Although the study represents a small sample of the very large Xhosa population, the general analogies are made regarding the status of women in post-apartheid Eastern Cape society. For one, rural households have been particularly vulnerable to the changing disruption of family life. For another, African women share in the legacy of apartheid represented by extreme disadvantage, female headed households tend to be poorer, isolated from basic human care systems, and carry the burden attributed to the forces of migratory labor and apartheid.

This chapter will review the research foci introduced in chapter one. Additionally a summary of the findings and implications for the study will conclude this discussion.

The study has assisted in identifying issues relevant to the quality of life and well being of the study population. The majority of the informants identified the following concerns: extreme poverty conditions which exist in the rural populations; limited social support networks for the majority of women who are physically isolated in rural areas; cultural

constraints that prevent women from developing financial and other basic human care resources; and, overwhelming living conditions that contribute to high levels of stress-related illnesses.

Although apartheid has been eliminated and the country is now under the control of the majority population, African rural female-headed households continue to be confronted with the fact that nothing has changed for them. They continue to be confronted with the inability to provide daily subsistence for themselves and their children.

Children are particularly at risk with the high incidence of domestic violence, child abuse and neglect, and the insufficient capacity of women who live in rural areas to provide the necessary subsistence for their households. Additionally, youth and children often live in high crime communities where each resident is at risk to be victimized. Health concerns exacerbate the problems with tuberculosis at an all time high, attributed to highly over-crowded areas, lack of sanitation and clean water in most homes, and the increase of sexually transmitted diseases-- with Aids/HIV as high as in many Third World populations.

The prevalence of young women or adolescent girls who are having children outside of conjugal relations is another factor that contributes to the increase in female-headed households. This problem is exacerbated by the fact that housing shortages, the disintegration of family and community structures, and the dire economic situation that exists in the urban and rural areas in the Eastern Cape, are conditions predicted to contribute to the increase in the number of women and their children who will create new households of disadvantage. These patterns can also describe young women who marry,

have children, and are later abandoned by their husbands. Zanele believes men exploit women. She is afraid her university-educated daughter will find herself in similar situations. She says: "Men exploit women, but women are responsible for their own behavior that supports these men." In terms of the prediction about her own daughter, she continues: " I believe she will be like all these other silly women who give men everything and get nothing in return." There are informants who disagree with Zanele in terms of the role women play in their own victimization. These women believe men are *created to take* advantage *of women-it is the Xhosa thing.*

The above discussions may paint a very bleak picture of the lives of women and families in the Eastern Cape. However, this is just part of their story. Chapter three provided case studies, which revealed the variations in ways women, are able to deal with their daily lives. For the most part, informants have developed adaptive coping strategies to offset the stressful conditions in which they live; for others; the strategies may not be as successful.

One of the highlights of this study has been the discovery of the many gifts and talents of the women who live in the Eastern Cape. Many of these women are seeking ways to obtain a better life for themselves and their children. Although some women express desires to have husbands in the household, these same women often articulate their ambivalence when they talk about their contentment in the greater autonomy they have in controlling their own lives.

Unemployment amongst African women is the highest in South Africa. In the Eastern Cape, African women have the highest unemployment rates with the majority female population working in the informal sector—usually as street vendors (*hawkers*) and

domestic workers. One of the concerns of this study with respect to poverty and high levels of unemployment in female-headed-households, are the distorted images that are frequently portrayed of rural women to be apathetic or very depressed due to their constant struggle to survive. Although this is the case in some situations, it is not the only reality I discovered during my fieldwork. Rather, I was often amazed at the level of joking, humor, and songs of joy expressed by rural informants when sharing stories about their lives.

Conversely, another image is that of women who are seemingly content to work in the informal sector in terms of hawking produce and meat. My study has discovered that many of these women would prefer to be employed in the wage-earning market. Instead, they feel compelled to participant in the economy as the underemployed majority, often selling produce and crafts at the market place in the urban areas or outside the rural areas alongside the highways.

Taylor (1997: 54-57) argues that economic injustice in South Africa is gender-related. She writes: "Resource allocations both outside and inside the household in south Africa are skewed in favour of men...Analysis points to the limited access that the rural households have to income-generating resources."

Eastern Cape Xhosa women are often involved in creative and economic development projects. On the whole, when given the opportunity, most will seek ways to improve their employment skills. Examples of women, who have found creative ways to increase their skills, are the level of activity that is taking place in the town of Alice where there are several businesses owned or operated by Xhosa-speaking women. One of these is a beauty shop; the other is a shop, which sells newsprint, gifts, artwork, and crafts. I

became friendly with Mrs. Sogayise who owns this busy shop with her husband. However, she manages the shop and is a business women in every sense of the word. She participates in many of the development projects in the Alice area and has recently become involved in the broader Eastern Cape community. Besides selling her own products, she encourages other women to become entrepreneurs by increasing their beading skills, basket-making, designing and making the traditional dresses, as well as other creative products to sell. Mrs. Soygayise is willing to use her shop as an inside market to sell products made by these women. Before I left the Eastern Cape, she had expanded her activities to include facilitating workshops and training for women and young girls to learn the traditional craft trade. She shared her philosophy with me: "I believe it is important for those of us who are more fortunate, to share our knowledge and skills with others. Our people [women] need help. The women who live in the rural areas are starving for things to do." The majority of the women involved in her projects are rural women who commute from their homes by taxis or they walk. Others are involved in *hawking* activities in the Alice area or are employed as domestics in the area. These women attend the sessions when they are able.

II. Emerging Trends

Many of the important trends have been addressed in earlier chapters; however, it is impossible to discuss emerging trends without reviewing some of the key issues discussed in previous chapters. This section will highlight relevant trends based on data obtained during the field research, information from key personnel in the Eastern Cape, and South African government documents.

Poverty and Employment Issues

Access to quality employment opportunities is essential to the eradication of poverty in women-dependent households. This is the number one indicator referenced by informants with respect to major economic concerns and causes of stress related- illness. Quality employment refers to better paying jobs with benefits. Currently, the primary labor force for African women is the informal sector, which is represented by low pay, no benefits, long working hours, and almost no opportunity for upward mobility. In fact, there are few incentives for skill improvements for women in these markets.

According to the SALDRU survey, the average monthly wage for all employment sectors were R826, (which converts too roughly $127.00 U.S. currency). Compared to the informant population, this is representative of a higher income level, especially when considering the average monthly income which ranged from R200-R400 per month.

Since employment is often relative to education, literacy and job skills, many of the informants will remain in their economic situations unless there are major changes. Also, this trend in unemployment will continue unless the government assumes the leadership as promised in the 1995 RDP discussed in an earlier chapter, in forming partnerships with private industries and non-governmental organizations for job creation programs.

On a positive note, addressed in earlier discussions, there are efforts in the Eastern Cape by organizations and individuals to address the high rate of unemployment amongst women and youth. Job creation occurs in the informal sector with many women becoming street vendors. Local government officials (women) and the Eastern Cape Women's Chamber of Commerce are involved in organizing the street vendors to optimize their efforts. Related activities include the increase in projects that encourage

the creation of indigenous arts and to sell to tourists. The Eastern Cape Tourist Bureaus has been instrumental in working with many of these projects, comprised in the majority of women and youth.

Although alluded to in earlier chapters, race and gender inequality are still important factors in everyday life, even though in general, informants' tendency to identify race as an issue in their everyday lives. These issues are discussed in a study that analyzed the quality of life, well-being, and race, in rural communities in the Western Cape, often resembling the Eastern Cape case presented in this dissertation. Moller (1996) suggests: "Race is still an important aspect of everyday life in spite of deliberate attempts to equalise occupational and educational opportunities."

Environmental and Infrastructure Conditions

There is much to be done in terms of the environmental conditions that exist in the rural areas of the Eastern Cape. Additionally, the poor infrastructure in most communities is considered to contribute to poor health conditions of residents.

As reported in previous chapters, women and children often have to walk long distances to secure water for cooking and cleaning, and fuel sources for heating and cooking. Even while the government has electrified many of the rural communities, most of the households do not have access to electricity or other energy sources in their respective households. Therefore, women still rely on heating and cooking with wood and paraffin that creates additional safety problems.

Infrastructure services that include communications, power sources, transportation, water provisions, and sanitation need to be addressed by the government. These are services that community leaders are helpless when gaining assess for its members without

the leadership and resources of the government. Clean water sources, in-door plumbing, adequate sanitation, and safe energy sources are also factors to consider when looking at health and safety issues.

Transportation is currently in crisis in the Eastern Cape. The majority of informant households do not access to automobiles or public transport. Taxi services are available, but at considerable cost to poorer residents who must travel to work, school and health services. Most of the informants report walking long distances to work and having their children walk long distances to schools. Taxi services are considered expensive and unsafe. During my field research, there were several taxi wars, and many people were killed or maimed. Most of the victims are women and children.

Road conditions contribute to the unsafe modes of transportation. This is another area of concern that has to be addressed by the government. Even persons with cars find the road conditions unsafe. There are many accidents that are attributed to the high number of death rates in South Africa. The hilly mountainous terrain of the Eastern Cape makes traveling even more dangerous. But officials believe most of the conditions can be improved if there are available financial resources and adequate planning by appropriate personnel.

Crime and Violence

Crime rates continue to soar at the expense of isolated women and children in the rural areas. This is also a matter of concern for those who live in urban communities, but rural households are lacking in the security resources that are more readily available to urbanites. However, a major concern to all of South Africans is the high crime rate that

exists across the country. This factor is considered a deterrent to developing economic resources for the population who needs it the most—African women.

Roaming youth gangs victimizes the elderly. Young children and women are often gang raped with limited intervention by the police. In Queenstown, the Ilitha Psychological Social Service Agency (previously mentioned in Chapter five) is attempting to address the high incidence of female child and adult sexual assaults that occur in surrounding the communities. In March and April of 1998, many marches were held to protest the problem. According to the Eastern Cape Police Services Communication Department, the province has the third highest child abuse rates in the country (Daily Dispatch March 27,1998).

Initially, municipal officials denied the high level of crime perpetrated on women and children victims. However, with the much-publicized display of women and children who marched on city hall and the coverage by the local media (South African Broadcast Company/Daily Dispatch), officials responded. The response was short-lived, with no reported arrests for serious cases.

This continues to be a major concern. Many cases of assault are reported on a daily basis. Men are seldom arrested or prosecuted. Family members commit a majority of the crimes. Some men who were interviewed by the press said it was *cultural* while others reported assaulting infants and young children to be a *cure for* Aids, a belief held by African men in other nations.

Organizations and leaders in the communities where crime rates are highest are trying to eliminate the problems. They recognize the magnitude of the situation and need the assistance of local law enforcement agents. Many professionals in the mental health and

social service specialties are working to educate youth about the devastation caused by these assaults. They supply written information and meet with youth gangs to discuss the myths surrounding some of these activities. To date, there is little evidence that much has improved the situation.

Mental Health and General Health Conditions

The relationship to poverty conditions and health conditions is obvious. In the Eastern Cape, the high incidence of women and children with chronic health disease and mental health concerns is a growing problem. As previously mentioned, tuberculosis is still the number one health condition; however, there are other health concerns reported by informants. The top five health issues, (other than tuberculosis), are basically considered to be stress-related conditions that include hypertension, diabetes, malnutrition, and gastrointestinal problems in children.

The lack of available health services and related resources contribute to health status in different ways. For one, the lack of access to quality care is a problem for the majority African population. One of the legacies of apartheid was the low funding allocation pattern for health, education and infrastructure provisions in the African communities. This continues to be a persistent factor that extends the poverty conditions into the next generation of children.

Additionally, malnutrition is a serious concern with all of the rural inhabitants. The elderly and children often do not receive the nutritional subsistence that is needed on a daily basis. Pregnant women suffer from poor prenatal care and are frequently unable to eat adequately to sustain themselves and their unborn children. This is one factor, which

contributes to the high infant mortality rate in the African communities, especially the rural areas.

Demographic information is still lacking in terms of the mental health situation for Black South Africans. The Reconstruction and Development Program (1995) promised to conduct a mental health survey, but to date, this has not been implemented. According to a news article (Daily Dispatch January 28, 1998) a health status survey of three thousand households was to be conducted in the Eastern Cape. I have not been able to obtain confirmation that this survey was conducted.

The infant mortality rate is assumed to be higher than reported in chapter one. Again, this is part of the legacy of apartheid. Data collection and needs assessments are crucial in the planning of services and human resources for any population. In South Africa, this is an essential need. Without a sufficient database, mental and general health resources and service delivery will continue to be fragmented.

Increase in Female Heads-of-Households

To add to the previous discussion regarding the increase of female-headed-households, several of the informants who have never married with children, seemed to be reticent to discuss this matter. Although many of them appeared to be comfortable with the fact that they had children and were not married, those over age 40 appeared to be more *stigmatized.* Zanele, a single mother of one daughter, talks about her personal situation. When she is her early twenties, she discovered she was pregnant with a child by a married man. She claims this man wanted to marry her, but she did not want to give up her independence. Although she admits to the difficulties she has experienced in being an unmarried mother, as well as other hardships she has endured in raising her child alone,

she has enjoyed her independence. Zanele would not like to see her daughter go through the same thing. She tends to be very out-spoken with respect to unmarried young women who get pregnant, and is quick to share her experiences with younger women and adolescent girls with the goal of helping them to prevent early pregnancies by using birth control methods. This is one of the consequences of the dislocation of Black South Africans: the high rate of children who are born in homes of unmarried mothers. This illustrates the changing patterns of African families. Research conducted at the University of Cape town reveals the rise in female headed-households indicative of changing patterns in social organization. This condition is related to political and social changes that have occurred in South Africa beginning with the first European contact, slavery, colonialism and subsequently apartheid.

The following section will address some of the implications of this study for similar research projects.

II. *Implications for Women in the Eastern Cape*

Xhosa women are confronted with many of the issues that other women face in developed and undeveloped countries. They are struggling with the conflicts that exist due to the culture and the legacies of the past; they are dealing with the environmental conditions caused by the over- use and the abuse of the natural resources. This prevents them from producing food for their families. Women are confronted with serious human rights issues: they are often confronted with racial, gender, and class discrimination that lingers from colonialism, customary law, and apartheid. However, even in consideration of the many issues mentioned by the informants, frequently these concerns become a source for bonding with other women in similar situations. There is an expressed hope for

a better life for their children, if not for they, in the near future.In a country that has so many resources, women should be able to expect more from the government. The promises of the new government have not caught up with the majority population. Informants representative of all socio-economic cohorts complain of the current situation. Many of them expected nothing short of miracles after the 1994 election: they wanted their children to receive tertiary education, often without cost to them. Others expected better housing, while the majority just wanted more pay for less work.The voices of the informants who participated in the study are indicative of other South African women who share similar conditions. In terms of housing conditions in the rural areas, typical rural villages are reported by Moeller (1996):

> A thumbnail sketch of living conditions in a typical rural village
> Drawn up by community developers indicate...45% live in mud
> Houses...only 54% of the families possess toilet facilities or lighting
> There is no electricity or running water in the village...very few people
> Are employed or self-employed...There are ...shops in the village with
> Limited stock...There is no reliable transport between the village and
> The nearest town...there is one telephone in the village...the closest
> Clinic is 7.5 kilometers away...? There are no sports or recreational
> facilities in the village.

The next section explores cultural issues that continue to be important to the informant population.

IV. Cultural Issues

Witchcraft

Some of the concerns reported by women need to be briefly discussed. Namely, those that have to do with what is considered part of the Xhosa *culture*. In the Eastern Cape, one of the issues that continues to affect women, is the notion of witchcraft (*igqwira*). There are many reports that have been reported in

the media, which indicate the number of Africans who practice and believe in the spiritual world of witchcraft. Women are confronted with this in the rural areas (and urban areas) and are often harassed by others when they have been so labeled. On some occasions, women have been killed, maimed and their houses burned down. Children are affected especially if they lose their parent and shelter. Also, the stigma of been branded a witch may linger from one generation to another. Many of the informants talked about this matter and believe it will always be a part of their culture. One educated informant often explained her problems as being *bewitched* by someone. Young girls are also victimized by this phenomenon. Less frequently are men or boys called witches (*ama-igqwira/abathakathi*).

Forced Marriages

Although this is not frequently reported, at least two informants talked about their kin being forced to marry. One of the research assistants told me she had been forced to marry someone she did not know and ran away from home until her parents undid the *damage.* She tells me this happens frequently in the rural areas, especially in the Transkei. Many of the mothers want the *lobola.* An article appeared in the newspaper (Daily Dispatch February 24, 1998), suggesting this to be concern in African communities in the Eastern Cape. From Umtata, a reader writes:

> Many South African parents are practicing cruel and inhuman treatment. ...[A] basic human principle is being exploited by ...parents. This is the forced marriage of their children.

Rites of Passage

These issues have been explored in previous sections. However, it is important to this discussion on two levels. For one, informants consider the failure to continue this practice impacts the status of unmarried women; and, secondly, several informants believe the breakdown in this cultural behavioral is directly related to the high incidence of single mothers.

The rite of passage for adolescent girls was an initiation rite (*ukuthombisa*) which included the seclusion of adolescent females (*intonjane*) at the time of their first menses. This ritual[1] was important to Eastern Cape Xhosas, Mfengus and other Nguni language groups who were integrated by the forced removals of Africans from 'white areas', and under other circumstances. *Ukuthombisa* served as a prelude to marriage; in fact, it was believed that the young woman would become ill if this ceremony did not occur.

According to informants, the majority of Eastern Cape families in the former Ciskei no longer practice this ritual. However, this may be less true for rural households in the Transkei where there are more Xhosas tend to be more conservative compared to those who reside in the former Ciskei. Also, there are more fathers/men who live in rural households. Although the ritual has seemingly become extinct in the majority of rural communities, informants seem to believe in the value of this cultural practice relative to the past.

Informants often attribute the high levels of unmarried mothers to the fact that this custom is infrequently practiced. One very educated informant, Nomisa, suggests that many of the problems she has experienced be due to the fact that she

had never been an *intonjane*. Nomisa decided to go through the ritual in her forties, even though she was a divorced mother with four children! After she completed the ritual, she forced her young adult daughters to return to her natal home in the Transkei to become initiates (*intonjanes*).

In terms of male initiation (ukwalua-alluded to in an earlier chapter), this remains one of the customs that is practiced by the Eastern Cape Xhosas across all socio-economic groups. I mention it here because it negatively affects the economy of rural female-dependent households, particularly were there are no men to participate in the traditional aspects of the rituals. This is a legitimate concern for women who believe their sons should go through the circumcision rite of passage. Until they complete the ritual, Xhosa men are considered 'boys' for their entire life. Even though some of the elements have been altered by circumstances attributed to migratory labor and apartheid, informants believe it remains central to their culture.

In terms of the expense of the rituals, it is another burden assumed by rural households. The custom is expensive and often-single mothers of initiates, with limited resources, have to deal with this practice without outside financial or social support. Even so, there was much evidence of the number of young men who participate in this conservative ritual in the Eastern Cape, albeit under different circumstances.

V. Summary

The women of the Eastern Cape wait for the new democratic regime to implement the Reconstruction and Development measures promised in 1995 and

the strategies promised in the plan that subsequently replaced it- outlined in GEAR[2]. African women wait for the opportunities to work at better paying jobs and for improved living conditions. They wait for the delivery of unfragmented health and social services. And, they wait for improved housing schemes in the rural communities, with adequate infrastructures.

The lack of access to arable land is a major concern articulated by rural women who desire opportunities to grow their own produce for household consumption and for produce to sell. This would be one solution to economic disparity. When they have the means, rural women (and some urban) grown their own produce. Most have domestic animals or fowl. This is sometimes problematic for those who do not have rights of access to the land they use and often need to fence in their produce or animals to prevent theft.

In some rural villages, tribal authorities continue to control land usage. In this regard, women are less secure about their rights. Female heads-of households have additional problems if there are no men to look after their interests or negotiate for them when all male tribal authorities enter into conflicting situations with women. In some cases, women are exploited by chiefs or headmen, and have to beg for access to land usage.

The South African government will have to advocate for the rights of rural women's to own land. However, a major constraint is the stronghold of conservative patriarchy that exists in the conservative rural communities. Meer (1997:3) argues:

> In general, women are insecure in their rights of access to land. As this access usually depends on their link to a man, Single, widowed or

> divorced women are disadvantaged in access to land, and often have to depend on the whim of a chief or headmen to make as decision about their rights of access and use.

This chapter begins with an overview of the issues that confront rural female-heads-of- household in post-apartheid Eastern Cape. It identifies indicators regarding the quality of life and well-being of the target population. In terms of dominant themes, socio-economic indicators with respect to poverty are revisited.

Some of the emerging trends that confront rural households are addressed which include: gender-related inequalities in occupations, income, and unemployment; environmental and infrastructure conditions that exist in the rural eastern cape; crime and violence indicators that affect women and children; and, mental, general health conditions, and non-government organizations approach to service delivery. Finally, a brief discussion with respect to the increase in single mother-hood that may have cultural implications.

This research study has been an opportunity for me to meet the women of the Eastern Cape. Informants have taught me about their culture and have shared their stories with me. I made a commitment to maintain their confidentiality but most importantly, I promised to use their voices in sharing their experiences and hopes for a better life. Many of the women began to trust me as I communicated my respect and trust in them. Although at times this was a very isolating experience, I have never regretted the field experience.

I hope that others will continue to work in this arena. There is still much to learn from the women of the Eastern Cape. Hopefully, the government in collaboration with self-help organizations in the Eastern Cape, will listen to the

voices of the rural women, especially in consideration of the fact that the majority of all South Africans live in rural areas, represented by women with children 15 years or younger. It makes sense to tap into the talents of the rich people resources contained in the densely populated areas. It seems reasonable to offer opportunities for all disenfranchised South Africans. The implications for future research in the Eastern Cape are tied to this belief: that the concerns articulated by informants is the key to understanding the needs of those who are at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder. Only then will the promises of the new South Africa become a reality with respect to equity in the development of autonomous citizens. Tied to this is the expectation that gender parity will become a reality instead of the ideal. Although women are represented in Parliament, rural women do not feel as if they have a voice; therefore, Eastern Cape women have found ways to mobilize their political concerns in word, protest to municipal officials. And formation of non-governmental organizations to address their concerns. This collective spirit will be the way women will empower themselves.

I sincerely appreciate the willingness of the informants-women and men, to trust me enough to tell me some of the intimate details of their life. I had the pleasure to participate in many of the activities that took place in the Eastern Cape. The involvement with the Gender Forum at the University of Fort Hare will be a lasting experience.

In closing, I include a statement from 'A Woman's Creed" which explains a position taken by South African women in 1998, in celebration of the Annual Days of Activism against Gender Violence Campaign:[3]

> We are female human beings poised in the edge of the new millennium. We are the majority of our species, yet we have dwelt in the shadows. We are the illiterate, the labourers, the refugees, and the poor. And we vow no more. For thousands of years women have had the responsibility without the power while men have had the power without the responsibility. We offer these men who risk being brothers a balance, a future, a hand. But with or without them, we will go on.

This creed speaks volumes about the Xhosa women who are responsible for the future generations of South Africa. This is their story and I share it with those who take the time to read this dissertation.

---

[2] An acronym for Growth, Employment, and Redistribution Plan adopted in 1996.
[3] November 25, 1998 to December 10, 1998.

APPENDIX I

Statement of Informed Consent

I understand that I am free to withdraw my participation at anytime without any adverse affects to me personally or to any services or benefits that I may receive in the future.

I understand my identity and responses to questions will be kept confidential by the researcher and her assistant.

_____

Signature of Participant

_____

Signature of Researcher

APPENDIX I

IMVUMELWANO

Ndiyaqonda ukuba ndinelungelo lokurhoxa nangaliphina ithuba kwigalelo lam ngaphandle kokuchapazeleka kwam okanye nawaphina amalungelo endinokuwafumana ebomini.

Ndiyaqonda ukuba amagama am neempendulo endizinikezeleyo kwimibuzo zizakuthi zigcinwe zifihlakele ngulowo undibuzayo nomncedisi wakhe.

Umhlomli, sayina ----------

Umphandi-lwazi, sayina ----------

Umhla ----------

APPENDIX II

ITEM D: These questions are designed to provide informant an opportunity to talk more openly. The focus of the questions is to solicit information about her attitudes and perceptions about family, marriage, marital relations, community relations, childrearing, social affiliations, support systems and general and mental health issues. Also, to obtain information about coping strategies an individual may use to offset stress.
PLEASE INDICATE ANY CHANGES YOU MAY MAKE TO THE QUESTIONS.

1. You have indicated you moved from _____. Will you share with me when you moved to your current location and the reason for the move?

2. How often do you see family members who do not live in your household?

3. What does a family mean to you?

4. Do you think there is a difference between how you should treat clan-kin/ blood-kin from other relations?

5. What are your feelings/beliefs about marriage? You don't have to be married to respond to this question.

6. What, if any, are reasons or advantages for a women to be married?

7. What, if any, are reasons for a women not be marry?

8. What are your feelings/beliefs, in general, about men and women relationships, whether or not they are married?

9. Can you identify any problems or concerns you have on a daily basis?

APPENDIX II

10. When you are upset, or if you need help to take care of these concerns/ problems, who do you go to for help?

11. Do you sometimes feel that you have too many problems, and frequently feel stressed/overwhelmed?

12. How do you know that you are experiencing stress?

13. What do you do when you feel stressed?

14. How do you cope with the problems you have mentioned and with the stress in your life?

15. What do you do to feel better?

16. In terms of the many changes in South Africa government, what, if any, impact these changes have had on you and your family?

17. Were you and family changed by migration labor? If so, how?

18. What changes would you like to see happen to make life less stressful?

APPENDIX III

Discussion Questions for Men

Profile:

1. Date of birth or age _____

2. Place of birth _____

3. Place of residence _____

4. If (3) is different from (2), reason for change of residence_____

5. Are you married?_____

6. Do you have children?_____ How many_____

7. What is your occupation?_____

8. Are you currently employed?_____

9. Are you the head of your household?_____

10. How many in household?_____

11. Highest level of education_____

Open-ended Questions:

12. What does family mean to you?

13. What circumstances have contributed to the state of the family as it currently exist in South Africa?

14. What is your opinion about marriage? You don't have to be married to offer an opinion.

15. Do you think women have too much responsibility in taking care of the family and the children?

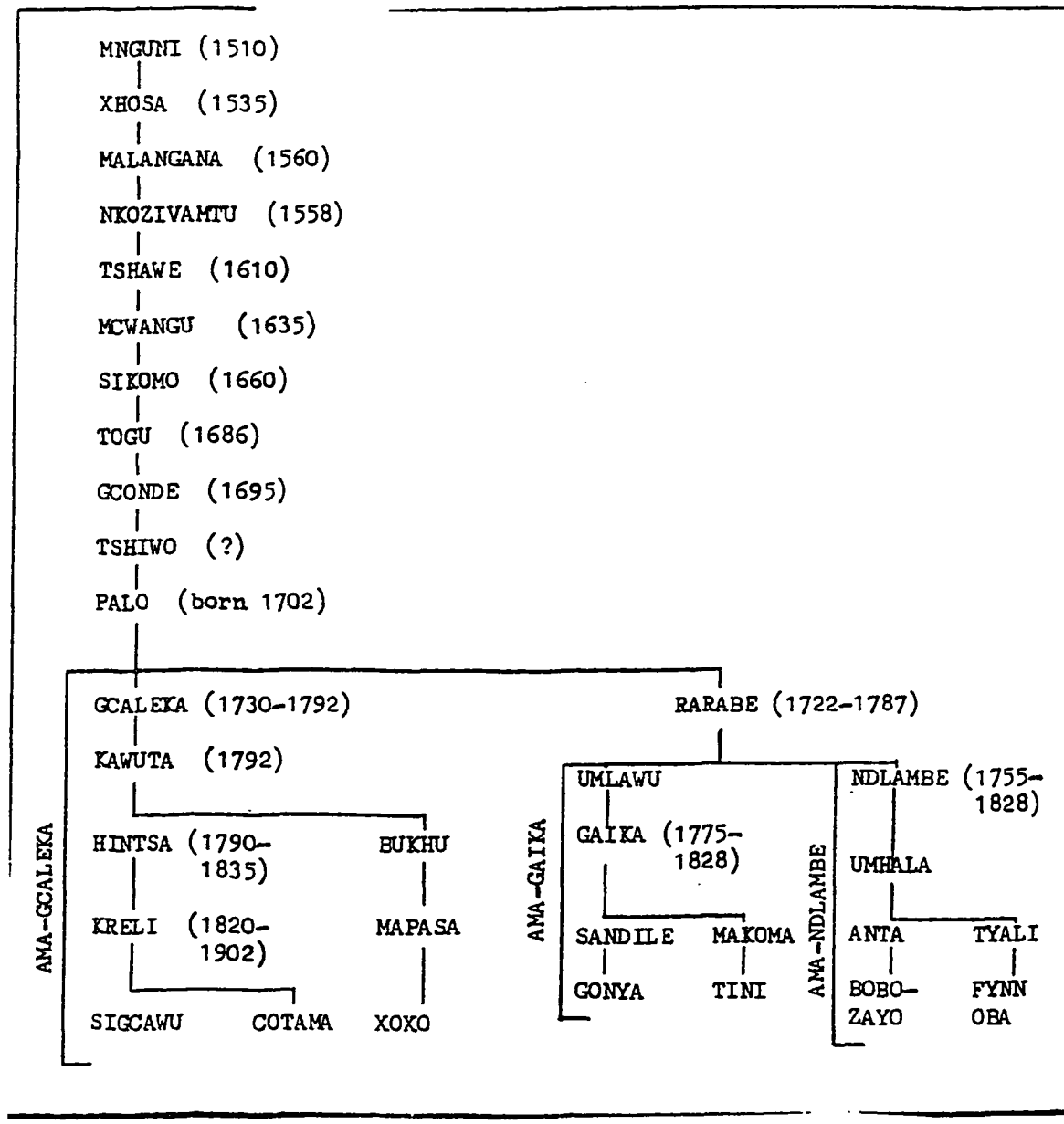
16. Please share your beliefs about the current social, economic conditions that exist in the community in which you live. This can be related to issues of poverty, housing, racism crime, environment, and anything respondent may offer of concerns/problems.

17. Do you think any of these conditions (16) have an impact on the women, children and men who live and work in the community?

18. Has the migrant labour system contributed in any way to the current situation for women, children and men in your community?

19. What have been some of the changes in the roles of men and women with respect to family responsibility?

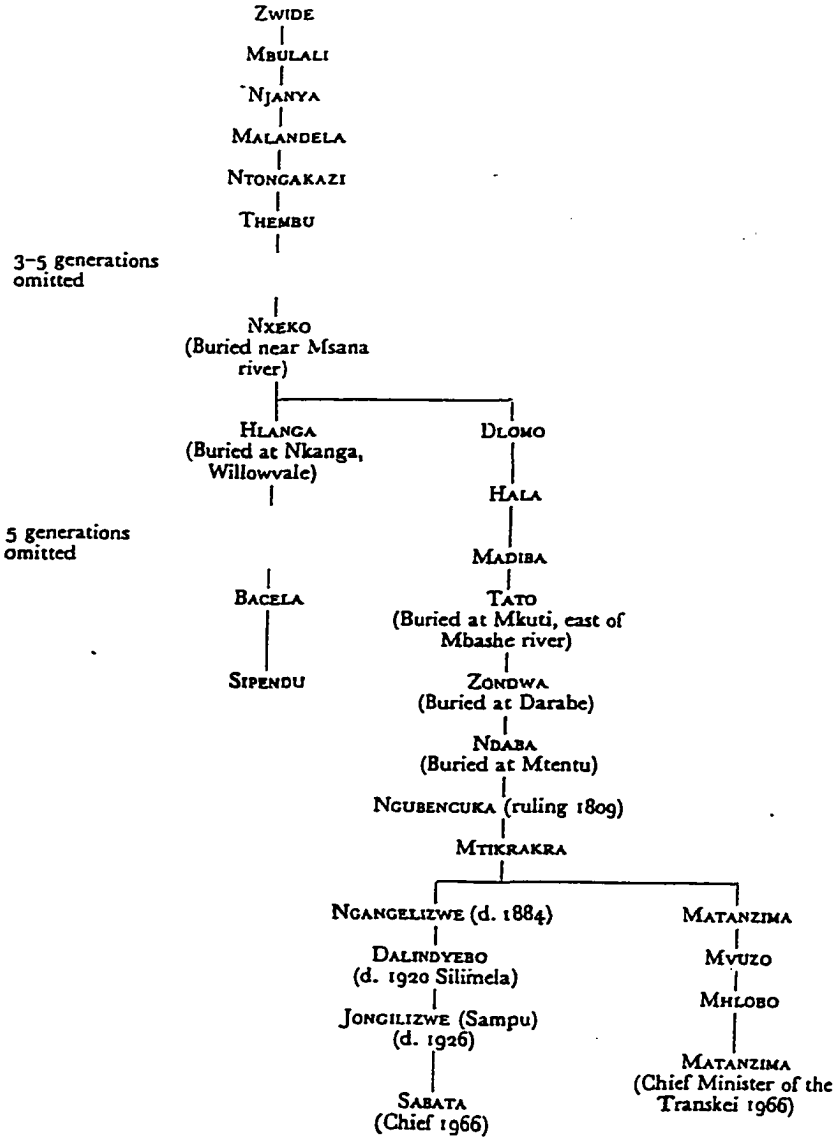
APPENDIX IV. KHOSA GENEALOGY CHART



From: Raum and de Jager
"Transition and Change in a Rural Community:
A Survey of Acculturation in the Ciskei"
(1972)

APPENDIX V-GENEALOGY THEMBU (TRANSKEI)

THEMBU GENEALOGY[1]



APPENDIX VI: EXPLANATION OF STRESS INDICATORS PSYCHOLOGICAL/ BIOLOGICAL/BEHAVIORAL

A. Somatic complaints: includes symptomatic complaints about physical pain; may be related to depression or other mood disorders and diseases.

B. Chronic fatigue: feelings of extreme exhaustion; complaints of feeling tired, without energy most of the time.

C. Generalized anxiety: may be defined as a disagreeable emotional state in which there are feelings of impending danger characterized by uneasiness, tension, or apprehension.

D. Extreme anxiety: agitation, anxiety associated with severe motor restlessness, due to unconscious conflicts; nervousness; may be free-floating anxiety, pervasive, fears not attached to any particular idea.

E. Mood disorders: generally can refer to a number of psychiatric disorders; is a pervasive or sustained emotion, such as elation, grief, depression.

F. Clinical depression: loosely defined as a general feeling of sadness, listlessness, gloom, pessimism; may be caused by biological, sociopsychological factors.

G. Panic: is a state of extreme, acute, intense anxiety accomplished by disorganization of personality dysfunction.

H. Panic disorder: is an episodic, usually chronic recurrent disorder in which the predominant feature is anxiety; panic attacks and nervousness; usually associated with feelings of impending doom.

I. Pervasive sadness: describes a psychopathological feeling of sadness; may or may not be related to the current situation.

J. Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD): essential feature of this is the development of characteristic symptoms after experiencing a psychologically traumatic event or events outside of the range of normal human experience.(Historically this concept is closely related to warfare, described in 1871 by the American Journal of Medical Services by DaCosta).*

K. Apathy: may be described as dulled emotional tone associated with detachment or indifference.

L. Powerlessness: sense of hopelessness, feelings of lack of control over life and circumstances; may be feelings associated with long-term denial of capacity to take charge of own life or circumstances may be presented in political, domestic, and other life events.

M. Self- esteem: refers to perceptions one holds about herself; can be positive or negative; may influence adaptive, maladaptive responses to stress.

N. Sleep deprivation/sleeping disorders/disturbances: prolonged periods/patterns of sleep disturbances, deprivation, and sometimes lead to increasing ego disorganization, hallucinations, delusions, physical and mental health illnesses.

O. Interpersonal conflicts: frequent conflicts with others that may include maladaptive behavioral interactions; incapacity to sustain long-term/short-term positive relations with others; may contribute to loneliness and isolation due to avoidance by others.

---

* This definition is adapted from DSM IV (APA)

VII. APPENDIX XHOSA-ENGLISH TERMS/ COMMON GREETINGS

*ama*nzi-water

amasi-sour milk

Bawo-Father

dadewethu-my sister

mfowethu-my brother

thanda-love

ukutya-food

ugqirha-doctor

umfundisi-teacher/priest

ummelwane-neighbor

imbotyi/ii-beans

umntu-person

ixesha-time

ixhego/*ixhegwazana*-old man/old woman

umfazi-married woman

indoda-man

inkwenkwe-boy

intombi/*intombazane*-unmarried woman/girl

umzi-house

ubuhlanti-kraal

umbona-mielies/corn

ulwaluko-circumcision

inkuku-chicken

ukudlwengula-to rape

inja-dog

ububele-kindness/generosity

imifuno-wild spinach

intlonipho-respect

isidulo-clan names

umvuzo-reward/salary

ubume/*isimo*-circumstance/situation

indlela-roadway

inyama-meat

udonga-wall

impendulo-the answer

isithunzi/*umthunzi*-shadow/shade

umkhwenyana-son-in-law

umkhwe/...*kazi*-in-laws/parent

igazi-blood

ihagu-pig

igusha-sheep

amabele-breasts

impilo-health

amahlandenyuka-ups and downs

sabela-to respond to a call

xolisa-bring about peace

ukuhleka-to laugh

ukulila-to cry

inqenerha-lazy person

umzali-parent

ukutshata/*ukwenda*-marriage

ukwena-common-law marriage

songoma/*igquira*-healer/diviner

ubisi-milk

impambano-madness/insanity

umngqusho-samp

isithuko-insult

xhosa-angry men

myanezela-to endure/cope

molo-hello (singular)

moluweni-hello (plural)

sala kakuhle-goodbye

lala kakhule (singular)-good night

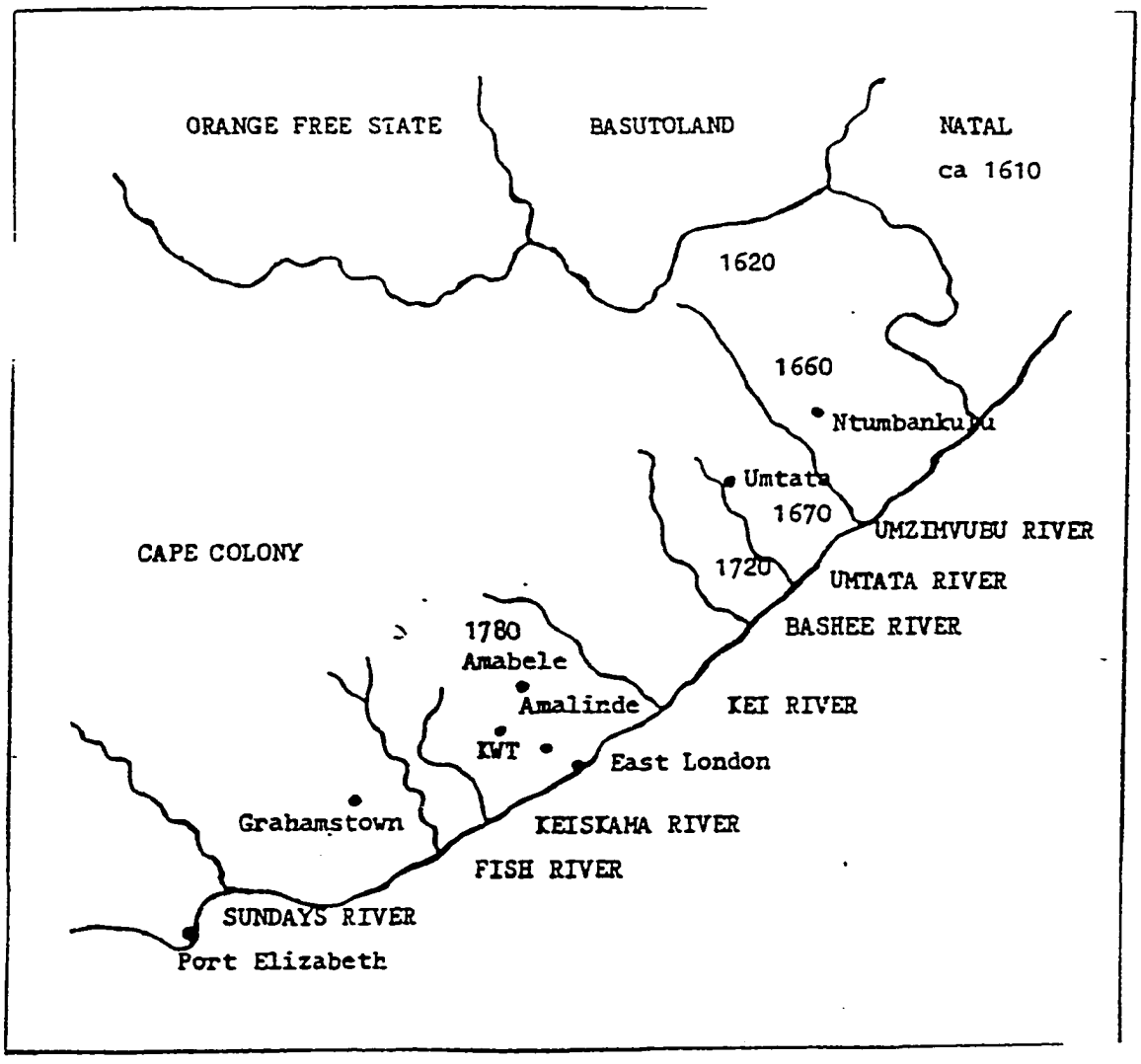
lalani kakhule (Pl.)-goodnight

kujani/ujani?-how are you?

ithanga-pumpkin

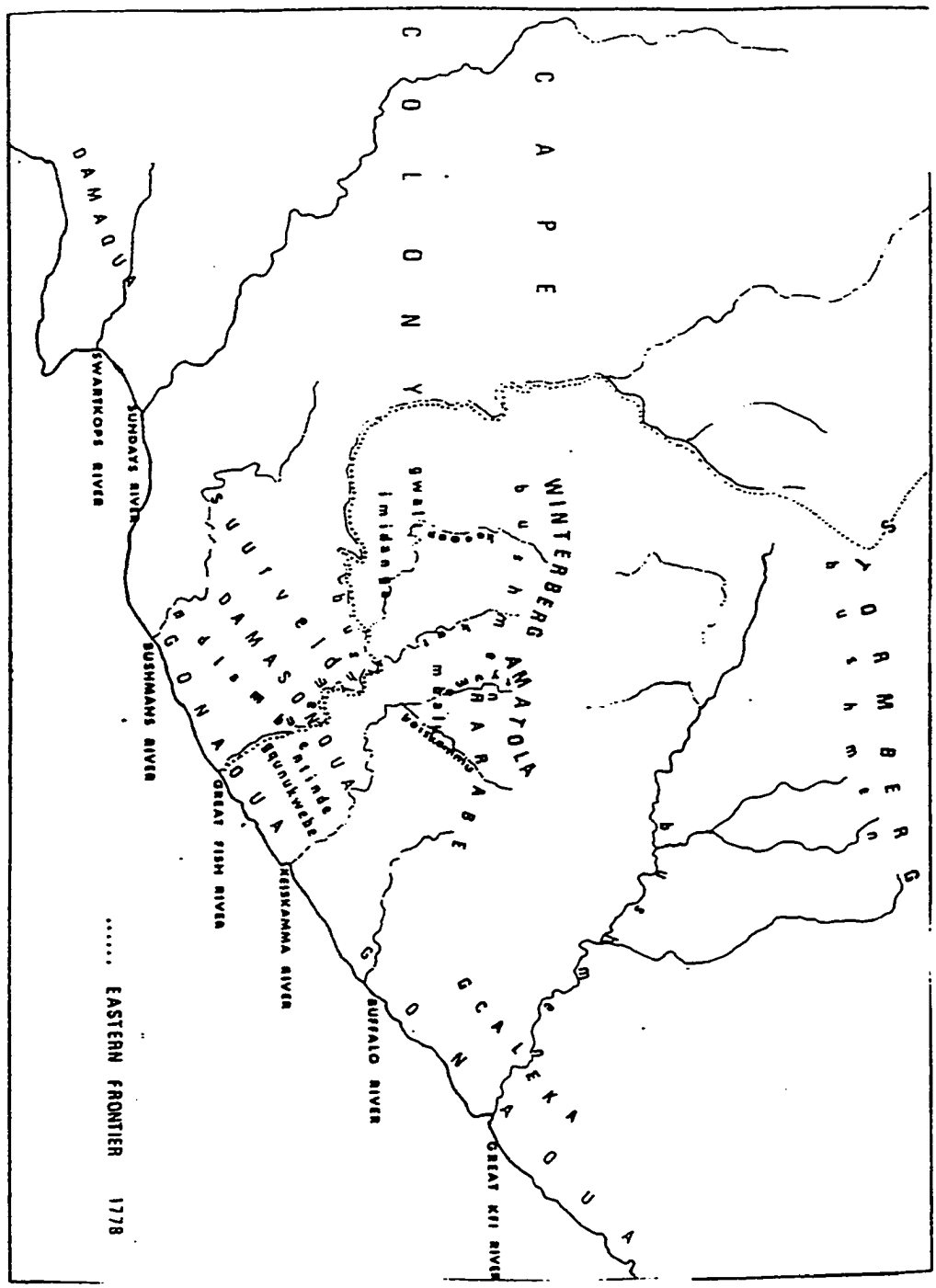
ndiphilile,enkosi wena?-I'm fine thank you, and you?

MAP 1: EARLY EASTERN CAPE (1610-1780)

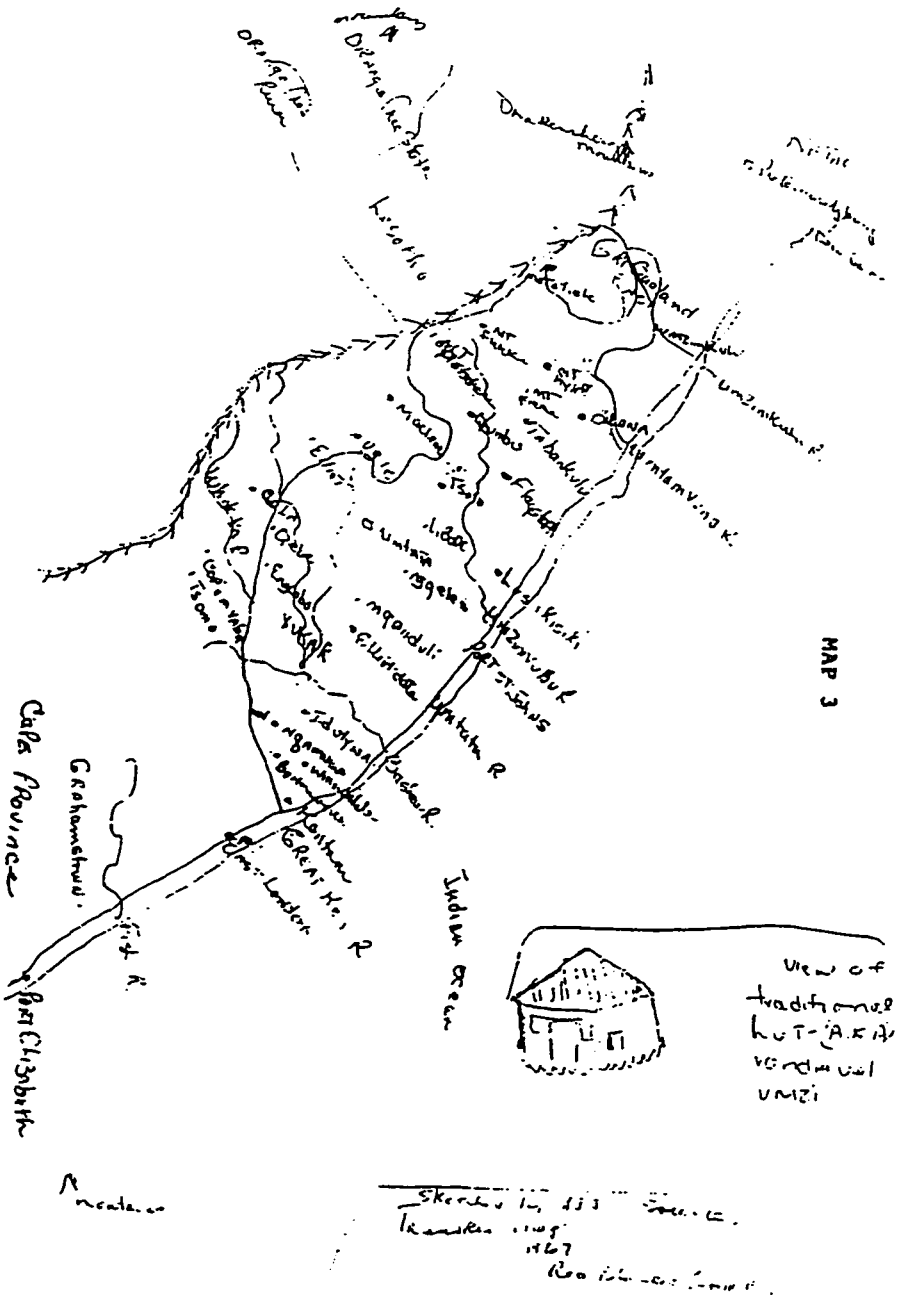


From: Raum and de Jager
"Transition and Chcange in a Rural Community
A Survey of Acculturation in the Ciskei"
(1972)

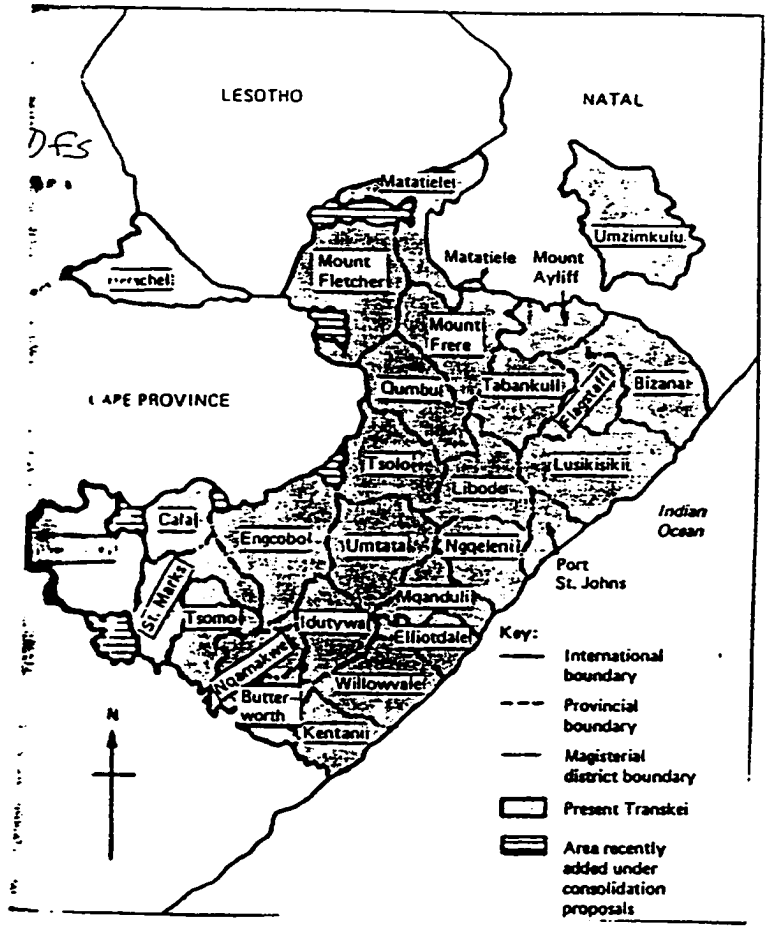
MAP 2: EASTERN FRONTIER (1778)



MAP 3: EASTERN CAPE SKETCH-TRANSKEI (1967)

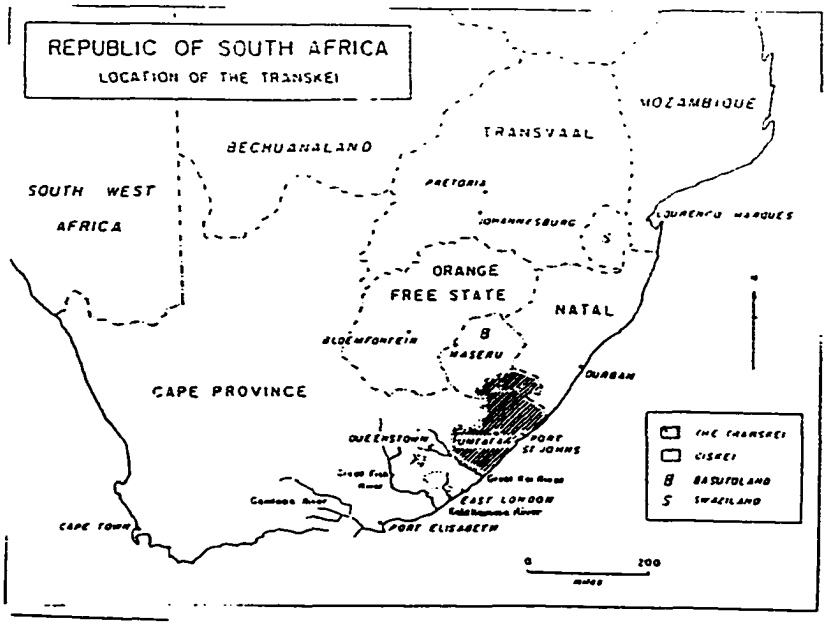


MAP 4: TRANSKEI at INDEPENDENCE

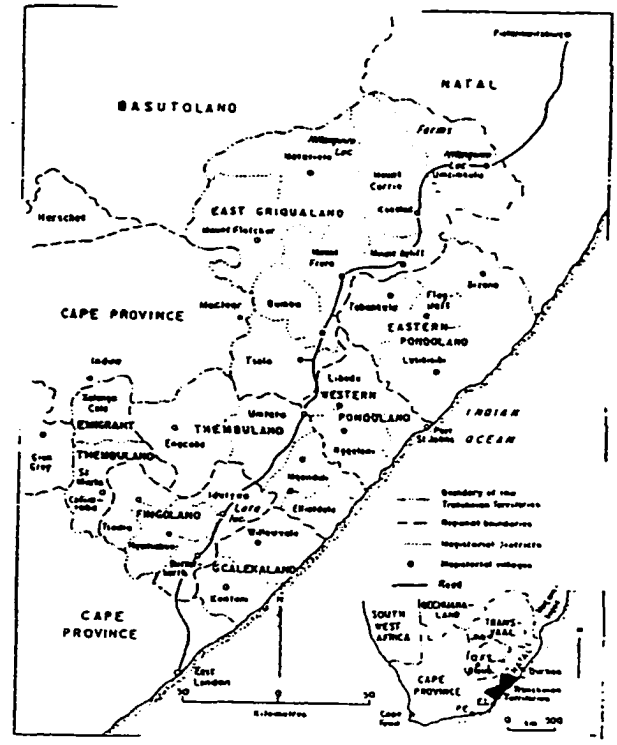


From: Karis, Carter, Stoltz (1967)

MAP 5: TRANSKEI-CHANGES in EASTERN CAPE



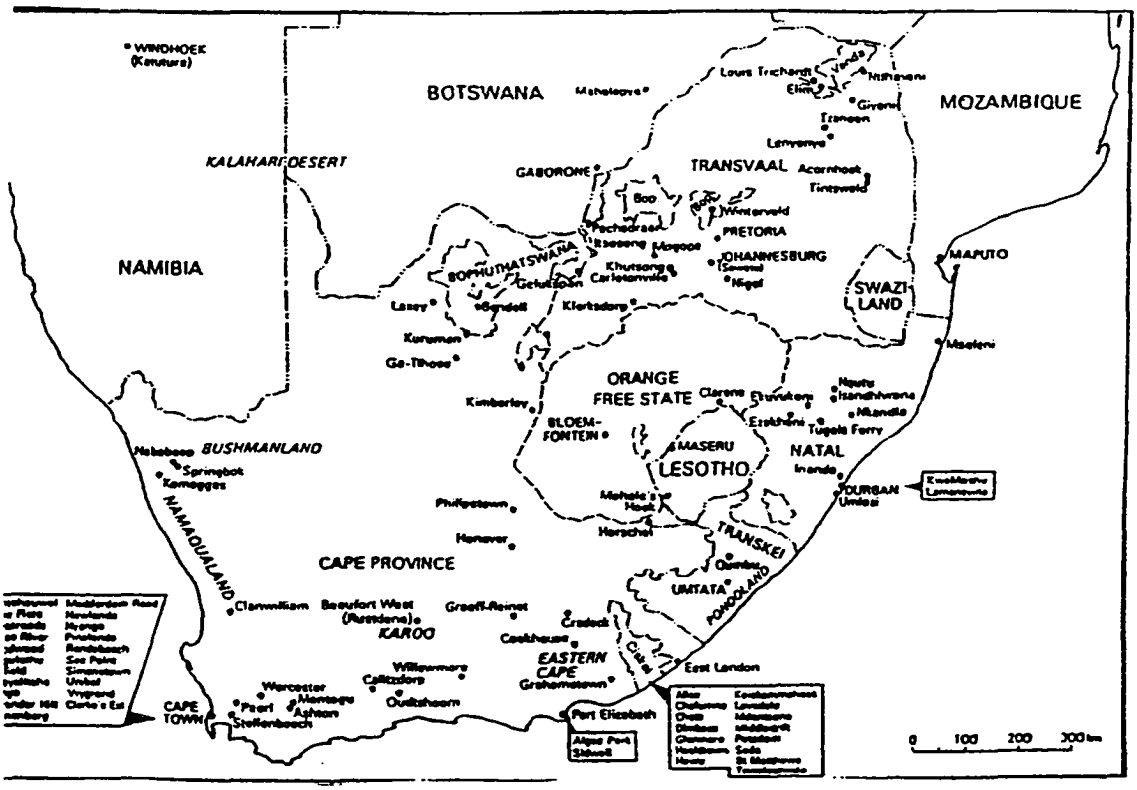
Source: Carter, Karis, Stoltz (1967)



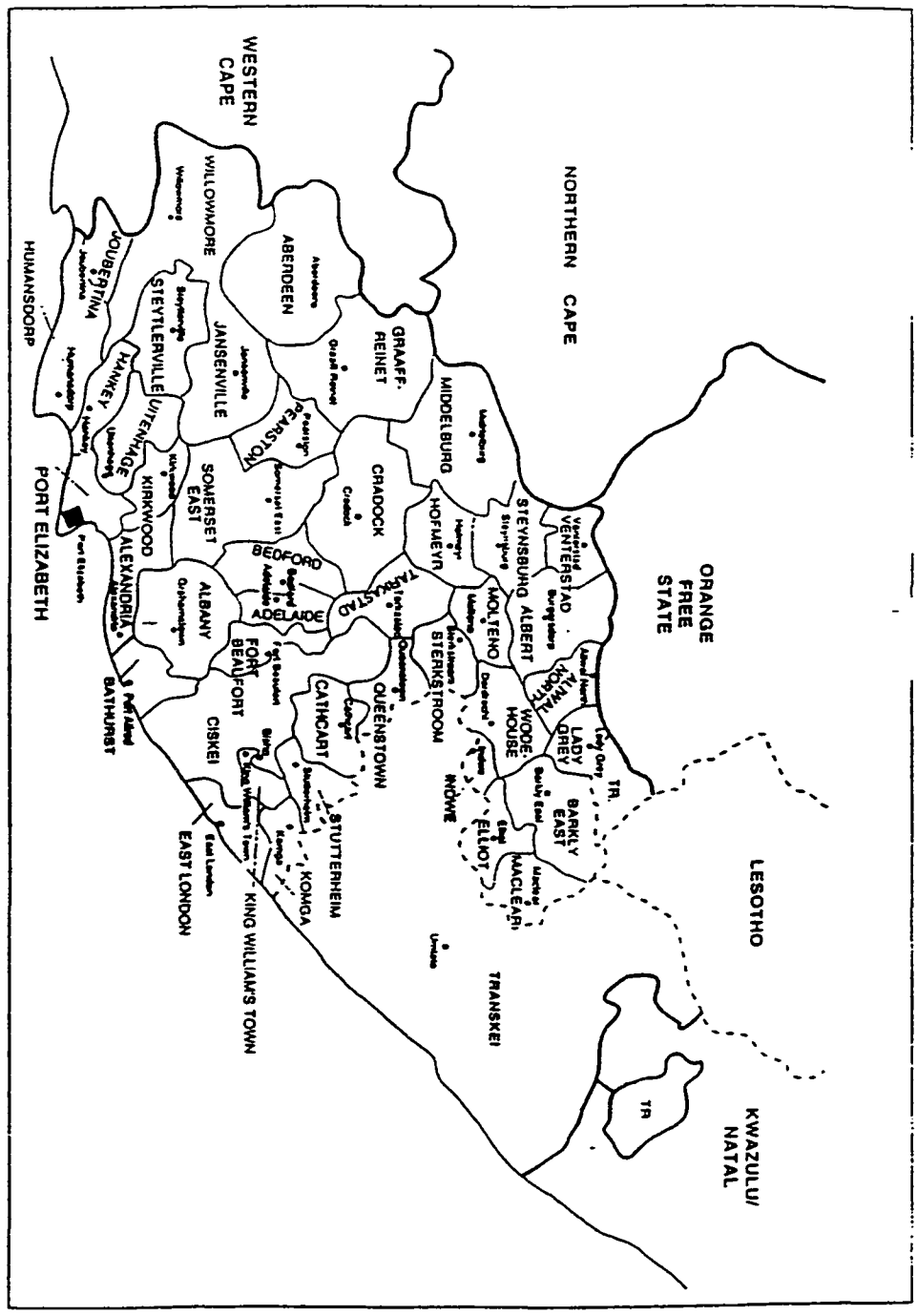
Source: Belnert, Bundy (1987)

Transkeian Territories, c. 1913

MAP 6: SOUTHERN AFRICA

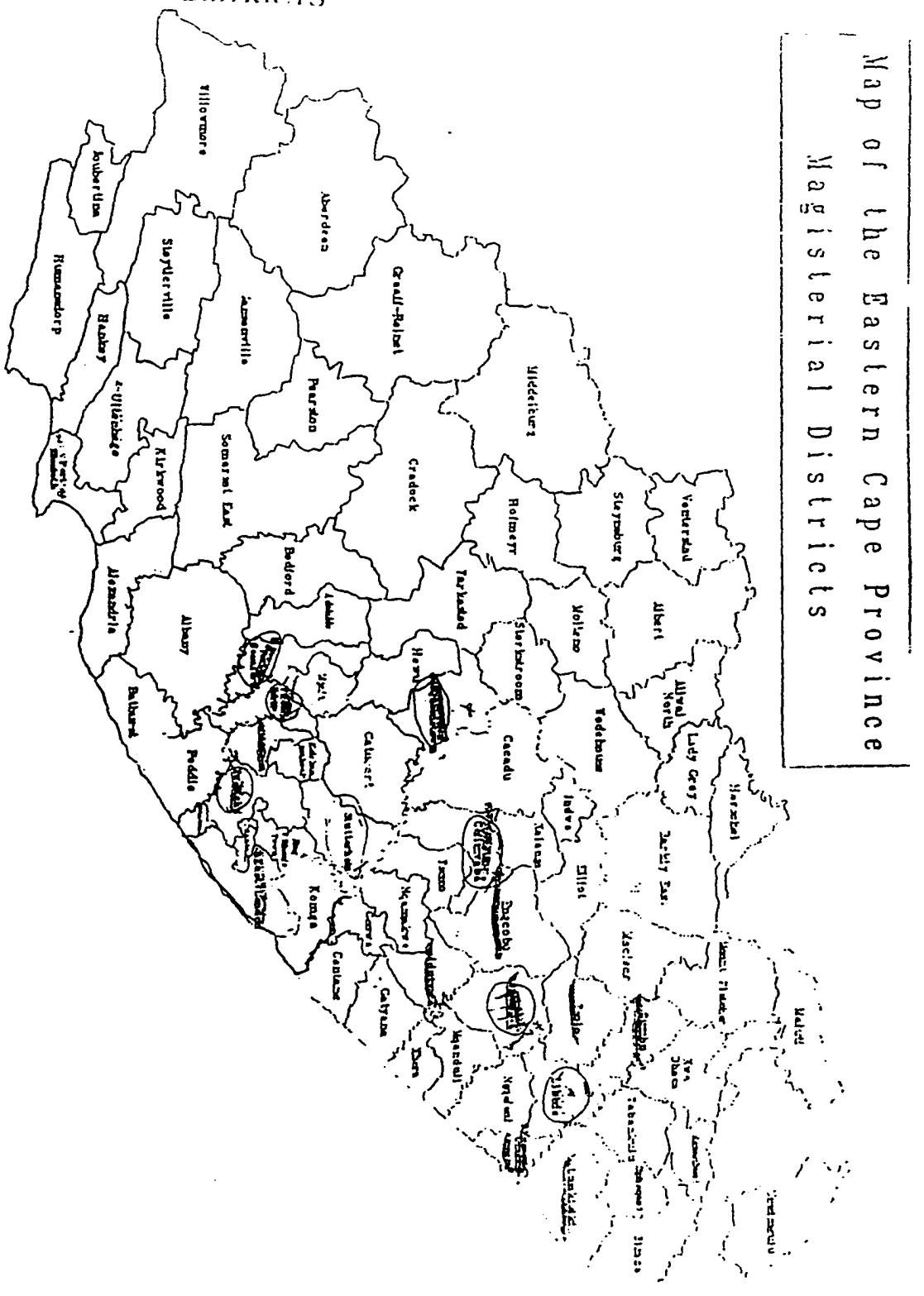


MAP 7: PROVINCES OF SOUTH AFRICA (1994)

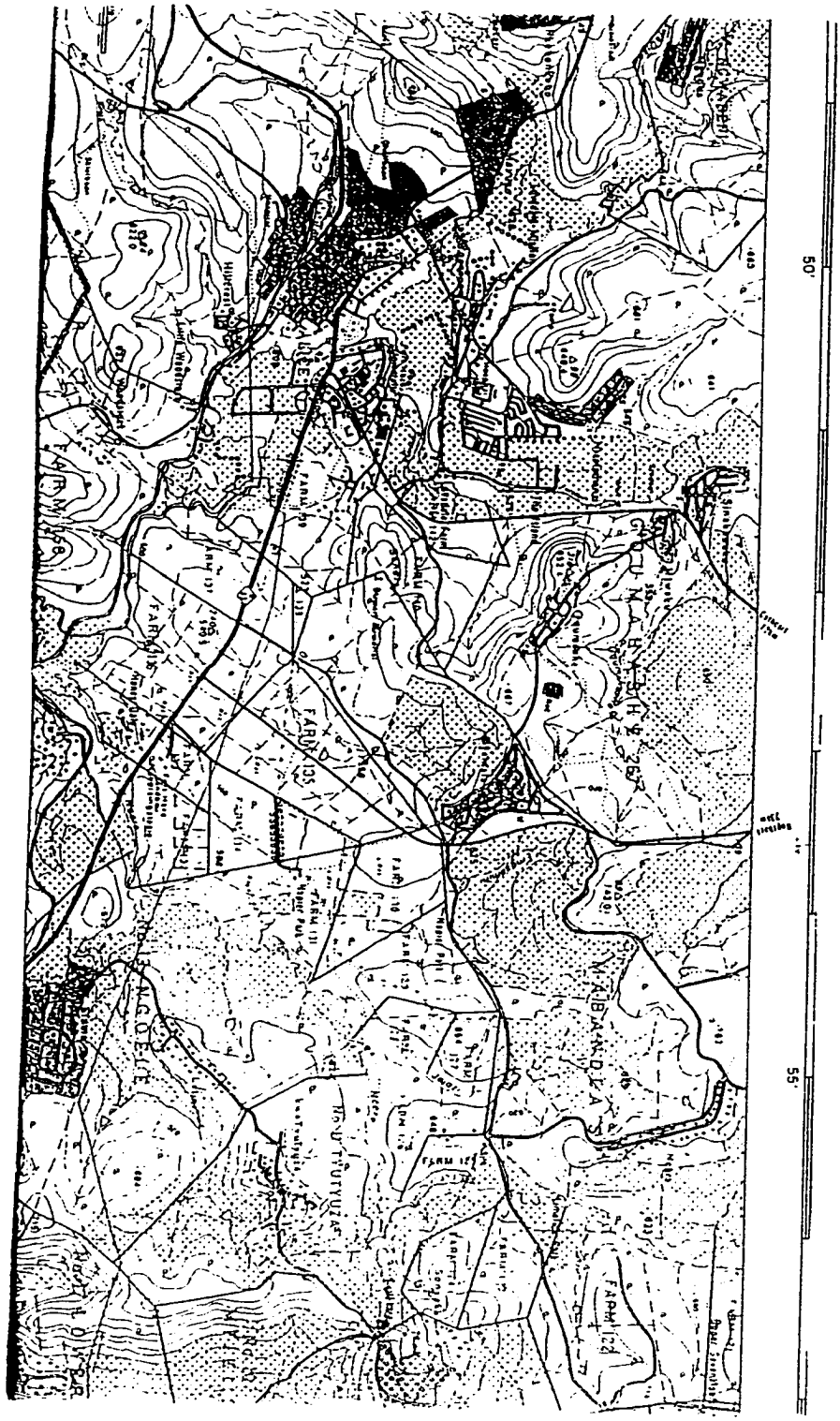


From: A Human Development Profile, South Africa's 9 Provinces (1994)

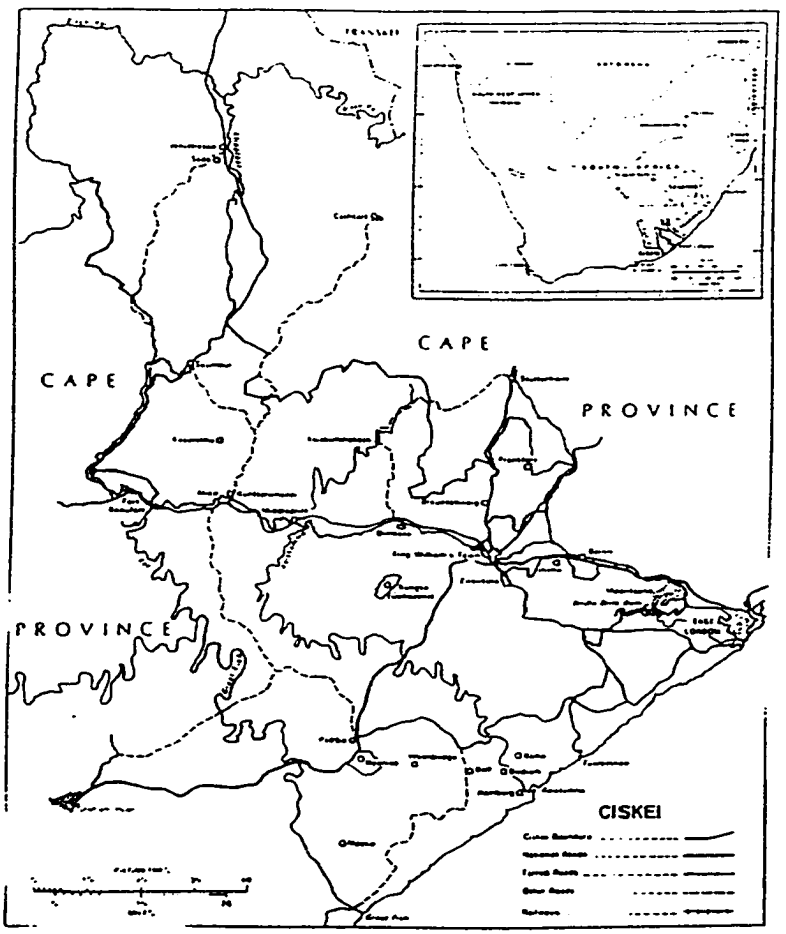
MAP 8: EASTERN CAPE PROVINCE-MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS



MAP 9: EASTERN CAPE INTERVIEW LOCATIONS (ALICE)

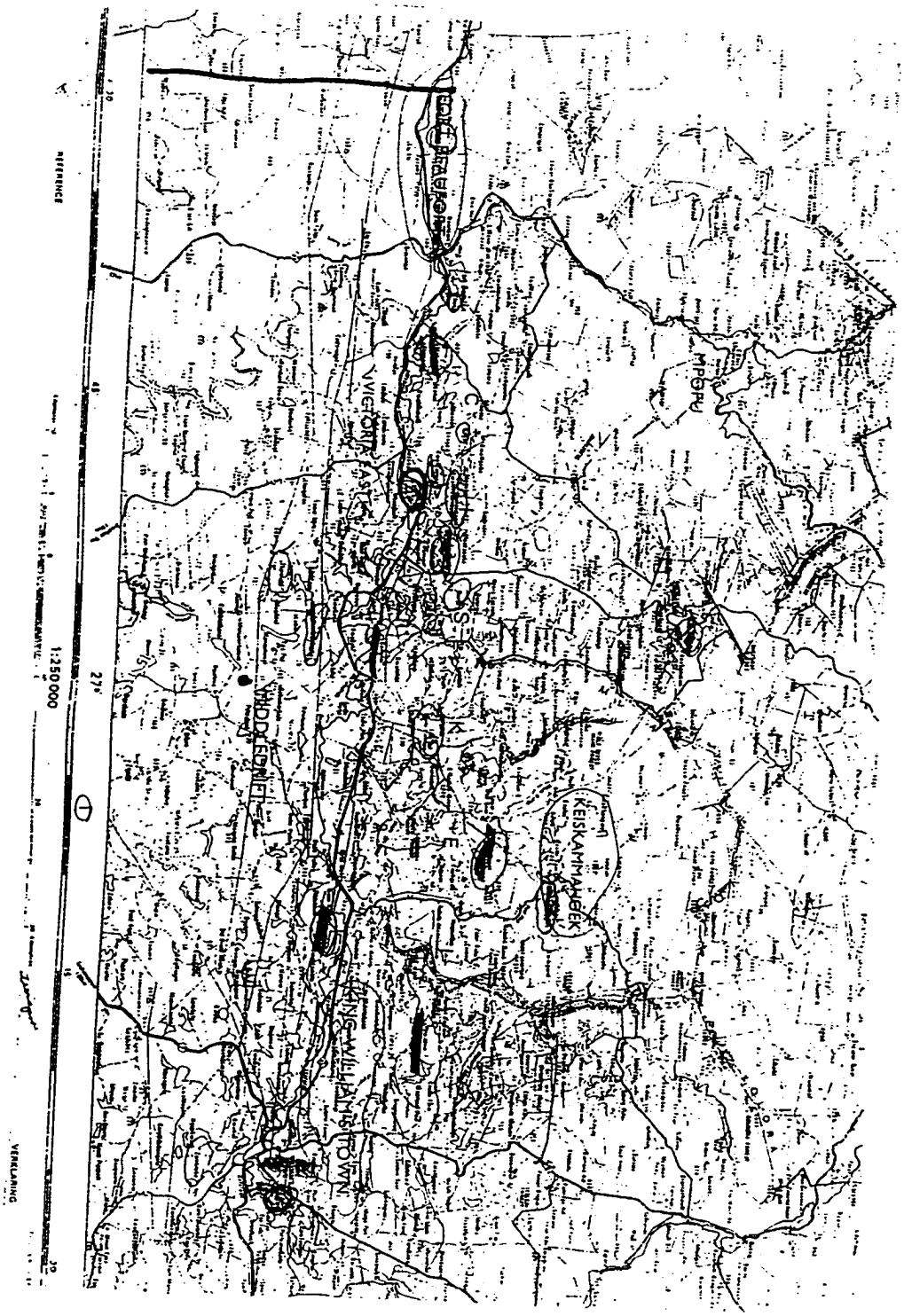


MAP 10: CISKEI (at INDEPENDENCE) 1981



From: Charton (1981)

MAP 11: ALICE (VICTORIA EAST DISTRICT)



BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adam, Herbert & Moodley, Kogila
1993 *The Opening of the Apartheid Mind: options for the new South Africa.* London: Berkley Press.

———
1986 *South Africa Without Apartheid: Dismantling Racial Domination.* Berkley: University Press.

Asad Talad (ed.)
1993 *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter.* New York: Humanities Press.

Bam, B.
1988 "Priorities of Women in South Africa", in *Speaking of Faith: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Women, Religion, and Social Change.* Eck and Jains (Eds.). New Dehli: Kaili for Women.

Barth, Fredrick (ed.)
1969 *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference.* Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

Bay, Edna & Hofkin, M.
1976 *Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change.* Standford: Stanford University Press.

Beinart, Wm. & Colin Bundy
1987 *Hidden Struggles in Rural South African Politics and Popular Movement in the Transkei and Western Cape, 1890-1930.* Berkely: University of California Press.

Benston, M.
1969 "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation", in *Monthly Review* 21: 13-27.

Berger, Iris
1981 *Threads of Solidarity: Women in South African Industry, 1900-1980.* Bloomington: Indiana University.

Berger, Iris & Robertson, Claire (Eds.)
1986 *Women and Classes in Africa.* New York: African Publication.

Black, N. & Backer, A.
1981 *Women and Change: Equity Issues in Development.* Beverly Hills California: Sage Press.

Blakey, Michael
1981 "Stress Coping in a Black British Community: Affects of Social Organization on Cognition, Health, and Culture Change", in *American Association of Physical Anthropology.*

Blondel, Alain & Lamb, Sheena
1985 *The Parrot's Egg.* Johannesburg: Raven Press.

Blumberg, Rae
1979 *Women and the Wealth of Nations: Theory and Research in Gender and Global Development.* New York: Praeger.

———
1984 "A General Theory of Gender Stratification", in *Sociological Theory.* San Francisco. Jossey-Bass.

Boserup, Ester
1970 *Women's Role in Economic Development.* London: Alen &. Uniwin.

Broster, Joan
1967 *Red Blanket Valley.* Johannesburg: Hugh Keartland.

Bozzoli, Belinda, Mmantho Nktsoe
1991 *Women of Phokeng: Consciousness, Life Strategy and Migrancy in South Africa, 1900-1983.* Johannesburg: Ravan *Press.*

Bradford, Helen
1978 "Women, Gender and Colonialism: Rethinking the History of the British Cape Colony and Its Frontier Zone, 1886-1870", in *Journal of African History*, Vol. 37, 351-370.

Briggs, Charles
1995 *Learning How to Ask: A Sociolinguistic Appraisal of the Role of the Interview in Social Science Research.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bryson, Judy
"Women and Agriculture in Sub-Saharan Africa: Implications for Development (An Exploratory Study)", in *Journal of Development.* Vol. 17, No. 3: 29-46.

Budd, Richard & Thorp, Robert
1967 *Content Analysis of Communications.* New York: Macmillan Company.

Budlender, Debbie
1999 "The Debate Over Household Headship", a discussion paper, Statistics South Africa, 1-15.

_____
1999 "Poverty and Inequality in South Africa", Statistics South Africa.

Buhrmann, M. Vera
1984 *Living in Two Worlds: Communication Between a White Healer d and Her Black Counterparts.* Cape Town, Pretoria: Human & Rousseau.

Bundy, Colin
1979 *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry.* Berkley, Los Angeles: UCLA Press.

Carter, Gwendolyn; Karis, T. & Stutlz, N.
1967 *South Africa's Transkei: The Politics of Domestic Colonialism.* Evanston: Northwestern University Press.

Cassell, John
1976 "The Contribution of the Social Environment to Host Resistance" in *American Journal of Epidemiology*, Vol. 104, No. 2, 107-123.

Charton, Nancy (Ed.)
1980 *Ciskei Economics and Politics in a South African Homeland.* London: Croom Helm.

Chilcote, Ronald
1984 *Theories of Development and Underdevelopment.* Boulder, Colorado: and London: Westview Press.

Cobb, Sidney
1994 "Social Status and the Health of Families: A Model" in *Social Science Medicine*, Vol. 39, No. 12, 1605-1613.

Cohen, Ronald
1978 "Ethnicity: Problem and Focus in Anthropology" in *Annual Review Anthropology*, Vol. 7, 379-403.

Comaroff, Jean & Comaroff, John
1992 *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination.* Boulder Colorado and London: Westview Press.

Comaroff, John (Ed.)
1980 *The Meaning of Marriage Payments.* London and New York: Academic Press.

Comaroff, Jean
1985 *Body of Power Spirit of Resistance: The Cultural History of a South African People.* Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Crandon, L. & Shepard, B.
Women, Enterprise and Development. Massachusetts: Pathfinder Foundation.

Crause, H.L. (Ed.)
1982 *The Ciskei: Is Welfare and Social Services.* Port Elizabeth: University of Port Elizabeth.

Crock, J.
"Deference and Dependence: A Note on the Self-Imagery of Domestic Servants in the Political Economy of South Africa", *Review of Africa Political Economy*, Vol. 24, No. 1: 69.

Dartnell, T., Modiba, P., Porteus, K., & Viljoen, E.
1999
"Transforming South Africa's Mental Health Care System: Contextualizing the Deinstitution Debate", in *Indicator South Africa*, Vol. 15, No. 4: 74-99.

Davenport, T.R.H.
1977
South Africa: A Modern History. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

1998
The Transfer of Power in South Africa. Cape Town: David Philip.

Dean, Alfred & Lin, Nan
1977
"The Stress-Buffering Role of Social Support", in *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, Vol. 165, No. 6.

DeVos, P.J. (Ed.)
1970
A Socio-Economic and Educational Survey of the Bantu Residing in the Victoria East, Middledrift and Zweliwisha Areas of the Ciskei. Human Sciences Research Council, Republic of South Africa.

Dennis, Carolynne
1988
"Women in African Labour History", in *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, Vol. XXIII, 1-2.

American Psychiatric Association
1994
Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders. Washington, D.C.

Dressler, William
1994
"Social Status and the Health of Families: A Model", in *Social Science Medicine*, Vol. 39, No. 12: 1605-1613.

Eberstadt, N.
1988
"Poverty in South Africa", in *Optima*, Vol. 36, No. 1: 20- 33.

Emerson, Robert, Fretz, I., & Shaw, L.
1995
Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Erasmus, Janine
1994
South Africa's Nine Provinces: A Human Development Profile. Development Bank of Southern Africa.

Eriksen, Thomas
1993
Ethnicity and Nationalism. London: Pluto Press.

Etienne, M. & Leacock, E.
1980
Women and Colonization: Anthropological Perspectives. New York: Praeger Press.

Friede, Morton
1967
The Evolution of Political Society: an essay in Political Anthropology. New York: Random House.

Friedman, Jonathan
1989
"Culture, Identity, and World Process", in *Review*, XII, Winter: 51-69.

———
1994
"The Past in the Future: History and Development of Politics & Identity", in *American Anthropology*, No. 4, 837-859.

Fredrickson, George
1981
White Supremacy: A Comparative Study in America and South Africa. New York: Oxford Press.

Frizzetti, Lina
1985
"Farm and Hearth: Rural Women in a Farming Community" in W*omen, Work and Ideology in the Third World*. Tavistock Publishers.

Geertz, Clifford
1992
The Interpretation of Culture. New York: Basic Books.

Gladwin, C. (Ed.)
1991
Structural Adjustment and African Woman Farmers. Gainsesville: University of Florida Press.

Glenn, E.
1988
"Racial Ethnic Women's Labour: The Intersection of Race, Gender and Class Oppression", in *Review of Radical Political Economics*. Vol.17, No. 3, 80-108.

Gluckman, Max
1940
"The Kingdom of the Zulus of South Africa", in *African Political System*, Meyers Fortes and Evans Pritchard (Eds.) London.

Goodman, Alan; Thomas, Brooke; Swedlund, Alan, & Armelagos
1989
"Biocultural Perspectives on Stress in Prehistoric, Historical and Contemporary Population Research", in *Yearbook of Physical Anthropology*, 31: 169-202.

Goodwin, J.
1984
Cry Amandla: South African Women and the Question of Power. Johannesburg: Africana Publishers.

Gordon, R.J. & Spiegel, A.D.
1993 "Southern Africa Revisited", in *Annual Review Anthropology*, 83-105.

Haleb, Afshar.
1991 *Women Development and Survival in the Third World.* Essex: Longman Group LTD.

Hall, Robert & Stack, Carol (Eds.)
1982 *Holding on to the Land, Kinship, Ritual, Land Tenure, and Social Policy in the Rural South.* Georgia: University of Georgia Press.

Hall, Thomas
1984 "Lessons of Long-Term Change for Comparative and Historical Society of Ethnicity", in *Current Perspectives in Social Theory*, Vol. 5, 121-144.

Hammond-Tooke, W.D.
1965 "Segmentation and Fission in Cape Nguni Political Units", in *Africa*, Vol. 35, No. 2: 143-166.

Harley, S. & Rushing, T.
Women in Africa and the African Diaspora. Washington D.C.: Howard University Press.

Harris, Betty J.
1990 "Ethnicity and Gender in the Global Periphery: A comparison of Basotho and Navajo Women", in *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 14: 15-38.

———
1993 *The Political Economy of the Southern African Periphery: Cottage Industries, Factories, and Female Wage Labor in* Swaziland Compared. London and New York: Macmillan and St. Martin's Press.

Harsch, Ernest
1986
Apartheid's *Great Land Theft*. New York: Pathfinder Press.

Hickson, Joyce & Marten, S.
1993
"The Plight of Black South African Women Domestics: Providing the Ultra-Exploited with Psychologically Empowering Mental Health Services", in *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 1: 109.

Hill-Rankin, L., and Bates, M.
1994
"Control, Culture, and Chronic Pain", in *Social Science Medicine*, Vol. 39, No. 5: 629-645.

Hinkle, Lawrence
1961
"Ecological Observations Between the Relations of Physical and Mental Illness and the Social Environment", in *Psychosomatic Medicine*
Vol.23, No. 4, 289-296.

Hirschowitz, Ros & Orkin, Mark
1997
"Trauma and Mental Health in South Africa", in *Social Indicators Research*, No. 41: 169-182.

Hobsbawn, Eric (Ed.)
1986
The Invention of Tradition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hopa, M., Simbayi, L.C., & du Toit, C.D.
1998
"Perceptions on integration of Traditional and Western Healing in the in the New South Africa", in *South Africa Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 28, No. 1, 8-14.

Husaine, Baqur & Neff, James Alan
1981
"Social Class and Depression Symptomatology: The Role of Life Change, Events and Locust of Control", in *Journal of Nervousness and Mental Disease, Vol. 169, No. 10.*

Hunter, Monica
1979 *Reaction to Conquest: Effects of Contact with Europeans on the Pondo of South African*___
Cape Town: David Philip.

———
1963 *Langa: A Study of Social Groups in an African Township.* Cape Town: Oxford Press.

——
1951 *Good Company: A Study of Nyakua's Age-Village.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ingqumbo, Yeminyanya
1980 *A. C. Jordan, The Wrath of the Ancestors.* Alice: Lovedale Press.

Izzard, Wendy
1985 "Migrants and Mothers: Case-Studies from Botsawana", in *Journal* of *Southern African Studies,* Vol. 11, No. 2, April.

Jacobson, David
1987 "Models of Stress and Meaning of Unemployment: Reactions to Job Loss Among Technical Professionals", in *Social Science_ Medicine,* Vol. 24, No. 1, 13-21.

Johnson, Walter
1994 *Dismantling Apartheid: A South African Town in Transition.* London: Routledge.

Kayongo-Male, & Onyango, Philista
1986 *The Sociology of the African Family.* London and New York: Longman.

Kertzer, David
1984 "Anthropology and Family History", in *Journal of Family History,* Vol. 9, Fall (201-216).

Khabela, Gideon
1996 *The Struggle of the Gods: A Study in Christianity and the African Culture.* Alice: Lovedale Press.

Kisekka, Mere
1981 "Gender and Mental Health in Africa", in *Women and Mental_ Health in Africa*

Klasen, Stephen
1997 "Poverty, Inequality and Deprivation in South Africa: An Analysis of the 1993 SALDRU Survey", in the *Journal of Social Indicators Research*, No.44: 51-9.

Krige, Jensen & Krige, J.D.
1943 *The Realm of the Rain-Queen*: A Study of the Pattern of the Lovedu Society. Oxford: Oxford Press.

Krog, Antijie
1998 *Country of My Skull*. Johannesburg: Random House.

Little, Kenneth
1973 *African Women in Towns: An Aspect of Africa's Social_ Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lapping, Brian
1986 *Apartheid: A History*. London: Grafton Books.

Liem, Ramsey & Liem, Joan
1979 "Social Support and Stress: Some General Issues and Their Applications to the Problems of Unemployment", Paper presented 1979, in *Mental Health and the Economy*, NIMH

Little, Michael; Thomas, Brooke & Gage, Timothy

"Reflections on Adaptive and Ecological Models", in *Trans Disciplinary Approaches*.

Mager, Anne K.
1999
Gender and the Making of a South African Bantusan: A Social History of the Ciskei, 1945-1959. Curry Oxford: David Philip.

Magubane, Bernard
1973
"The Xhosa in Town, Revisited: A Failure of Method and Theory", in, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 75.

——
1971
"A Critical Look at Indices Used in the Study of Social Change in Colonial Africa", in *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 12, No. 4-5: Oct-December.

——
1974-75
"The Continuing Class Struggle in South Africa", in Studies in *Race Relations and Nations Center*, International Race Relations, Vol. 6 No. 3-4

Mallaby, Sebastian
1993
After Apartheid: The Future of South Africa. New York: Randall House.

Manning, Richard
1987
They Cannot Kill Us All: An Eyewitness Account of South Africa Today. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Marclissen, F.H.G. & Vingerhoets, A.J.J.M.
1988
"Stress Research: It's Present Status and Issues for Future Developments", in *Social Science Medicine*, Vol. 26, No. 3, 279-291.

Mark, Karl & Engels, F.
1958
"The Manifesto of the Communist Party", *in Selected Works in Two Volumes*, Moscow: Foreign Language Publication House.

Mayer, Phillip
1971 *Townsmen and Tribesmen*. Cape Town: Oxford Press.

Mathabane, Mark
1987 *Kaffir Boy: A True Story of a Black Youth's Coming Up in Apartheid South Africa. An Autobiography.* Blum Book.

Matthews, Z. K.
1983 *Freedom For My People*: *The Autobiography of Z.K. Matthews. Southern Africa, 1901-1968*. Cape Town: David Phillip.

Mbeki, Govan
1991 *The Prison Writings of Govan Mbeki: Learning from Robben Island.*

Mbete, A.H.N
1992 "The Effects of South African Domestic Workers Union on Alice Employer-Employee Relationships" (*Unpublished Thesis BA Com_* Honors). Alice: University of Fort Hare.

Mechanic, Davis
1973 "Health and Illness in Technological Societies", in *Hastings*.

Meena, Rugh (Ed.)
1992 *Gender in Southern Africa*; *Conceptual and Theoretical Issues.* Harare: Sapes.

Meer, Fatima (Ed.)
1994 "Women and Poverty in the 1990's: The Responses of Urban Women in South Africa", in *UNESCO*, (13-38).

———
1997 *Women, Land and Authority: Perspectives from South Africa.* Claremont South Africa; David Philip.

Mkhabela, R., Ferreire, R., & Khumalo.
1998 "Traditional Healers Mental Illness", in *Nursing News (South , Africa)*, Dec. 1997/Jan. 1998, 44: 46.

Mlisa, N.L. & Kehler, J.
1997 "Psychological Crisis of Women in South Africa: A Review of Pre-and Post-Apartheid Era", (Unpublished). Presented at Conference, University of Pittsburgh, May.

Mndende, Nokuzda
1997 "African Religion, Women, and the Colonisation of Mind" in *Bulletin*, June. 8:14.

Moerdyk, Donald
1981 *Anti-Development: South Africa and Bantusans*. France: UNESCO Press.

Moeller, Valerie (Ed.)
1997 "South Africa's Emergent Social Indicators Movements" in *Journal of Social Indicators Research*, No.41:1-14.

Mpambane, S.A.
1994 "Southern African Labour and Development Research Unit Project for Statistics on Living Standards and Development", in *Poverty Profile of the Transkei Region*, August.

Murray, Colin
1981 *Families Divided: The Impact of Migrant Labour in Lesotho.* Cambridge: Cambridge Press.

——
1995 "Migrant Labour and Changing Family Structure in the Rural Periphery of Southern Africa", in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 2, June.

Nan Lin, Dean, Alfred, Ensel, Walter
1986 "Social Support, Life Events, and Depression", in *Academic Press*, Harcourt Brace Javanovitchy, Publishers New York.

Ntantala, Phyllis
1993 *A Life's Mosaic: The Autobiography of Phyllis Ntantala.* Berkeley: UCLA Press.

Natross, Nicoli
1967 *Street Trading in Transkei: The Politics of Domestic Colonialism.* Evanston: Northwestern University Press.

Ngubane, Harriet
1987 *Zulus of Southern Africa*. Vero Beach Florida: Rourke Publications.

Ogundipe, Leslie
1994 *Re-Creation of Ourselves: African Women and Critical Transformation*. New Jersey: African World Press.

O'Laughlin, Bridget
1998 "Missing Men? The Debate Over Rural Poverty and Women-Headed Households in Southern Africa", in *Journal of Peasant_ Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 2, January: 1-48.

Page, D. (Compiled by)
1982 *Strategy and Guidelines for the Physical Development of the Republic of Ciskei*. Institute for Planning Research University of Stellenbosch.

Paton, Alan
1987 *Cry, the Beloved Country*. New York: Collier, McMillan.

Patterson, Davis K. & Hartwig, Gerald
1978 "The Disease Factor; An Introductory Overview", in *Disease in African History: An Introductory Survey and Case Studies*. Durham: Duke University.

Peters, Pauline
1983 "Gender, Developmental Cycles and Historical Process: A Critique and Recent Research on Women in Botswana", in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 1, Oct.

Peires, J.B.
1987 *The House of Phalo: A History of the Xhosa People in the days of Their Independence*. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Pollock, Kristian
"On the Nature of Social Stress: Production of a Modern Mythology" in *Social Science Medicine*, Vol. 26, No. 3, 388-392.

Pons, Valdo & Francis, Ray
1983 *Urban Social Research: Problems and Prospects.* London, Boston: Routledge & K. Paul.

Posel, Dori
1997 "Counting the Poor, Who gets what in which households", in 1997. *Agenda*, No. 3: 49-60.

Preston-Whyte, E.
1973 "Race, Attitudes and Behavior: The Case of Domestic Employment in South African Homes", in *African Studies*, Vol. 35: 71:89.

Quinn, Naomi
1977 "Anthropological Studies in Women's Status", in *Annual Review Anthropology*, 6: 181-225.

Qunta, Christine
1994 *Women in Southern Africa. London:* Allison and Bushby, LTD.

Radcliffe-Brown, A. R.
1952 *Structure and Function in Primitive Society.* London:
1953 Cambridge Press.

Ramphele, Mamphela
1989 "The Dynamics of Gender Politics in the Hostels of Cape Town Africa: Another Legacy of the South African Migrant Labour in System", in *Journal of Southern Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 3, April.

———
1993 *A Bed Called Home: Life in the Migrant Labour Hostels of Capetown*. South Africa. Capetown: David Philip Publications.

Raum, O.F. and de Jager
1972 *Transition and Change in a Rural Community: A Survey of Acculturation in the Ciskei*. Alice: Fort Hare University Press.

Reed, Evelyn
1975 *Women's Evolution from Martilineal Clan to Patriarchal Family*. New York: Pathfinder Press.

Rex, John (Ed.)
1981 *Apartheid and Social Research*. Paris: UNESCO.

Rich, Paul
1980 "The Origin of Apartheid Ideology: The Case of Ernest Stubbs Transvaal Native administration", in *African Affairs*, Vol. 79, 315, April: 1902-1932.

Rodney, Walter
1982 *How Europe* Underdeveloped Africa. Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press.

Ross, Robert
1983 *Cape of Torments: Slavery and Resistance in South Africa.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Sampson, H.F.
1961 *The White Faced Huts*. South Africa: Gocott and Sherry.

Schafer, Catherine; Coyne, James; & Lazarus, Richard
1981 "The Health Related Functions of Social Support", in *Journal of* Behavioral Medicine, Vol. 4, No. 4.a,

Scott, A.
1986 "Women and Industrialization: Examining the Female Marginaliztion Thesis", in *Journal of Development Studies,* Vol. 22, No. 3, 649-680.

Saphire, Hillary & Edgar, Robert

"Divine Madness in the Eastern Cape: The Case of Noneta, c. 1918- 1918-1935" University of London and Howard University. N.D.

Seedat, Aziza
1984 *Crippling a Nation: Health in Apartheid South Africa.* International Defence and Fund for Southern Africa. London: APA

Selye, H.
1950 *The Stress of Life.* New York: McGraw Hill.

Sharp, John & Spiegel, Andrew
1980 "Women and Wages. Gender and the Control of Income in Farm and Bantusan Household", in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 3, September: 527-549.

Shephard, R.H.W.
1971 *Lovedale South Africa, 1824-1955.* Alice: Lovedale Press.

Smith, David
1982 *Living Under Apartheid.* London: Uniwin.

Solomon, Frank
1980 "Indirect Rule and the Reintegration of Tradition: Abdullah of Yuri", in *Africans Studies Review*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 1; April.

Sono, Themba
1993 "African Family and Marriage Under Stress", in *Collection of Conference Papers.* Pretoria: Centre for Development Analysis.

Southall, Roger
1983 South Africa's Transkei: The Poliltical Economy of An Independent Bantusan'. New York: *Monthly Review Press.*

Spangenberg, J. & Pieters, C.
1995 "Stressful Life Events and Psychological Status in Black South African Women", in *Journal of Social Psychology,* Vol. 135, No. 4, 439.

Stack, Carol
1974 *All Our Kin: Strategies for Survival in a Black Community.* New York: Harper & Row.

Strom, Gabriele
1978 *Migration and Development: Dependence in South Africa. A Study of Lesotho.* Sweden: University of Uppsala.

Sutltz, Newell
1979 *Transkei's Half Loaf: Race Separatism in South Africa.* New Haven Yale University Press.

Sussman, Linda; Robins, Lee; Earls, Felton
1987 "Treatment-Seeking for Depression by Blacks and White Americans", in *Social Science Medicine*, Vol. 24, No. 3, 187-198.

Swartz, Sally
1995 "The Black Insane in the Cape, 1891-1920", in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 3, 399-415.

Switzer, Les & Scully P.
1995 "Power and Resistance in an African Society: The Ciskei Xhosa and the Making of South Africa", in *The International Journal of African Historical Studies,* Vol. 28, No.2, 281.

Taylor, Vivien "Economic Gender Injustice: The Macro Picture", in
1997 *Agenda.* No. 3: 9-25.

Thomas, Nicholas
1994 *Colonialism's Culture.* New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Thompson, Leonard
1990 *A History of South Africa.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Thompson, Richard
1989 *Theories of Ethnicity: A Critical Appraisal.* Greenwood Press.

Tiane, Susan
1989 "Gender, Work and World Capitalism: Third World Women's Role Development in Analyzing Gender", in *A Handbook of Social* . Science Research, 216-243.

Uhlig, Mark
1986 *Apartheid in Crisis*. New York: Vintage-Random House.

van Den Berghe, Pierre
1978 "Race and Ethnicity; A Sociological Perspective", in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 4, 401.

van Gennep, Arnold
1960 *The Rites of Passage*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wallerstein, Immanuel
1974 "The Rise and Future Demise of the World Capitalist System: Concepts for Comparative Analysis", in *Society and History*. Sept.16: 387-415.

1974-1980 "Introduction : The Study of Social Change", in *The Modern World System I*. New York: Academic Press.

1979 *The Capitalist World Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Walker, Cheryl (Ed.)
1990 *Women and Gender in Southern Africa to 1945*. London: David Philip Publications.

Ward, Kathryn (Ed.)
1984 *Women in the World System: The Impact on Status and Fertility*. New York: Praeger.

1990 *Women Workers and Global Restructuring*. New York: ILR Press.

White, Martin
1978 *The Status of Women in Preindustrial Societies*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Wilson, Frances & Ramphele, M.
1989 *Uprooting Poverty: The South African Challenge. (Report for the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa)* New York: W.W. Norton & Company.

Wilson, Monica (Hunter)
1977 *For Men and Elders: Change in the Relations of Generations of Men and Women Among the Nyakyusa-Ngonde People*. New York Africana Press.

Wilson, Monica & Thompson, Leonard (Eds.)
1969 *The Oxford History of South Africa: South Africa to 1870,* Vol. I. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

——— 1971 *The Oxford History of South Africa: South Africa 1870-1976. Vol. II. Oxford:* Oxford University Press.

Worden, Nigel
1995 *Slavery in Dutch South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

——— 1995 *The Making of South Africa: Conquest, Segregation, and Apartheid.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Young, C.
1994 *The African Colonial State in Comparative Perspective.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Zenani, Nongenile M.
1992 *The World and the Word: Tales and Observations from the Xhosa Oral Tradition*. (Edited by Harold Scheub) Madison: University Wisconsin.

SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AND ARCHIVAL SOURCES

W.R. King
1853 *"Campaigning in Kaffirland, and Scenes and Adventures in the Kaffir War"* (Unpublished Journals of Mrs. King 1851-52), Archives, Fort Beaufort Museum.

Holliday, Herbert
1891-1897 *"On Lunatic Asylums"* (Unpublished Journal, Notes, Letters) Archives, Fort Beaufort Museum.

Medical Psychological Association
1929 *Towers Psychiatric Hospital Personnel, 1885 from "Handbook for Mental Nurses."* Reprinted in Martello Newsletter, No. 77:2-13, 1994.

South Africa Government
1954-55 *South African (Union) Commission for the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Areas Within the Union of South Africa. Summary of the Report of the Commission* [Tomlinson] University of Fort Hare, Alice. Government Printer Pretoria).

Raum, O.F. and deJager
1972 *Ciskei Household Survey*. Alice: Fort Hare University Press (Howard PIM Archives)

Ciskei Government
1981 *Ciskei Government Yearbook and Diary*. Ciskei: Official Gazette.

South Africa Government
1993 *Project for Statistics on Living Standards and Development South Africans Rich and Poor: Baseline Households Statistics*. Southern Africa Labour and Development Resource Unit.

1994 *October Household Survey. Eastern Cape Statistical PO 317.2.* Pretoria: Republic of South Africa, Central Statistical Services.

Development Bank
1994 *South Africa's Nine Provinces: A Human Development Profile.* Midrand: Development Bank of Southern Africa.

South Africa Government
1995-7 *Household Surveys*. Pretoria: Central Statistics Services.

1994 *White Paper on the Reconstruction and Development Programme*. Pretoria: Government of South Africa.

_____ *Key Indicators of Poverty in South Africa.*
1995 RDP Office: Pretoria.

_____ *Demographic Statistics.* Pretoria: Central Statistical Services.
1995

_____ *Marriages and Divorces. Statistical Release, PO 307*
1995-96 Pretoria: Statistics South Africa.

_____ *Draft White Paper for Social Welfare.* Ministry for Welfare and
1995 Popular Development. Pretoria: Census South Africa.

_____ *Statistics in Brief.* Pretoria: Central Statistical Services.
1996

_____ *Growth, Employment, and Redistribution Plan (GEAR).*
1996 Government of South Africa.

_____ *Demography: October Household Survey. Statistical Release.*
1997 *PO 317.2. Poverty and Inequality in South Africa-Summary Report.* Pretoria: Statistical South Africa.

SOUTH AFRICAN PERIODICALS

1997-1998 *Drum* Magazine. Issues No. 373-374. Johannesburg, South Africa.

1997-1998 Daily Dispatch Newspaper.

1997-1998 Mail & Guardian. Johannesburg, South Africa.