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Editorial

Journal of Social and Development Sciences (JSDS) is a scholarly journal that deals with the disciplines of social and development sciences. JSDS publishes research work that meaningfully contributes to the theoretical bases of contemporary developments in society, business and related disciplines. The work submitted for publication consideration in JSDS should address empirical and theoretical contributions in the subjects related to the scope of the journal in particular and allied theories and practices in general. The scope of JSDS includes: sociology, psychology, anthropology, economics, political science, international relations, linguistics, history, public relations, hospitality & tourism and project management. Author(s) should declare that work submitted to the journal is original, not under consideration for publication by another journal, and that all listed authors approve its submission to JSDS. It is JSDS policy to welcome submissions for consideration, which are original, and not under consideration for publication by another journal at the same time. Author (s) can submit: Research Paper, Conceptual Paper, Case Studies and Book Review. The current issue of JSDS consists of papers of scholars from South Africa, Lesotho and Ethiopia. Rethinking Artisanal Mining: The Lived Experiences of Rural Artisanal Mining Communities, Determinants of Market Outlet Choice for Smallholder Broiler Farmers, Understanding and Addressing Gender-Based Violence in Places of Worship, Exploring the Factors Contributing to Low Women Participation in the Film Industry and Apprenticeship as a Work-based Learning in Addis Ababa City Administration are some of the major practices and concepts examined in these studies. Journal received research submissions related to all aspects of major themes and tracks. All the submitted papers were first assessed, by the editorial team for relevance and originality of the work and blindly peer-reviewed by the external reviewers depending on the subject matter of the paper. After the rigorous peer-review process, the submitted papers were selected based on originality, significance, and clarity of the purpose. The current issue will therefore be a unique offer, where scholars will be able to appreciate the latest results in their field of expertise, and to acquire additional knowledge in other relevant fields.

Prof. Nek Kamal Yeop Yunus, Ph. D.
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PAPERS

JOURNAL OF SOCIAL AND DEVELOPMENT SCIENCES (JSDS)
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Rethinking Artisanal Mining: The Lived Experiences of Rural Artisanal Mining Communities in South Africa

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Abstract: In South Africa, colonialism and apartheid have left a legacy of a gendered, racially and geographically skewed extractive industry, in which many rural communities endowed with mineral resources face severe economic hardships, marginalization, and socio-cultural disorganization resulting from, among other things, land and mineral resource dispossession. Drawing on a broader doctoral study, this paper seeks to demonstrate the heterogeneity of artisanal mining practices as a response to many calls made by various scholars that there remains a need for greater attention to the complex social, economic and environmental factors underpinning the sector, especially in the South African context. It sheds light on the contextual nature of artisanal mining practices and the lived experiences of artisanal miners in rural South Africa. The study is qualitative in nature and is based on field research that includes in-depth interviews, site observations, and oral histories. Findings indicate that the marginalization of artisanal mining practices in South Africa stems from the history of mineral resources, land dispossession and displacement of indigenous mining practices. As a result, the study highlights the need to delve deeper into the contextualized land and mineral resource struggles and gendered and racialized dynamics that contribute to the marginalization of artisanal mining practices.

Keywords: *Artisanal mining, marginalization, mineral resources, exclusion.*

1. Introduction

The mineral-rich and underdeveloped communal areas of South Africa, which are classified as former 'homeland' territories, have now emerged as a significant focus for transnational industrial mineral extraction (Mnwana, 2015). However, many of these communities residing in close proximity to industrial mining operations encounter numerous challenges that significantly affect their livelihoods. The impact of these activities is felt in various ways, including loss of sovereignty, traditional wealth, and forced eviction from Indigenous land (Manamela, 2019). Artisanal mining commonly exists either in the vicinity of transnational mining operations or is conducted in old and abandoned mine sites dispersed throughout the country. Contrary to large-scale industrial mining, artisanal mining is conducted informally, on a small scale and is usually a community-driven type of mining (Ledwaba, 2017). In recent years, there has been a growing momentum worldwide to situate artisanal mining within the development agenda as a positive livelihood strategy due to its potential to contribute to poverty alleviation and ensure that communities on the ground equally benefit from the mineral wealth within their specific localities (Ledwaba & Mutemeri, 2018). However, this sector has been compounded by many challenges ranging from distorted access to mineral rights and land, poor regulation of the sector, and socio-environmental problems which will be discussed in detail in this paper.

Scholars point out that there has been a tendency to associate Artisanal and Small-scale Mining (ASM) with high-value minerals such as gold, diamonds and gemstones. While most ASM exploits high-value minerals on the continent, this is not the case in all African countries with ASM activities (Ledwaba & Mutemeri, 2018). The bulk of ASM activities in South Africa are linked to local livelihoods. These activities include the extraction of coal, semi-precious stones, platinum, industrial and construction materials, e.g., sand and clay mining, which are more prevalent in Mpumalanga, KwaZulu-Natal and Limpopo Province. The lack of documentation and journalistic coverage of this side of the sector has contributed to the scant understanding of the multifaceted dynamics of ASM and its peculiar needs. Scholars consider this aspect of the sector as a 'low-hanging fruit' in terms of the development and transformation of the ASM sector in South Africa (Ledwaba & Mutemeri, 2018). This study, therefore, contributes to this gap because it documents the lived experiences of individuals and community members engaged in traditional artisanal mining in Blaauwbosch, extracting coal and sand used for brick construction and other domestic purposes. The aim was to understand how communities residing in resource-endowed areas configure their livelihoods amid current economic crises, poverty, unemployment and deagrarianisation.

2. From Indigenous Mining to Artisanal Mining

The historical accounts of South African mining have long been centered around the discovery of gold and diamonds in the 1860s, but this narrative ignores compelling evidence of Indigenous mining activity that predates the supposed discovery. In fact, the evidence suggests that Indigenous South African communities had been mining for centuries before the arrival of European settlers, despite the prevailing belief that gold and diamonds were unknown to the local population before the European discovery of minerals (Davenport, 2013). The title of my Doctoral thesis, *Rethinking Artisanal Mining Practices: Nuances of Hegemony, Dispossession, and Resistance in Mining in Post-colonial South Africa,* The aim was to explore the historical accounts of artisanal mining, a practice that has re-emerged, transformed and reconceptualized over time. Artisanal mining has been historically perceived as an inherently 'primitive' practice, characterized by the use of primitive technologies (Labonne, 1996; Mamadou, 1995). This negative perception of the industry has persisted in popular media and academic discourse. However, over the last two decades, there has been a paradigm shift in the way artisanal mining is viewed, with the focus being on its potential to spur economic development. Discussions around employment, livelihood, poverty alleviation, and survival have emerged, challenging the notion that artisanal mining is a backward practice. Contemporary conceptualizations per the Department of Mineral Resources and Energy introduce concepts such as "traditional" and "customary" within the artisanal mining discourse. These dominant conceptions and perceptions about artisanal mining have substantially impacted how government, policymakers, and civil society perceive the practice.

Dispossession and Dislocation of Indigenous Mining: The legislation related to the mining industry and the history of racial discrimination in South Africa have been major contributors to the racial and gender disparities in mineral resource ownership. The discovery of minerals in South Africa in the 1880s resulted in the establishment of various regulations that governed the ownership of mineral wealth and profits from mineral extraction. These regulations subsequently created systemic inequalities in mineral resource governance and ownership, which have persisted over time. As Murombo (2013) contends, the regulatory frameworks established during the colonial era were oriented toward maximizing resource extraction. As a result, Black people were deemed unfit to own land and minerals and were forced to work in mines as cheap labor. The regulatory frameworks that were established during the colonial era were oriented towards maximizing resource extraction. As a result, Black people were systematically excluded from owning land and minerals and, instead, were forced to work in mines as cheap labor. The historical background of the mining industry holds great significance as it played a pivotal role in shaping the existing mining policies and legislation.

Extensive scholarship has comprehensively documented the enduring impacts of colonial dispossession, which are still evident in current issues surrounding poverty, land, and mineral resources. These scholars have interrogated the legacies of colonial dispossession with a specific focus on land and agrarian change and how these continue to shape and influence land politics in South Africa today (Bernstein, 2004; Ntsebeza, 2011; Hall, 2014; Capps, 2016; Cousins, 2019). Thus, (Helliker, Hendricks, & Ntsebeza, 2013) have argued that the structures of colonialism and apartheid are still evident in modern society, as evidenced by persistent racial disparities in land access and ownership. In addition, evidence shows that the laws enacted to dispossess Indigenous peoples of their land also served to reinforce mining regulations, which perpetuated the exploitation of natural resources and the subjugation of marginalized communities. Lanning & Mueller (1979) trace how the discovery of minerals was a pivotal turning point as it created mechanisms for eliminating African indigenous production. These authors argue that the influx of foreign mining companies and colonial powers resulted in the gradual elimination of traditional African production methods.

Mdluli (2019) postulates that the discovery of minerals stimulated the development of mechanisms, including laws intended to alienate South Africa's indigenous people gradually. When diamonds were discovered in Kimberly in 1870, it began the industrialization of South Africa. Mine operations required a significant supply of labor to facilitate this. Labor compounds or places near the mines were built to ensure an easily accessible and continuous supply of cheap African laborers (Vosloo, 2020). Dispossession was insufficient to secure maximum foreign exploitation of African minerals and a maximum supply of cheap labor. People had to be removed from the land as part of this dispossession. As long as Africans could secure their livelihoods through agriculture, more stringent measures were applied to ensure cheap labor availability. Such measures included the use of slave labor, taxation and restrictions on movement (Feinstein, 2005). This was possible because there

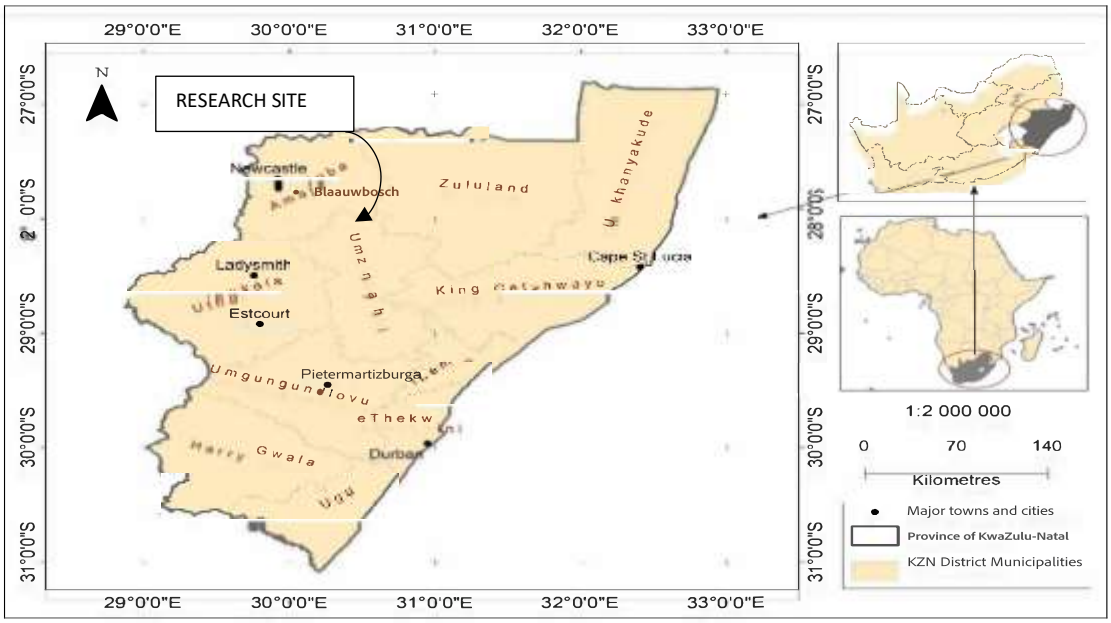
was already a large population of Africans without land and livelihoods, which could be exploited as labor supply in the mines. This occurred concurrently with the displacement of Indigenous communities in the Transvaal (the Griqua, Hora, and Tlhaping) from their ancestral lands (Maylam, 2017). The next section details the research methodology, processes and materials generated through fieldwork.

2. Methods

This is a qualitative case study conducted in Blaauwbosch (Figure 1), which is located in Newcastle, adjacent to the infamous colonial coalopolis of Dundee, situated in the northern part of the KwaZulu-Natal province. Although mining has declined dramatically in this region, it remains a significant part of the economy of Newcastle and the history of organized mining in the municipality. It has generated associated industries such as Arcelor Mittal and Kliprand Colliery, to name a few. Mining activities in this region include coal mining, brick clay, aggregate and sand mining. In several areas, mining has ceased through decommissioning or abandonment, but rehabilitation has either not taken place or is incomplete (Newcastle Municipality, 2016). Economically, Newcastle has a generally low-income population, with many people living in poverty and high levels of unemployment. The municipality has an estimated 44.4% number of people living in poverty within Amajuba District.

In terms of unemployment, an estimated 37.44% of the population is unemployed. Blaauwbosch is said to be amongst the wards with the highest concentration of unemployed (Newcastle Municipality, 2022). The study is based on field research that was conducted in Blaauwbosch, participants comprised artisanal miners, the surrounding communities and public officials. Data was collected using in-depth interviews, site observations, and oral histories. This research location is particularly unique because artisanal mining constitutes a tradition for this community, it is done communally, and women are heavily involved. Despite its growing footprint on rural economies in sub-Saharan Africa, communal artisanal mining has received scant attention in development and policy discourse. This study seeks to close this gap by documenting the lived experiences of artisanal miners.

Figure 1: Map of Blaauwbosch



The community of Blaauwbosch is said to be settled on unstructured farmland, which has gradually urbanized over time due to its organic spatial pattern. The settlement is deprived of essential municipal services such as piped water and sanitation (Newcastle Municipality, 2022). This region has few written records of traditional and communal mining practices. So far, the Blaauwbosch mine is the oldest open-cast mine in this region mined communally. There is also a limited historical account of how the community prospected coal in this area and

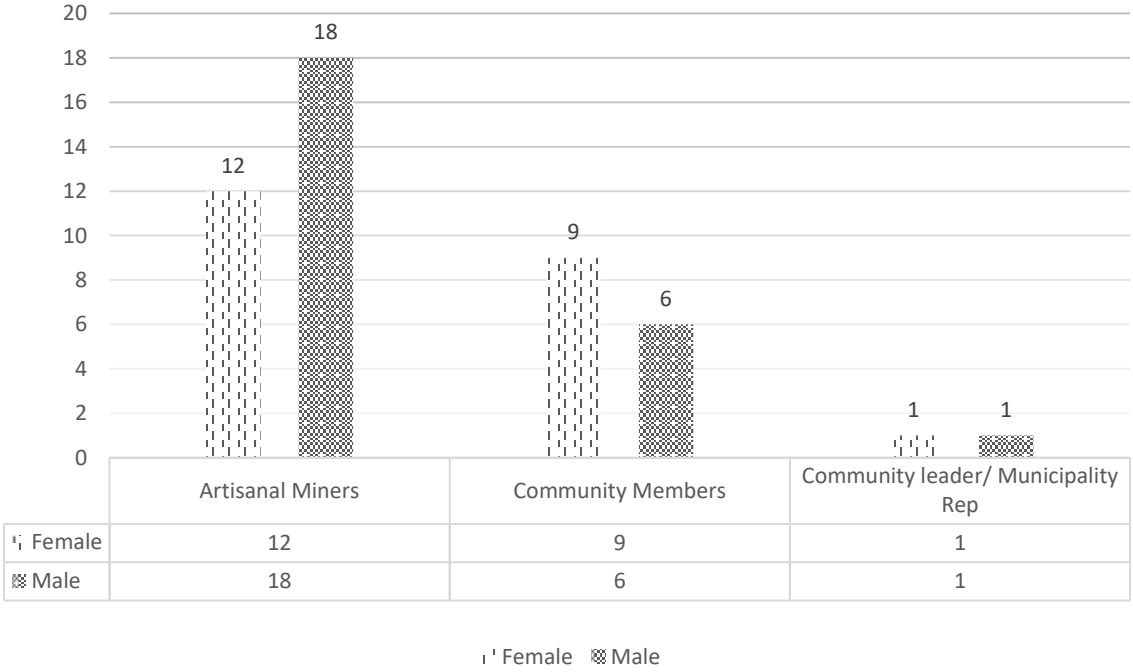
how coal mining has evolved over the years until now. For several reasons, Blaauwbosch proved to be an ideal research location to undertake this research. Firstly, the area is endowed with various minerals that serve diverse purposes ranging from domestic to commercial, and these resources include coal, kaolin, and sandstone. Apart from distributing and selling coal, the mine is used to produce bricks sold to individual buyers and small retailers for construction purposes. Secondly, mining in this area has a long history recognized by both the miners and the community at large. Although there are no written records, the mine is rumored to be over 50 years old. This indicates that this specific site is appropriate for investigating the historical account of mining and how it has evolved. Lastly, there is a significant female presence at the mining site. The involvement of women in artisanal mining at this specific site was crucial to understanding the historical and contemporary position of women in mining. Understanding their lived experiences and perspectives in the mines was also imperative.

4. Result and Discussion

Participants Demographics: The study comprised 47 participants recruited from two main groups: artisanal miners and community members. There was also one community representative, a former ward councilor, and one representative from the municipality. Artisanal miners were the largest group, consisting of 30 male and female participants. There were 15 community members, both men and women, as shown in Figure 2.

Gender Characteristics

Figure 2: Number of Participants and Gender Characteristics

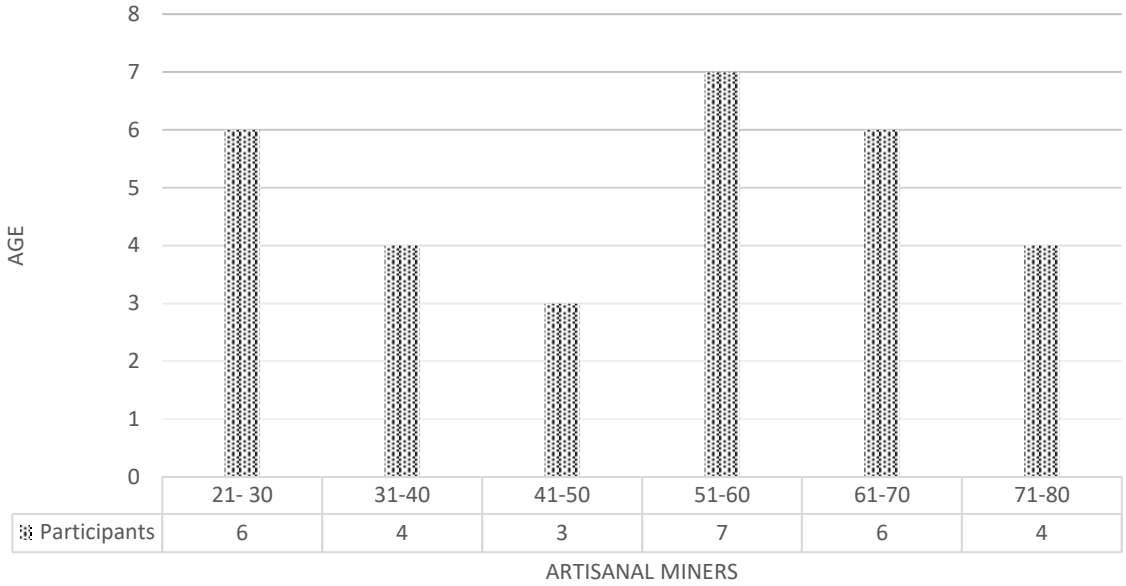


The study consisted of 12 female and 18 male artisanal miners. However, I must emphasize that this is not a true reflection of the gender representation in the mine. Although there was no precise number of all miners involved, it was estimated that they ranged between 400 and 1,000, including seasonal miners. There was also a large number of female miners present in the mine. However, due to the nature of the study and in line with the study's overarching goal, I chose a smaller number of participants to enable close and in-depth engagement. The study had nine female and six male community members, as shown in Figure 2.

.

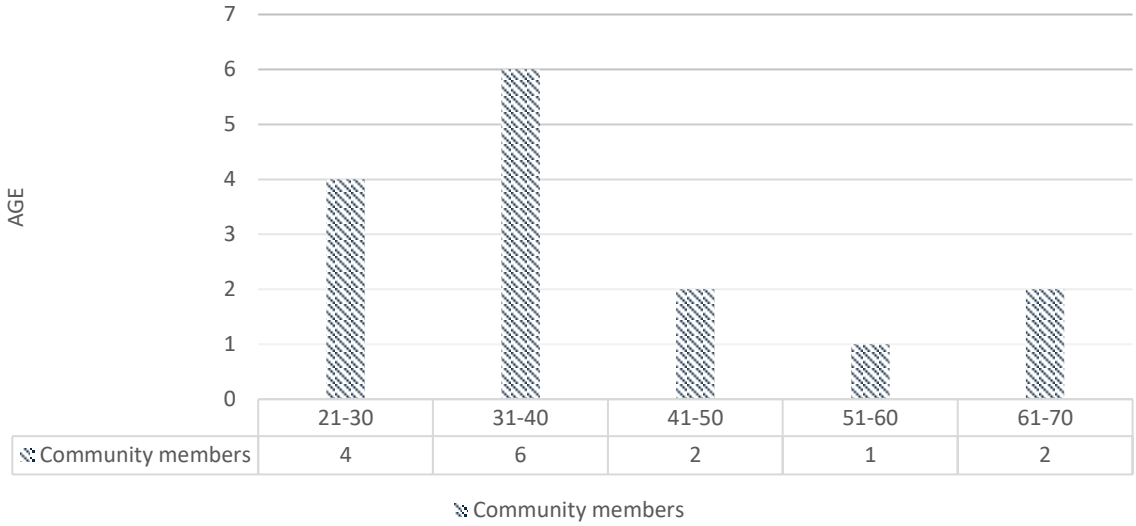
Age Characteristics: In terms of age, participants ranged from 21 to 80. Again, a need for representation is what informed the sampling process. The study sought to understand the historical and contemporary dynamics of artisanal miners through the lived experiences of the miners. Understanding how their experiences have evolved provided crucial points for analysis. As shown in (Figure 3), the largest age group ranged from 51 to 60, followed by 21-30, 61-70, and then 71 to 80.

Figure 3: Artisanal Miners by Age Group



Community Members' Age Characteristics: Diversity in terms of age was also observed among the community members, as shown in (Figure 4); the highest age group among community members was between 31 and 40.

Figure 4: Community Members by Age Group



The Nature of Artisanal Mining Practice in Blaauwbosch: The Blaauwbosch mine, which is believed to be over 50 years old, has consistently been occupied by Blaauwbosch residents and surrounding communities. The mine is occupied by both women and men of different ages with a common goal of income generation. Furthermore, the mine is situated on land that belongs to the residents of Blaauwbosch. Therefore, there is a

common view that the mine belongs to the community, particularly the owners of the land on which it is situated. It is unclear when mining began, but according to one of the participants, by the 1960s, the mine was already operational. He details his knowledge of how coal was first discovered as follows: *"I started working in the mine in 1985; however, my mother worked there years back. The mine was discovered by the community who were digging sand; as they were digging, they came across unusual rocks, and they suspected that it could be coal. So, they continued prospecting, and they came across another white rock which looked like kaolinite; they then suspected that there could be gold, but after discovering that it was actually coal, they continued mining till today"*(Baba Thwala[1], Life History Interview, 02 June 2021).

What was intriguing was the significant participation of women from as early as the discovery of the coal in the mine. For example, one male participant, Baba Mdluli, who started working in the mine in 1993, stated: *"The mine is old. I cannot tell when people began mining here, but I grew up seeing my mother and other women working here from my neighborhood. So, when I finished school in 1992, I decided to assist my mother after realizing that it is possible to earn a living from the earnings from the mine, I am able to bring food home and take care of my children*" **(**Baba Mdluli, Interview, 02 June 2021). Another participant stated: "*The mine is quite old. It was discovered when women came to search for sand to build and plaster their homes; they then noticed stones that resembled kaolinite, and so mining began*" (Alisi, Interview, 01 June 2021). According to the participants, mining became a vital aspect of this community following the discovery of coal. The resources mined were mainly for home consumption rather than trading. However, trading opportunities arose as the demand for coal and sand increased.

According to one of the participants: *"Mining was a way of life[2] for us. During the earliest days, the coal mined here was not for commercial purposes. It was the same as collecting wood (ukutheza). We mined it for domestic use only. The concept of buying and selling was a new thing. We were unified in a manner that when working in the mines, we did so in a communal manner and not in isolation. Husbands used to work with their wives and children early in the morning and return in the afternoon"* (Gogo Manana, Life History interview, 12 August 2021). The statement above resonates with the point raised by Wyk (2021) that in pre-colonial times, communities from various ethnic groups mined minerals either for domestic consumption or to process them into tools for domestic use, with the intent of producing use-values rather than commodities for exchange and profit. The statement by Gogo Manana quoted above was significant because it demonstrated how people's relationships with the land and natural resources have evolved. For example, this participant says that similar to fetching firewood for domestic purposes such as firing, cooking and heating, coal was also mined for similar purposes; however, the concept of commercializing emerged as a new phenomenon. This can be attributed to the disruptive systems inherited from apartheid that essentially pushed capitalist modes of production that were based on profit maximization. This disrupted traditional modes of production that allowed communities to be self-sufficient and in control of their social and economic well-being.

Resisting Illegality in Artisanal Mining: The case of Blaauwbosch is unique due to the relationship that the people have with the land and the mine, for example, it emerged that the miners consider themselves to be the legitimate and rightful owners of the land from which mining operations are conducted. Currently, the mine is dispersed between three homesteads, whereby some miners pay rent. The miners predominantly rely on permission from the landowners to mine a site. This is largely an informal process that does not require miners to obtain a government-issued license to use the mining site, which is a contradiction in terms of South Africa's mining legislation. Participants justify their engagement in artisanal mining as a consequence of the government's failure to improve their economic conditions. Some of the miners sought to reclaim the legitimacy of their operations by highlighting the critical role they play in reducing criminal activities in the community. According to the miners, the mine keeps the youth occupied and provides them with an honest means of income generation as opposed to crime.

[1] Pseudonym: All names of the participants have been changed to protect their identity

[2] In this context, "way of life" means tradition, which essentially means that mining is an activity that has been conducted by the community for many years.

One participant stated: *"This mine belongs to the community and landowners (omastende). We are not trespassing. We have agreements with the landowners, even though they work here. If they want to tell us that what we do here is illegal, they must provide us with employment. No one wakes up and chooses to work in that dangerous place, but what can we do? You people come here and promise us heaven and earth and never return, so you cannot come here and tell us that the only job that helps us put bread on the table is illegal. If it is illegal, then give us legal jobs. The fact that we are not sitting at home or committing crimes should tell you that we really want to change our living conditions*"(Mehemiya Z, 01 July 2021). On the question of legitimizing artisanal mining practices from the perspective of the miners, Mususa (2014) observes that illegality has become a legitimate survival strategy in the eyes of many who live in an economic context where local needs are not being met and a political context where government intervention is becoming increasingly limited. When Mahemiya irritably says, "*You people come here and promise us heaven and earth and never return*," the anger in his tone signals not only the loss of hope in government but anger that when they take the urgency to make an "honest" living, they are still deemed illegal with no plans of assisting them to legitimize their operations or provide them with alternative economic opportunities.

Solidarity and the Spirit of Communalism Amongst Artisanal Miners: According to Grätz (2004), friendship is a significant social feature that shapes the social configurations of mining sites. For many miners, making friends is an important way to deal with the uncertainty and difficulty of their operations. This contrasts with the stereotypes imposed on artisanal mining communities, which include violence, greed, and mutual mistrust. To some extent, I agree with Lahiri-Dutt (2018), who argues that through obtaining comprehensive ethnographic knowledge of the social networks within small-scale mining communities, we can shift away from the negative assumptions of disorder, selfishness, brutality, disputes, and aggression that have long been linked with artisanal mining. However, this is not to disregard the different facets of violence and precarity that characterize this subsector. For example, Action Aid (2019) alluded that artisanal miners are often subject to exploitation by syndicates. They are often violated by criminals and syndicates who steal their equipment, production and income generated from their activities. Additionally, the informality in nature of this sector has given rise to opportunistic criminal and violent activities that affect not only the miners themselves but also the communities in their vicinity.

Going back to the topic of solidarity and mutualism, when I initially arrived at the mine site, I could not help but observe that there was no individualism among the miners. They all worked in teams characterized by loud yet intimate conversations and laughter. Moreover, just by observing their daily interactions, one could see that their relationships extended beyond mutually established working relationships and included elements of friendship and family. A participant said: *"Since I joined the operations when I was 16 years old, we have become a family. I have brothers and elders whom I admire and respect, and there are some whom I refer to as my fathers because of the fatherly role they have played in my life"* (Sibo Nsele, Interview, 03 June 2021). The spirit of communalism is also observed in the sharing of yields, division of labor, sharing of equipment and interaction with clients. One participant said: *"We have rules and principles, such as not taking or luring one another's clients; if a client comes here looking for someone who is working on another site, it would be unacceptable for me to try to lure them; this allows us to maintain peace and harmony in our operations. Furthermore, if a client requires services that we do not offer, such as construction, we are able to refer them to other groups because we only sell coal, sand, and bricks"* (Siya Z, interview, 30 June 2021).

The spirit of communalism was also observed between miners and the local community members. According to Nyoni (2017), artisanal miners usually come from the same community or informal settlements, and by virtue of this, they tend to see themselves as constituting a community. On the contrary, the literature indicates that there is usually an inherent tension between miners and local communities. This is mainly because people living near the mines are adversely affected, especially by the environmental damage resulting from the mining operations Starke (2016). Despite this, the community felt very attached to the mine for various reasons. One of the participants, who was not a miner but a community member, was asked to share their views about the mine and whether the mine should be closed, and expressed their views as follows: *"I can easily say that God and our ancestors entrusted us with this mine, and it has benefited many generations in a number of ways. If you look around, you will notice that this is an underdeveloped community, but there is no single shack here. These brick houses were built from the bricks produced in this mine"* (Ntombi Mtshali, Interview, 02 June 2021).

Figure 5: Blaauwbosch Houses Built Using the Bricks Produced from the Mine

It was quite intriguing to see that the majority of the houses in Blaauwbosch are built from the bricks produced in the mine, as shown in figure 5. This is the tradition that unified the community from the early days. In essence, this led to the emergence of a distinct geographic and social sphere formed as a result of the operations in the mine. One community member said that they once went to the mine to buy bricks, but when they arrived, the young men in the mine told her not to stress about having to look for constructors. They promised to help her, and they connected her with reasonable material suppliers.

The Symbiotic Relationship Between Local Communities and Artisanal Mining: Unpacking the relationship between artisanal mining and communities in the vicinity of those operations was crucial in this research. Scholars argue that there is a widely held belief that local livelihoods rarely profit from mining activities because of their detrimental impact on the environment and existing land use practices. As a result, there is scant research that looks at the symbiotic relationship between artisanal miners and local communities (Schueler, Tobias, & Hilmar, 2011; Verbrugge, Cuvelier, & Van Bockstael, 2015). At the beginning of this paper, I asserted that artisanal mining differs from large-scale mining in the essence that it is smaller and community-driven. It was imperative, however, to understand from the community's perspective how they view these operations and how they have impacted them. This is especially true in a context in which the pre-apartheid Indigenous African population had to suffer dispossession, dislocation and disruption as part of the process of integration into the global economy, which has located Africa as the supplier of cheap labor. In the same way, the post-apartheid rural communities that make way for industrial mining operations, more often than not, suffer severe social and economic hardships.

There were elements of a symbiotic relationship between the community of Blaauwbosch and the miners, which I think not only distinguishes artisanal mining from large-scale mining but the ASM industry as a whole, first, through the shared economic, social and resource benefits. Second, due to no barriers to entry, any member of the community can access the mine and create a livelihood for themselves. Third, through the legitimization of the mining operations by highlighting the critical role it plays in reducing criminal activities in the community. Fourth, the benefits sharing between the landowners and the miners harbors an important degree of mutuality between artisanal miners and local landowners. The first aspect entails the shared economic, social and resource benefits between the miners and the community. The shared experience of poverty and unemployment by the community of Blaauwbosch and the miners has forced them to coexist in several ways. There was also an element of exchange of services, where miners would provide services such as construction, home care and many others to community buyers. The second aspect looks at the free entry requirement to the mine as it is a local community arrangement between miners and sometimes landowners.

This means that any member of the community can access the mine and make a living. One of the participants said, "God and our ancestors entrusted us with this mine" because they feel that the community works for the benefit of the community. The third aspect looks at the legitimization of the mining operations by highlighting the critical role it plays in reducing criminal activities in the community. Both the community and miners felt that the mining operations had shielded young people from engaging in crime-related activities. They look at

the harsh economic and social conditions in which young people find themselves and how the lack of employment opportunities could push them into crime. However, because the mine affords everyone an opportunity to put bread on the table at least, it has been of benefit to everyone. The last element looks at benefit sharing between the landowners and the miners. Miners have informal agreements with the landowners to prospect in their land. However, these agreements are complex, and they vary; some miners are mining in areas that have no rightful land rights holders, some landowners do work the mine, and some are just members of the community. Scholars highlight that in the context of local land claims, it is common for negotiation to take place and a mutually beneficial agreement to be reached between the parties involved (Verbrugge, Cuvelier, & Van Bockstael, 2015).

Land and Mineral Resources Dynamics: *"I inherited this land from my father, and I have since been working in this mine*" (Gogo Hlengwa, Life History Interview, 23 August 2021). The Blaauwbosch mine was initially located on private land, and from the interviews with the participants, it was clear that they are of the view that if they are the rightful owners of the land, they have no obligation to apply for any permits because they have sustained themselves from generation to generation through the mine. The ambiguity between formal and customary mining claims is an undeniable reality that is clearly demonstrated by the case of the three families who are the custodians of the land. They are the descendants of the founding families of the mine and had "informal" authority to grant permission for mining on their land. The land in these three homesteads is currently rented and leased by some of the Blaauwbosch artisanal miners. The miners predominantly rely on permission from the landowners to mine a site. This is essentially an informal process that does not require miners to obtain a government-issued license to use the mining site. This becomes a conundrum because, according to the Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act (MPRDA), the State is appointed as custodian of mineral resources. As a custodian, the State has the ultimate responsibility to grant, issue, control, administer and manage all mineral rights. No longer can landowners be regarded as owners of the minerals embedded in and under the soil of their land.

When asked about the ownership of the mine, most of the participants indicated that from their knowledge, the mine belongs to the landlords or "*omastende*", followed by a small portion that stated that from what they know, the mine belongs to the community, and a few participants indicated that the mine was transferred to the municipality. This lends weight to De Jong & Sauerwein's (2021) observation that little work has focused on the dynamics around artisanal and small-scale mining and customary land tenure despite mining's ever-growing footprint in many African rural economies. According to Van Bockstael (2014), the government frequently attributes the informality of artisanal mining practices to miners' unwillingness to comply with regulatory requirements. However, the lack of government's ability to sufficiently enforce such legislation and the question of whether or not such legislation is viable are rarely considered relevant factors in determining the informality of artisanal mining operations. Van Bockstael (2014) uses the case of Liberia as an example, where several artisanal miners operate at varying degrees of legality by paying informal taxes based on informal agreements with local officials or informal organizations within their communities.

A similar case was observed in Blaauwbosch, where miners perceive the informal agreements between them and the landowners and tax payment as an official "permit" to mine. While these informal agreements are illegal according to mining laws and policies, Van Bockstael (2014) contends that such practices raise important questions regarding the feasibility and legitimacy of the current Mining Code and how this crucial economic activity should be regulated in the future. Another narrative from the Municipality official interviewed was that, around 2010, there were arrangements between some landlords and the municipality to transfer land to the municipality. The landlords would be compensated and relocated because the area was no longer safe to occupy. However, because there were no open lines of communication between the community, landowners and the municipality, this created division. Some landowners were indeed compensated and relocated, some were not, and some refused. The municipality indicated that they appropriated some portions of land without compensation because of the quarrels and divisions that emerged. However, artisanal miners continue to mine there because the community was neither consulted nor engaged during these processes.

The municipality claims to have transferred the issue to the Department of Mineral Resources and Energy. Some scholars argue that formalizing ASM should be understood in the context of Hernando De Soto's theory of "extralegality". De Soto (2000) refers to the 'extralegal economy' as a world of informality in which people are

in possession of assets (deeds, titles, land, etc.) that could be valuable for development but are not recognized by law, which in many parts of the world is what characterizes the informal artisanal mining economy. In this framework, formalization is the means of integrating informal mining practices into a country's legal and economic structures by formalizing them (Siegel & Veiga, 2009). This approach is tempting in South Africa, especially since the South African government already acknowledges artisanal mining as a traditional and customary form of mining per the new proposed policy framework. For example, Bougainville in Papua New Guinea introduced a policy recognizing the ownership of minerals and customary rights. According to O'Faircheallaigh & Corbett (2016), the Bougainville Mining Act 2015 integrates local governance structures and mainstream policy by conferring formal regulatory powers on existing, locally-based governance institutions. This policy explicitly recognizes the customary landowner's right to negotiate terms with artisanal and small-scale miners at the same time.

It offers support and capacity building to these local governance institutions to ensure that they are able to address issues such as health and safety, environmental impacts, child labor and alcohol abuse as part of their regulatory role. However, this approach has its shortcomings, and many may argue that it contradicts the idea of challenging the dominant discourse that says that for customary forms of production to thrive, they must be integrated into the formal or mainstream economy. (Musembi, 2013) argues that this narrow construction of legality to mean only formal law results in the over-valorization of formal titles and downplaying of the central role played by informal norms and practices. What I do take away from this approach, however, is the recognition of the fact that the informal economy is a product of the burdens imposed by state regulations on the entrepreneurial activities of the poor. Therefore, the removal of bureaucracy may facilitate economic development for poor working people (Alter Chen, 2005). The only problem with this approach is that it fails to recognize the vulnerabilities, structural inequalities and barriers faced by those who are already in the informal sector. Additionally, the idea of absorbing existing customary practices developed informally by miners into the mainstream legislative environment and mainstream economy arena without tackling these vulnerabilities could further exacerbate them. Perhaps the idea of formalization and integration needs to be rethought.

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

Recent statistical and media reports have shown that the mining industry is currently grappling with a number of significant socio-economic challenges exacerbated by the decline in production and employment levels. Alongside this, is the rise of illegal mining. Scholars and activists maintain that exploring artisanal mining as an alternative livelihood strategy is vital, especially since numerous rural mining communities depend on the economies of large-scale mining (Bester, 2023). The significance of this research cannot be overstated, as it contributes significantly to the ongoing discourse surrounding the ASM industry. Without reiterating what has already been discussed, this study reinforces an understanding of the complex artisanal and small-scale mining sector from the South African context. It has been reiterated in this study and by other scholars that this sector remains crucial and plays an integral role in impoverished rural communities. Despite this, the sector remains neglected and misunderstood, and the focus has primarily been on the negative impacts rather than addressing the challenges to improve the sector's economic opportunities (Bester, 2023). In the case of the study area, this study has shown that the prevalence of artisanal mining is shaped mainly by a combination of social, environmental and sociodemographic characteristics of the community.

These factors, in conjunction with the social and economic challenges faced by the community, necessitate long-term and sustainable economic opportunities for the community and the youth. Findings from this study suggest that it will be helpful to devise a holistic approach that will address the demographic challenges of those participating in the sector instead of a one-sided approach that seeks to integrate and formalize the sector. Additionally, this study has shed light on some pertinent issues, including distorted access to minerals and land, ambiguity surrounding formal versus customary claims over land and mineral resources, poverty and unemployment. To address these issues. It is crucial that policies and development agendas carefully consider these challenges in their different contexts. This study emphasizes a need for policy and decision-makers to consider the customary systems in which artisanal mining occurs fully. This will ensure that policy accommodates all artisanal mining practices in different contexts and also considers the local and contextual

dynamics and the customary governance structures in communities involved in this sector. By doing so, interventions can be crafted to meet the needs of communities on the ground in a meaningful way.

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Determinants of Market Outlet Choice for Smallholder Broiler Farmers in Leribe District of Lesotho

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Abstract: Smallholder broiler farmers struggle to access lucrative formal markets because of low economies of scale, high transaction costs, a lack of awareness of market demand, poor production practices that are not oriented towards meeting the quality and quantity required in the market, poor infrastructure that raises transaction costs, and post-harvest losses. Therefore, this study examined the socio-economic, market and institutional factors that influence broiler farmers' choice of market outlets in Leribe. The study adopted a random utility maximization theory and transaction cost theory to explain the farmers' decision process regarding the choice of marketing outlet available in the study area. A total of 114 respondents for this study were selected from five villages using a two-stage sampling technique. The survey data was collected through a structured questionnaire. The MVP model results revealed that gender, vehicle ownership, stock size, contract agreement and access to extension services significantly influenced the choice of market outlets. Therefore, this study recommends the government and development partners consider interventions that will increase broiler production such as enhancing credit access, promoting contract farming, group membership and providing institutional support. The study also recommends policies that will facilitate the adoption of Good Agricultural Practices (GAP) to improve farmers' access to the lucrative formal market outlets available in the study area. The Government of Lesotho should adopt policies that aim at linking smallholder farmers to formal markets, encouraging contract farming and facilitating the adoption of a Market Information System (MIS) to harmonize the flow of market information among exchange partners in broiler marketing.

Keywords: *Broiler farmers, market outlet choice, Multivariate Probit model, Leribe, Lesotho.*

1. Introduction

Poultry production is widely practiced in rural families in Lesotho and contributes significantly to the growth of the rural economy in the majority of developing countries. The poultry sector is still a significant sub-sector of agriculture, and it continues to be the primary source of income for rural residents and other small-scale farmers. Besides keeping poultry as a source of protein products such as eggs and meat for their households, most rural communities engage in poultry marketing to raise income from the surplus and create employment opportunities (Praburaj, 2018; WFP, 2020). In addition to improving farmers' livelihoods, market participation of farmers can also be seen as a strategic tool for transforming subsistence agriculture into commercial and market-oriented farming (Ingabire et al., 2017). Nxumalo et al. (2019) added that market participation is among important development issues since access to various market channels is an enabler for the poor to deal with poverty and equity issues. Thus, access to markets is not only an economic issue but is also included in social, economic and political institutions. This means that market access can be referred to as a transmission mechanism that links poor farmers to mainstream economic activities that guarantee them better returns from their farming.

Though market participation is considered an important aspect of economic development and in improving livelihoods in many rural communities, most smallholder farmers are still constrained by numerous challenges in accessing formal markets for their produce and these challenges force farmers to operate in less profitable markets. The majority of smallholder farmers in developing countries such as Lesotho are located in remote areas characterised by poor road and market infrastructure and for this reason, their marketing activities are still performed traditionally (Rafoneke et al., 2020). This isolation of farmers from improved markets increases their transaction costs and this creates a challenge for rural smallholder farmers when selecting market outlets for their agricultural output (Rafoneke et al., 2020). The most accessible markets for smallholder farmers in many developing countries are informal and they are referred to as being informal because they are set out of the tax systems and do not operate under any legal framework (Ferris et al., 2014). These markets include farm gates, roadside sales, village markets and urban markets. Poor market infrastructure, high transaction costs, lack of market information, lack of market options and the inability of farmers to meet market requirements such as grades.

Standards constrain smallholder farmers in Lesotho to participate in the formal markets and that forces farmers to sell their produce at the farm gate (Ferris et al., 2014; Mphahama, 2017; Rafoneke et al., 2020). The other reason for smallholder farmers to sell directly to consumers at the farm gate is that farmers lack the knowledge, skills and confidence to supply formal markets (Mphahama, 2017). According to Rantlo, Tsoako and Muroyiwa (2020), the participation of farmers in the informal market is significantly influenced by the dependence path and delayed payment from the formal markets. Many farmers in developing countries such as Lesotho are located in remote areas and this makes it difficult for them to access high-value market outlets, thus forcing them to participate in informal market outlets such as farm gates, local markets and urban markets (Rafoneke et al., 2020). Nxumalo et al. (2019) added that the informal markets gained more popularity in developing countries because farmers find it easy to transact with their customers because they are living in the same location and there is no need for intermediaries. According to Ripley (2017), smallholder farmers are excluded from improved markets because of low economies of scale, a lack of awareness of market demand, poor production practices that are not oriented toward meeting the quality and quantity required in the market, poor infrastructure that raises transaction costs, and post-harvest losses.

Thus, the failure of smallholder poultry farmers to participate in improved and profitable market outlets poses a major challenge in transforming subsistence agriculture into commercial agriculture and this limitation also has a negative impact on farmers' livelihoods and the potential of agriculture to improve the economy of Lesotho as a whole. Smallholder farmers in developing countries encounter similar challenges, this study may contribute to appreciating better marketing outlets determinants. Therefore, the study intends to identify and assess the socio-economic, institutional and marketing factors that affect broiler farmers' decisions regarding the market outlets available in Leribe, Lesotho. Identifying the factors that affect smallholder broiler farmers' decisions regarding the markets where they sell their produce will be essential for filling the gaps in the literature on smallholder farmers' market outlet preferences in Lesotho. The findings of this study might assist in the development and improvement of linkages between smallholder farmers and markets, reduce market transaction costs, and align production decisions with business and market opportunities. Moreover, the findings of this research may inform policymakers and development partners in Lesotho in the formulation of policies that may improve marketing structure and influence positively smallholder farmer livelihoods and alleviate poverty by enhancing their access to lucrative marketing outlets in the poultry market. This study contributes to the body of scholarly literature for researchers and academics who will conduct related or similar research.

2. Literature Review

Marketing Channels in Developing Countries: A marketing channel can be defined in various ways and according to Amanor-Boadu, Nti and Ross (2016) it can be defined based on farm location, farm size and as well as different actors in the supply chain of poultry products. Bannor, Ibrahim and Amrago (2021) describe a marketing outlet in agriculture as a set of independent and interrelated entities that are concerned with the flow of agricultural commodities from producers until they reach the final consumers while Wahyono and Utami (2018) explained marketing channels as an array of companies or people that are directly involved in the distribution of agricultural goods and services from producers to final consumers. Numerous pieces of the literature show that there are various marketing systems and channels available to smallholder farmers in developing countries and this variance is brought by their difference in terms of agriculture commercialisation. According to Wahyono and Utami (2018), marketing outlets can be divided into two categories that include direct marketing and indirect marketing outlets.

In a direct market channel, agricultural commodities move directly from producers to immediate consumers (Pattern I) whereas in indirect channels products can be distributed from producers directly to retailers and then to consumers (Pattern II) or be distributed from producers to wholesalers to retailers to consumers (Pattern III). The study conducted by Bannor, Ibrahim and Amrago (2021) in Ghana identified seven broiler market channels and these market outlets include direct-to-consumer; wholesalers; retailers; hawkers; chop bars; hotels, restaurants and institutions. The most profitable market outlet for poultry is wholesalers because they reduce transportation and feeding costs since they buy large quantities at once (Bannor, Ibrahim and Amrago, 2021). Farmers with small farms in most cases sell their products directly to consumers at the farm

gate and the reason for major sales at the farm gate is to reduce transaction costs of selling either in the village market or in the urban market (Adams, Caesar and Asafu-Adjaye, 2021).

Marketing Outlets Available Accessible to Smallholder Farmers in Lesotho: The majority of smallholder farmers in developing countries such as Lesotho are located in remote areas characterized by poor road and market infrastructure and for this reason, their marketing activities are still performed traditionally (Rafoneke et al., 2020). This isolation of farmers from modern markets increases their transaction costs and this creates a challenge for rural smallholder farmers when selecting market channels for their agricultural output (Rafoneke et al., 2020). The most accessible markets for smallholder farmers in many developing countries are informal and they are referred to as being informal because they are set out of the tax systems and do not operate under any legal framework (Ferris et al., 2014). These markets include farm gates, roadside sales, village markets and urban markets. These markets are particularly important in agricultural commercialization because they absorb a high volume of agricultural output such as crops, vegetables and meat products from smallholder farmers (Ferris et al., 2014).

Rafoneke et al. (2020) states that the issue of high transaction costs and lack of market options restrict participation of smallholder farmers in Lesotho in the high-value markets and this forces farmers to sell their produce at the farm gate and in their backyards. The other reason for smallholder farmers to sell at the farm gate is that farmers lack the knowledge, skills and confidence to supply formal markets and farmers that are using farm gate as their market outlet sell their products directly to individual consumers (Mphahama, 2017). Mphahama (2017) further argues that the majority of smallholder farmers in Lesotho operate in village (local) markets for their poultry products whereby they sell to individual households, friends and neighbors in the community, school feeding programs and churches while few of these farmers are taking advantage of market opportunities in urban markets. Mphahama(2017) observed that farmers operating in urban markets are selling their live or slaughtered birds along the roadside in town, to retailers and food restaurants or directly to consumers. Very few of these farmers negotiate a formal agreement to supply food for restaurants, hotels, guesthouses and private schools when their chickens are ready for the market. Poor market infrastructure, high transaction costs, lack of market information, and the inability of farmers to meet market requirements such as grades and standards constrain farmers to participate in the formal markets (Ferris et al., 2014; Mphahama, 2017).

Factors Influencing Farmers' Choice of Marketing Outlets: The decision of smallholder farmers on which market channel they can sell their agricultural products is one of the most important aspects of marketing. The market outlet choice has a direct impact on the profitability of their farming and it is critically important for farmers to understand the various characteristics of different market outlets available as this helps them to make informed decisions during marketing outlet selection (Soe, Moritaka and Fukuda, 2015). Adugna et al. (2019), asserts that farmers' decisions to select a particular market outlet are affected by various factors which include institutional, socio-economic and technical factors among others. Thus, understanding the factors that influence market outlet choice by smallholder farmers allows agricultural policymakers to formulate strategies that will improve agricultural production, investment and profitability (Abate, Mekie and Dessie, 2019). An appreciation of the relationship between factors that influence the choice of market outlets and the market itself makes it easier for policy intervention and this understanding also helps smallholder farmers to ensure a maximum return from their agricultural businesses by making appropriate decisions about market outlets where they can sell their agricultural output (Abate, Mekie and Dessie, 2019). In addition, Adugna et al. (2019) argue that farmers' decisions about market outlet choices are guided by the transaction costs that they are likely to incur as a result of participating in that channel.

Abate, Mekie and Dessie (2019) further highlighted that many challenges, which cannot be limited to inadequate and inappropriate market information, price fluctuations, limited traders, weak bargaining power of smallholder farmers, transportation costs, credit access, and physical infrastructures such as roads, storage facilities and markets influence market outlet decisions. An empirical study conducted by Olufadewa, Obi-egbedi and Okunmadewa (2018) to examine the determinants of market outlet choice by smallholder poultry farmers in Nigeria identified factors such as household size, road condition, contractual arrangement and flock size in the farm to have impact on the choice of the local market outlet whereas the level of education, price information, poultry farming experience and access to extension services were found to influence urban market

choice. In this study, household size was found to have a negative impact on farmers choosing a local market and the probable reason for this is that an increase in family size increases family consumption and this reduces the marketable output hence they opt for a farm-gate outlet to incur zero transportation costs. In contrast, Magogo (2015) argued that household size had a positive impact on farmers' decisions to choose local and urban markets since a large family size means more labor to take agricultural commodities to the markets. Factors like contractual agreement, flock size and road conditions increase the likelihood of farmers participating in local markets and urban markets.

Olufadewa, Obi-egbedi and Okunmadewa (2018) identified level of education and poultry farming experience as some of the factors that affect the choice of urban market outlets while access to extension services and price information motivate the use of urban poultry markets in place of the farm gate. Empirical findings of Bannor, Ibrahim and Amrago (2021) indicated factors such as farming experience and farmer organization membership influenced the choice to use retail market outlets by broiler farmers. Farmers with more marketing experience have acquired more expertise on grades and standards and this increases their competency in the retail market. Group membership encourages farmers' participation in the retailers' market outlet. Group membership enables farmers to access inputs, credit and other capital resources to improve their involvement in retail markets. Experience in production and marketing enables farmers to adapt their marketing strategies, attempting to find other market outlets that offer better returns (Wosene, Ketema and Ademe, 2018). Hawlet, Birhane and Alemayehu (2019) used a multivariate Probit model to analyze market choice decisions among tomato producers in South Gonder Zone, Ethiopia and factors such as age, distance to market, access to credit, transport ownership, land size and household size had a significant impact on farmers' decision of market outlet choice. The study revealed that the old age of farmers and an increase in market distance lead to increased farmers' participation in the farm gate as opposed to the local and urban market and this was because older farmers are no longer active in traveling long distances to find a market for their products and the market distance is directly proportional to transportation costs hence farmers are likely to sell to buyers at the farm gate. Olufadewa, Obi-egbedi and Okunmadewa (2018) concur asserting that the long distances poultry farmers travel to the market and lack of working capital are major constraints in poultry marketing.

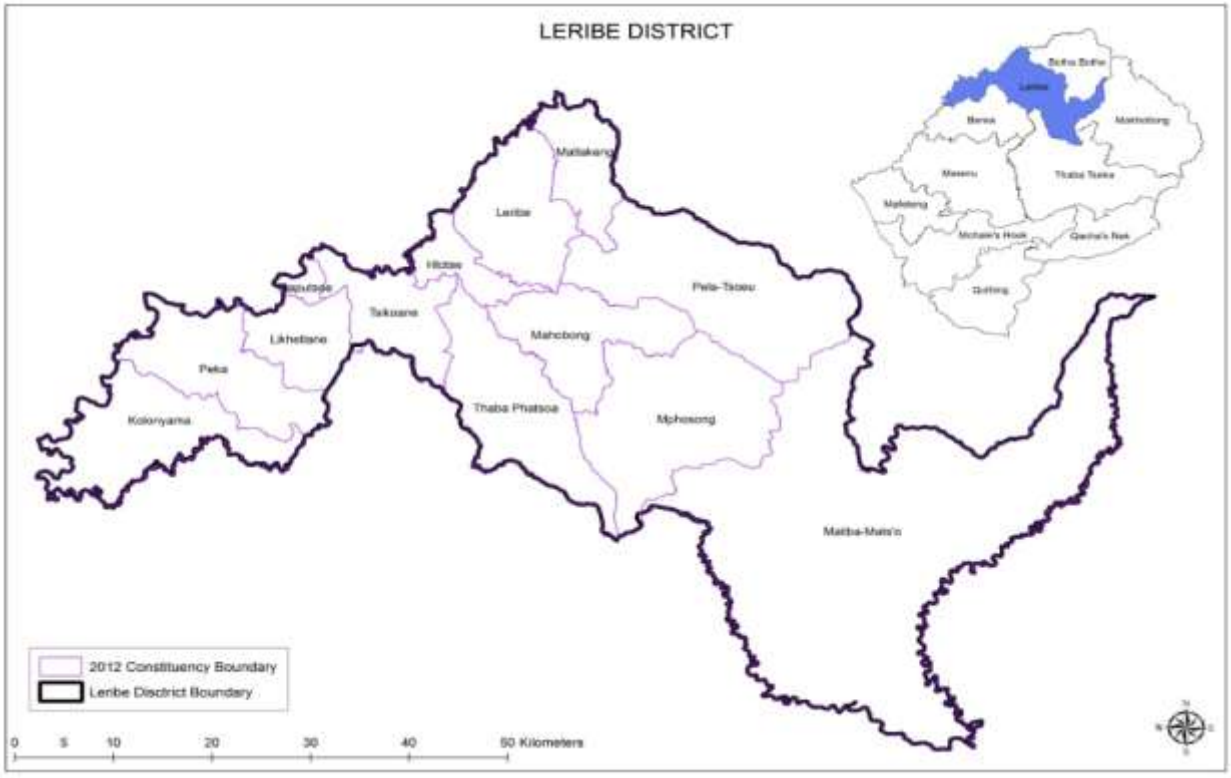
Hawlet, Birhane and Alemayehu (2019) argued that credit access and transportation facilities improve farmers' choice of both local market and urban market outlets. In their study, farmers with transport and credit access are likely to sell their produce to wholesalers, retailers and other immediate consumers such as hotels and restaurants in the urban markets. Different studies on farmers' market outlet choice revealed that gender had a positive influence on farmers' decisions to sell their produce at farm-gate, local and urban markets (Sigei, 2014; Rafoneke et al., 2020). There is a gender disparity in terms of market outlet choice where male farmers participate more than females in the aforementioned channels and this is attributed to the fact that female farmers are resource-constrained and spend much of their time on house chores therefore do not have time to go and sell their products in distant markets (Rafoneke et al., 2020). The difference in gender participation in agricultural production and marketing is because women have inequitable access to inputs, income diversification opportunities, credit access, productive technology and decision-making power (Musafili, Ingasia and Birachi, 2021). Market information is another important factor that guides smallholder farmers in developing countries when they make decisions on market outlets. Access to information from different markets regarding products needed, quantities and quality needed, prices offered as well as the time they are needed is very key when smallholder farmers make decisions about market channels they can use to dispose of their agricultural produce (Mukarumbwa et al., 2018). Lack of access to market information among smallholder farmers makes it difficult to prioritize new and high-value markets and this forces farmers to use informal markets that offer low prices (Nugroho, 2021).

Theoretical Framework: The study adopted a random utility maximization theory and transaction cost theory to explain farmers' decision process regarding the choice of marketing outlet available in the study area. The random utility maximization theory stipulates that when farmers are faced with numerous decisions to choose from among alternative market outlets, the decision-making process will be informed by the utility a farmer is likely to enjoy as a result of taking a certain decision among other alternatives, the farmer chooses the option that yields the highest level of utility (Sigei, 2014; Otekunrin, Momoh and Ayinde, 2019). On the other hand, transaction cost theory proposes that broiler farmers are likely to choose marketing outlets that will minimize their transaction costs while marketing their products (Donkor et al., 2021).

3. Research Methodology

Description of the Study Area, Sampling Procedure and Data Collection: The study area was the Leribe district which is in the northern region of Lesotho. Leribe covers an area of 2,882km^2 between the longitude of 28°53'0'' South and longitude of 28°3'0'' East (Moeletsi and Walker, 2013) and it is made up of three agro-ecological zones; Lowlands (42%), Highlands (30%) and foothills (28%) (Bureau of Statistics, 2020). The Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security has resource centers that cut across all villages in the country for efficient and effective extension services and administration of farming activities. Each district has a District Agricultural Office. The study area is divided into the following seven agricultural resource centers: Hlotse, Maputsoe, Peka, Mahobong, Khabo, Tale and Pelaneng. Every resource center, under the supervision of the Area Technical Officer, is charged to provide extension and other agricultural services to all farmers residing in the villages found within that specific resource center. Though most small-scale farmers are engaged in poultry production in this district, they are still faced with the challenge of access to markets, and this eventually denies them an opportunity to exploit and enjoy the potential benefits of participating in the commercial markets. Therefore, it is important to investigate the underlying causes of this market participation failure and the determinants of market outlet choice for farmers in this district.

Figure 6: Study Area Map



The study employed a probability-sampling technique to draw study participants from the sampling frame obtained from the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security, Department of Livestock Services in Leribe. Sampled villages were used as a sampling frame for this study to identify broiler farmers. The study targeted villages with a high level of broiler production and those with farmers producing in a commercially oriented manner. Information about such villages in the Leribe district was obtained from the Department of Livestock Services in the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security. A two-staged sampling technique was employed to select a sample of respondents for this study. In the first stage, five villages in Leribe where poultry farming and marketing are a common practice were selected using the purposive sampling method and this method was informed by the information received from the Department of Livestock Services in the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security. Based on this information the sampled villages included Hlotse, Maputsoe, Mahobong, Peka and Tale. In the second stage, a simple random sampling technique was used to draw

respondents from the list of broiler farmers for each sampled village in this study. Microsoft Office Excel was used while running a randomization exercise to select respondents from the available lists of broiler farmers. Based on the information received from the Department of Livestock Services about villages with a high level of broiler production, the total population of broiler farmers from sampled villages was 158 as shown in Table 1. The study used Yamane's formula to determine the sample size for this study, following Abate and Addis (2021), the study sample is 114 as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Leribe Broiler Farmers Sample Frame

No	Name of the Village	Total Population	Population Proportion	Sample Size (n)
1	Hlotse	50	0.32	36
2	Mahobong	15	0.09	11
3	Maputsoe	60	0.38	43
4	Peka	20	0.13	14
5	Tale	13	0.08	9
Total		**158**		**114**

Source: Ministry of Agriculture and Food Security (2021); Author's Computation (2021).

The study collected primary data using a structured questionnaire that consisted of both open and close-ended questions with the aid of well-trained research assistants. The study administered the questionnaire (interview schedule) through interviews with respondents which allowed the researcher to explain and interpret questions that respondents found difficult to understand, research assistants were able to ask study participants follow-up questions where necessary (Nxumalo et al., 2019).

Data Analysis: The survey data collected in this study was analyzed using both descriptive and econometric analysis. Descriptive statistics were used to describe the socio-economic characteristics of broiler farmers in the Leribe district. The multivariate Probit model was adopted in the econometric analysis.

Multivariate Probit (MVP) Model: Farmers are more likely to choose one or more than two types of marketing outlets at the same time and the selection of various marketing outlets as well as their simultaneity use usually depends on farmers' willingness to maximize the level of utility and minimization of transaction costs (Hawlet, Birhane and Alemayehu, 2019). The selection of market outlets is also affected by the socio-economic characteristics of farmers, and institutional and marketing factors in the study area (Hawlet, Birhane and Alemayehu, 2019). To analyze the factors influencing the marketing outlet choice by broiler farmers, the researcher was interested in establishing the likelihood that farmers will choose certain market outlets and as well as their simultaneous use. This means that the study intended to estimate the probability that a certain market channel can be adopted by farmers given a set of influencing factors and in this research, farmers were faced with a choice between three marketing outlets- Collectors, Retailers and Direct to Consumers. Based on the random utility maximization theory and transaction cost theory, broiler farmers in the study area chose market outlets with the highest expected level of utility and minimum associated transaction costs respectively (Donkor et al., 2021).

Several studies used different econometric models such as Multinomial Logit/Probit (MNL or MNP) and Multivariate Logit/Probit (MVL or MVP) models to predict the influence of the selected set of explanatory variables on the discrete categorical dependent variables. A study by the following scholars (Sigei, 2014; Magogo, 2015; Mukarumbwa et al., 2018; Nxumalo et al., 2019; Kiprop et al., 2020) used the MNL model to identify factors affecting the choice of marketing outlets by producers while marketing their agricultural produce. MVP was employed in several studies to determine factors influencing producers' market outlet choice (Arinloye et al., 2015; Abate, Mekie and Dessie, 2019; Dlamini-Mazibuko, Ferrer and Ortmann, 2019; Hawlet, Birhane and Alemayehu, 2019; Ermias, 2021). Multinomial models have been used in cases where farmers are obliged to choose only one outcome from a set of mutually exclusive and collectively exhaustive alternative lists of market outlets (Ermias, 2021). However, it is important to take note that in this study, broiler farmers' market outlet selections are not mutually exclusive and collectively exhaustive. Therefore, there is a possibility of simultaneous use of market outlets and the potential correlation among these marketing outlet selection decisions.

Multinomial models will not consider the possibility of interdependence and simultaneous use of market outlets because they have an assumption of independence among the outcome variables (Dessie, Abate and Mekie, 2018). Since the market outlet decisions by broiler farmers are interdependent there is also a problem of simultaneous use of market outlets (Ermias, 2021), the appropriate model for this study will be the Multivariate Probit model. The use of a univariate model will be misleading since it ignores the possibility of interdependence among choice decisions and the potential correlations between the set of outcome variables thus leading to biased and incorrect estimates of parameters and standard errors (Dlamini-Mazibuko, Ferrer and Ortmann, 2019). Taking into account this problem, the MVP model simultaneously models the impact of a set of independent variables on each of the different market outlet choices while allowing for the potential correlation between unobserved disturbances, as well as the relationship that exists between the different marketing outlets (Abate, Mekie and Dessie, 2019; Dlamini-Mazibuko, Ferrer and Ortmann, 2019).

Following Abate, Mekie and Dessie (2019), the selection of appropriate market outlet i by farmer j is Y_{ij}^{A} defined as the choice of the farmer j to transact market channel i$\left(Y_{ij}^{A} = 1\right)$ or not $\left(Y_{ij}^{A} = 0\right)$ is expressed as follows:

$$Y_{ij}^{A} = \begin{cases} 1 \text{ if } Y_{ij}^{A} = X_{ij}^{A} \propto_{ij}^{A} + \mathcal{E}^{A} \geq 0 \Leftrightarrow X_{ij}^{A} \geq -\mathcal{E}^{A} \\ 0 \text{ if } Y_{ij}^{A} = X_{ij}^{A} \propto_{ij}^{A} + \mathcal{E}^{A} < 0 \Leftrightarrow X_{ij}^{A} < -\mathcal{E}^{A} \end{cases} \quad (1)$$

Where $\propto_{ij}^{A}$ is a vector of estimators, $\mathcal{E}^{A}$ a vector of error terms under the assumption of normal distribution, Y_{ij}^{A} the dependent variable for market outlet choices simultaneously and X_{ij}^{A} the combined effect of the explanatory variables. Since the market outlet choice decisions by smallholder broiler farmers in the study are affected by a similar set of independent variables, the econometric specification of the multivariate Probit model is stated as follows:

$$\begin{cases} Collectors_j = \chi_1 \beta_1 + \varepsilon^A \\ Retailers_j = \chi_2 \beta_2 + \varepsilon^B \\ Consumers_j = \chi_3 \beta_3 + \varepsilon^C \end{cases} \quad (2)$$

Where $Collectors_j$, $Retailers_j$ and Direct to $Consumers_j$ are binary variables taking values 1 when farmer j selects Collectors, Retailers and Direct to Consumers (D2Cs) respectively, and 0 otherwise; X_1 to X_5 are the vector of variables; β_1 to β_5 are the vector of parameters to be estimated and $\mathcal{E}$ disturbance term. In a multivariate model, the choice of several market outlets is possible, the error terms jointly follow a multivariate normal distribution (MVN) with zero conditional mean and variance normalized to unity, and the symmetric covariance matrix Ω is given by:

$$\Omega = \begin{bmatrix} 1 & p12 & p13 \\ p21 & 1 & p23 \\ p31 & p32 & 1 \end{bmatrix} \quad (3)$$

Where p_{ij} represents the correlation between different types of market outlets available in the study area.
The variables that were used in the MVP model while modelling the probability of farmers' market outlet choice in the study are presented in Table 3 below.

Table 2: Variables used in the Multivariate Probit (MVP) Model

Dependent Variables			**Expected Sign**		
Market outlets			Collectors	Retailers	D2Cs
Independent Variables	**Variable Type**	**Measurement**			
Gender	Categorical	Male[1] Female[2]	+ve	+ve	+ve
Farmer Income	Dummy	Yes[1] No[0]	+ve	+ve	-ve
Vehicle Ownership	Dummy	Yes[1] No[0]	+ve	+ve	-ve
Flock Size	Continuous	Number of Birds	+ve	+ve	-ve
Storage Access	Dummy	Yes[1] No[0]	+ve	+ve	+ve
Contract Agreement	Dummy	Yes[1] No[0]	+ve	+ve	+ve

Distance to market	Continuous	In kilometres	-ve	-ve	+ve
Extension Access	Dummy	Yes[1] No[0]	+ve	+ve	+ve
Credit access	Dummy	Yes[1] No[0]	+ve	+ve	+ve
Information Access	Dummy	Yes[1] No[0]	+ve	+ve	+ve

Source: (Sigei, 2014; Negerssa et al., 2020).

4. Results and Discussion

Descriptive Statistics on Market Outlet Choice Decisions of Broiler Farmers: This section covers the descriptive statistics such as frequencies and percentages of the marketing outlets available to broiler farmers as well as the socio-economic, marketing and institutional factors influencing farmers' market outlet decisions in the study areas. As shown in Table 2, out of five possible broiler market outlets in the study area, only three market outlets were used by broiler farmers in the study area. The majority of broiler farmers (97.4%) used consumer market outlets while retailers and collectors market outlets were used by 15.8% and 3.5% of the farmers respectively. The results in Table 2 show that cooperatives and wholesalers' market outlets are absent on the menu of market outlets for farmers in the study area and it is evident from this result that broiler farmers in the study area are still struggling to access formal markets. According to Mphahama (2017), poultry farmers in Lesotho are less likely to participate in the formal markets because they are unable to meet different market quality and standards requirements in the formal market sector. Challenges such as lack of access to financial resources, inadequate extension contact, lack of relevant and timely market information and high transportation costs are among to challenges that farmers face in the poultry sector (Olufadewa, Obi-egbedi and Okunmadewa, 2018).

Table 3: Broiler Market Outlets Utilised by Farmers in the Study Area

Market Outlets	Frequency (n)	Percentage (N %)
Cooperatives	-	-
Wholesalers	-	-
Collectors	4	3.5
Retailers	18	15.8
Direct to Consumers(D2Cs)	111	97.4

Source: Author's Survey (2022).

Even though the majority of farmers in the study area sell their produce in informal markets, broiler farmers still had no access to other informal market outlets including street vendors, and other informal and semi-formal food eateries. Farmers are unable to meet some of the strict product specifications and requirements of these kinds of informal markets. Some of these informal market outlets which should be within the reach of the farmers normally require farmers to supply them with specific parts of the chicken since they produce the meals with specific parts such as quarter legs and wings, however, farmers in the research area prefer to sell full chickens and this mismatch of products on the supply and the demand side among exchange partners makes it difficult for farmers to participate in these markets. Furthermore, farmers in the study area admitted to being price takers in these types of market outlets, and that the predetermined price is so low that only a few farmers do business with these market outlets. Producers that frequently receive updated and accurate selling price information from a variety of sources choose the proper market outlet where they may anticipate making a profit (Sori and Adugna, 2022).

Determinants of Marketing Outlet Choice by Broiler Farmers: Econometric analysis was used to investigate factors influencing the farmers' choice of broiler market outlets at their disposal. There are three market outlet choices that farmers used to sell their broilers and the Multivariate Probit model was estimated jointly for three binary outcome variables namely, Collectors, Retailers and Direct to Consumers outlets. The model was fitted with eleven independent variables of which six of them were observed to be statistically significant in influencing farmers' decision of choice of marketing outlet as depicted in Table 4. The result of the Wald test (Wald χ^2 (33) =2395.40, p=0.000) is statistically significant at a 1% significance level. This shows that the coefficients estimated in the model are jointly significant and the explanatory power of variables

included in the model is acceptable. Thus, a conclusion is made that the model fit is reasonably good (Mwembe et al., 2021). The result of the likelihood ratio test of the null hypothesis in the model is statistically significant at a 1% probability level.

This means that the null hypothesis of independence among market outlet decisions is rejected and the farmers' decisions to choose market outlets for their produce are interdependent (Abate, Mekie and Dessie, 2019). The rho values (rho21=rho31=rho32=0) in the likelihood test ratio are all equal to zero and this indicates that all error terms in the model follow a normal distribution with a zero conditional mean. Therefore, this further proves that there is a good model fit and interdependence of market outlet choice in the study area (Honja, Geta and Mitiku, 2017; Mwembe et al., 2021). As shown in Table 3 below, estimated coefficients in the Pearson Correlation matrix between the choice of collectors and direct to consumers' (D2Cs) market outlets and the correlation between the choice of retailers and consumers' market outlets are negative and statistically significant at 1% and 5% respectively. These results suggest that broiler farmers using D2C market outlets are less likely to sell their products in either the collector's or the retailers' market outlets.

Table 4: Overall Model Fitness, and Correlation Matrix of Market Outlet Choices from the MVP model

No. of observations	**=114**		
Log likelihood	**= -55.681371**		
Wald chi2(33)	**=2395.40**		
Prob > chi2	**=0.0000*** **		
Likelihood ratio test of rho21 = rho31 = rho32 = 0			
chi2(3)	=22.946		
Prob > chi2	= 0.0000***		
	Collectors	Retailers	Direct to Consumers
Collectors	1		
Retailers	-0.083	1	
D2Cs	-0.266**	-0.229*	1

Source: Author's Survey (2022). ***, ** and * indicate statistical significance level at 1%, 5% and 10%, respectively.

Table 4 presents the estimated Multivariate Probit model results of the broiler farmers' choice of available market outlets where they sell their broilers. The results of the MVP indicate that out of eleven predictor variables included in the MVP model, six variables influence the farmers' choice of broiler market outlet at 1%, 5% and 10% significance levels. The probability of choosing a collectors' market outlet in the study area is influenced by four variables (contract agreement, vehicle ownership, gender and flock size), and the retailers' market outlet is influenced by three variables (Extension access, Vehicle ownership and farmer income) while only one variable (flock size) influenced D2Cs market outlet choice. The figures in parentheses represent standard errors while figures outside the parentheses represent the coefficients of independent variables (Table 4).

Gender: The coefficient for gender (7.633) has a positive influence on farmers' choosing the collectors market outlet at a 1% level of significance. This positive coefficient implies that being a female farmer increases the likelihood of selling broilers to the collectors' market outlets at a 1% level of significance. The probable reason for this is that many female farmers in the study area are keeping poultry as their main source of income and they try by all means to access markets that will buy in bulk to minimize loss due to overspending on feeds and spoilage during storage and also to reduce transportation costs. This result is not in line with the findings of Endris, Haji and Tegegne (2020) where the male gender had a positive and significant impact on farmers' likelihood to use collectors as their vegetable market outlet.

Table 5: MVP Estimated Results for Determinants of Market Channel Choice Variables

Variables	Coefficient (Standard error)		
	Collectors (1)	Retailers (2)	Direct to Consumers (3)
Gender	**7.633(2.005) *****	-0.253(0.554)	0.000 (1.046)
Household Size	0.421(0.270)	-0.103(0.116)	0.330(0.227)
Farmer Income	-0.807(0.715)	**-0.466(0.217) ****	-0.037(0.320)
Vehicle Ownership	**6.726(3.895) ***	**0.965(0.398) ****	0.000(0.588)
Stock Size	**-0.0001(0.0004) ***	0.0003(0.0003)	**-0.0007(0.0002) ***
Storage Access	0.000(1.542)	0.0006(0.586)	0.000(0.926)
Contract Agreement	**20.011(4.641) *****	-2.196(7.881)	0.000(1.769)
Distance To Market	-0.031(0.070)	0.014(0.012)	0.044(0.032)
Extension Access	-0.484(0.915)	**0.901(0.445) ****	0.000(0.620)
Credit Access	0.799(1.692)	0.390(0.361)	0.000(0.553)
Information Access	-2.015(1.888)	-0.134(0.547)	0.000 (0.997)
Constant	-20.914 (3.123)	-0.898(1.195)	0.875(2.155)

Source: Author (2022). ***, ** and * indicate statistical significance level at 1%, 5% and 10%, respectively.

Farmer Income: The coefficient for the variable farmers' income (-0.466) has a negative influence on farmers' choosing the retailers' market outlet. This result indicates a negative association between the farmers' income and the probability of farmers selling their broilers to retailers at a 5% significance level. This result implies that the probability of farmers participating in the retailers' market outlet decreases with the increase in the level of farmer's income, ceteris paribus. The possible reason for this outcome could be that farmers with high-income levels are not investing surplus income into improved broiler production practices and this makes it hard for them to meet formal market requirements such as quality and standards. Farmers may also be discouraged by lower prices offered by the formal markets. Nxumalo et al., (2019) opined that farmers must agree to lower prices in exchange for longer-term purchasing arrangements, access to services and social investments in the informal market. This result is in contrast with the findings of Mugenzi, Owour and Bett (2021) where the high-income level of potato farmers positively influenced the choice of collectors and D2Cs market outlets.

Vehicle Ownership: The coefficients for vehicle ownership among broiler farmers selling their chickens to collectors (6.726) and retailers (0.965) in the study area show that vehicle ownership has a positive influence on farmers' choosing the collector's and retailers' market outlets. These results imply a positive influence of vehicle ownership on farmers' decision to sell their produce to collectors and retailers at 10% and 5% significance levels respectively. Farmers with access to transport can take their products to different markets in the industry and this is a good option for poultry producers since it allows them to sell their produce quickly thereby reducing the extra feeding and cold storage costs. Additionally, having a vehicle makes it easier for farmers to deliver their farm produce to markets on time and lowers transportation costs. This result is consistent with the study of Dlamini-Mazibuko, Ferrer and Ortmann (2019) where transport ownership positively influenced the probability of farmers' decision to choose retailers' market outlets for their output. The availability of transportation for produce enables farmers to select appropriate marketing channels and supply produce to preferable markets regardless of their location (Sori and Adugna, 2022).

Stock Size: The coefficients of the variable stock size for farmers selling to collectors (-0.0001) and consumers (-0.0007) market are both negative and significant at a 10% level of significance. The negative coefficients imply an inverse relationship between stock size and the farmers' decision to choose both collectors' and direct consumers' market outlets to sell their output. The results suggest that farmers who keep a high average number of broilers each year are less likely to sell directly to consumers and collectors market outlets. The possible explanation for the negative correlations could be that individual consumers buy in small quantities, and this makes it difficult for producers to sell their broilers within a reasonable time which can lead to

increased cost of production and loss through spoilage. Additionally, consumers when buying informally from broiler producers at the village and door-door marketing prefer buying chickens on credit, and some of them fail to make their payments on time or fail to pay at all and this has a detrimental effect on farmers' business operations. Farmers with a large quantity of production prefer to dispose of their output to market channels that buy in bulk such as collectors and wholesalers (Honja, Geta and Mitiku, 2017; Wosene, Ketema and Ademe, 2018). However, the coefficient of variable stock size (-0.0001) for farmers selling to collectors is negative and significant. This result implies a negative influence of stock size on farmers selling to collectors' market outlets at a 10% level of significance. One possible explanation for this result is that collectors are taking farmers' produce at dictated prices and this is believed to reduce farmers' profit margins. This result contradicts the finding of Addis, Tegegn and Ketema (2019) where the quantity of wheat produced positively influenced the likelihood of farmers' decisions to supply collectors' market outlets.

Contractual Agreement: The coefficient for the variable contract agreement (20.011) of farmers participating in the collectors' market outlet is positive and significant. This positive association between contractual agreements and collectors market outlets means that broiler farmers who have access to contract marketing are more likely to prefer collectors market outlets than any other channel available in the study area at a 1% level of significance. The contractual agreement with collectors involves bulk purchases and it also creates a guaranteed market for broiler farmers thus reducing transaction costs as well as other marketing costs for farmers. Contract farming is very important in addressing the issue of market failures and reduces the marketing risks facing smallholder farmers (Meemken and Bellemare, 2020). Farming under a contractual agreement enables farmers to make informed economic decisions about what to produce, quantities and quality because of the less costly and smooth flow of information regarding market requirements between buyers and sellers (Rantlo, Tsoako and Muroyiwa, 2020).

Extension Services: The coefficient for access to extension services (0.901) of farmers participating in the retailers' market outlet is positive and significant. This result implies a positive influence of extension service on farmers' decision to choose the retailer market outlet at a 10% significance level. This positive correlation implies that increased access to extension services by broiler farmers increases their chances of choosing retailers as their market outlet for broilers. One possible explanation for this result could be that extension services give farmers timely and reliable market information, such as market demand, price, and quantities required, and by equipping them with this information, farmers are better prepared to engage the retailer market outlet. Frequent access to agricultural extension services for farmers improves their knowledge, skills and intellectual capacity which helps them to improve their production and select both appropriate and profitable market outlets (Ahmed et al., 2017). This result agrees with Taye, Degye and Assefa (2018) who found that extension access has a positive and significant influence on retailer market outlet choice by onion farmers in Ethiopia.

Market Information: The coefficient for access to market information for broiler farmers was expected to have a positive influence on the farmers' participation in formal market outlets such as collectors and retailers. According to Abate, Mekie and Dessie (2019), access to market information such as prices, quality and quantity and other market requirements help farmers to make informed decisions while marketing their agricultural output. Access to reliable market information helps to reduce transaction costs associated with searching for the market, contracting and enforcing the contract (Mgale and Yunxian, 2020). However, the MVP model results revealed that the coefficients for access to market information for farmers are insignificant for all available market outlets in the study area. This indicates that information received by farmers did not have a significant influence on farmers' choice of any market outlet utilized by farmers in the study area. Lesotho through the Ministry of Agriculture, Food Security and Nutrition is working on establishing a functional, efficient and reliable Market Information System (MIS).

Access to market information is a challenge for most farmers. Therefore, the insignificant influence of access to market information on the choice of market outlet could be a result of a lack of access to market information services by farmers. MIS gathers, analyses and disseminates market information such as prices, quantities and other valuable market information relevant to farmers, traders and other value chain actors (Mgale and Yunxian, 2020; Nugroho, 2021). Thus, lack of access to reliable market information sources handicaps farmers' decisions in market outlets choice. Furthermore, the other possible explanation for these results could be that

farmers in the study area are constrained by a lack of financial resources, skills and technical supervision to adhere to the standards and quality assurance practices required in the formal market. According to Rahmat, Cheong and Hamid (2016), developing countries are unable to access and adopt best agricultural practice technology due to inadequate resources as a result of inequalities perceived in their economies. Smallholder farmers in developing countries are resource-constrained and lack the resources to invest in the best agricultural practice technologies.

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

Most smallholder broiler farmers in the study area are selling their broilers in the informal markets even though they are still unable to take advantage of all available informal market outlets. In addition to that, the study concludes that farmers continue to experience barriers to accessing formal markets. This failure is attributed to farmers' inability to satisfy formal market requirements, lack of access to financial resources, market information, and impertinent extension advisory services. Therefore, steps must be taken to increase farmers' access to the lucrative formal markets that are accessible to improve the broiler sector in the study area. To determine factors influencing the choice of market outlets by broiler farmers in the study area, the MVP model was employed. The results of the study indicate that farmers were selling their chickens to the following three market outlets: collectors, retailers and direct consumers. The correlation between the choice of collectors and direct to consumers' market outlets and the correlation between the choice of retailers and direct to consumers' market outlets are negative and statistically significant. This implies an element of interdependence among market outlets utilized by farmers in the study area existed. Thus, farmers selling their produce to collectors and retailers are less likely to sell their produce to the direct to consumers' market outlet. The empirical results of the MVP model showed that the broiler farmers' choice of market outlets was influenced by gender, farmer income, stock size, vehicle ownership, contract agreement and access to extension services. Gender, vehicle ownership and contract agreement positively influenced the choice of collectors' market outlet while stock size had a negative influence. Concerning the choice of retailers' market outlet vehicle ownership and extension services access had a positive effect while on the other hand, stock size was negatively influencing the choice of direct-to-consumer market outlet.

Based on these findings and conclusions of the study the following recommendations are proposed: Farmers should take advantage of all informal market outlets including street sellers, informal restaurants, informal food caterers, and other informal food eateries in the study area. To aggregate their output and strengthen their negotiating position in the formal markets, smallholder broiler producers are also urged to organize themselves into farmers' groups. Famers organizations help address the issue of the high extension-to-farmer ratio in the country, facilitating a smooth exchange of market information flow and extension services. Such groups will also give smallholder farmers the ability to negotiate better terms of trade and acquire contractual agreements in the formal markets. There is a need for NGOs and other development partners in Lesotho to establish financial investments in the poultry sector, especially in processing and packaging projects or firms to improve the market infrastructure of the poultry industry. Such interventions will also increase the market opportunities for broiler farmers. The study also recommends local financial institutions establish credit facilities for smallholder farmers with affordable interest rates and flexible repayment options to improve their access to productive inputs and appropriate technology thereby encouraging commercial farming in the agriculture sector. Adequate access to financial resources will also enable farmers to adopt Good Agricultural Practices (GAP) and this will promote their participation in the formal markets. The Government of Lesotho through the Ministry of Agriculture, Food Security and Nutrition; and Ministry of Small Business Development, Cooperatives and Marketing should adopt policies aimed at linking smallholder farmers to formal markets, encouraging contract farming and facilitating the adoption of a Market Information System (MIS) to harmonize the flow of market information among value chain actors in broiler marketing.

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Understanding and Addressing Gender-Based Violence in Places of Worship: A Case Study in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa

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Abstract: Gender-based violence (GBV) in places of worship is a prevalent issue in societies around the world, including KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), South Africa. This study investigates the occurrence, nature, and consequences of gender-based violence (GBV) in KZN's places of worship. A quantitative research approach was used to collect data, and 2835 respondents from 11 district municipalities in KZN participated. The outcomes of this study indicate a significant incidence and knowledge of GBV in places of worship. Approximately 55.38% of respondents reported being victims of GBV in places of worship. However, most of these occurrences are carefully concealed to protect the dignity of both the church and the perpetrators. Based on these findings, this study advocates a more robust legal system to protect women and children, the closing of places of worship where abuse has been documented, and the eradication of damaging gendered norms and beliefs as ways to combat GBV. This study also suggests implementing awareness and education programs, training religious leaders and community members, establishing reporting mechanisms, offering support services, advocating for policy changes, empowering marginalized groups, and investing in additional research and monitoring. These efforts are critical for fostering safer and more supportive settings in places of worship where everyone can worship without fear of violence or prejudice.

Keywords: *Gender-Based Violence, religion, financial abuse, abuse of power, marginalization.*

1. Introduction

Gender-based violence (GBV) remains a prevalent and deeply entrenched issue within societies worldwide, transcending geographic, cultural, and religious boundaries. In recent years, increasing attention has been directed toward understanding and addressing GBV in religious institutions (Takyi & Lamptey, 2020; Marshall et al., 2021). This is primarily because scholars have argued that while religious institutions can be instrumental in fighting GBV, they may also contribute to normalizing violence and perpetuating gender inequalities that underlie GBV (Pertek, et al., 2023). Before delving into the interplay between religion and GBV, it is imperative to understand the current state of GBV from a broader perspective, considering its prevalence, severity and impact on individuals and society. While this study acknowledges that GBV affects all groups, irrespective of race, gender, and class, it has become increasingly apparent that women and children are at a greater risk of experiencing violence, making them a particularly vulnerable population. (Lippel, 2018). According to a report by the World Health Organization (WHO) in 2021, approximately 1 in 3 women worldwide have experienced physical or sexual violence, often perpetrated by intimate partners or family members (World Health Organization, 2021).

In South Africa, including KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), there has been an outcry regarding the disturbing drastic increase in the number of media reports on sexual abuse, molestation and rape perpetrated in places of worship, particularly by religious leaders (Times Live, 2018; Dlamini, 2022). However, there is limited research addressing the prevalence and crisis of GBV in places of worship in South Africa as a whole. This gap is also observed globally, for example, McPhillips & Page (2022) observe that despite the extensive scholarship on GBV in general, far less attention has been paid to how it intersects with religion. Religion has not been explicitly considered as a starting point for research on gender-based violence. In light of these gaps, this study aims to contribute to the existing literature by examining the prevalence, nature, and implications of GBV within places of worship in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. By employing a comprehensive approach that integrates quantitative data collection methods, this research endeavors to provide valuable insights into the factors contributing to GBV and awareness of the issue. Ultimately, the findings of this study aim to inform evidence-based strategies for combating GBV within religious contexts, fostering environments of safety, respect, and dignity for all.

2. Literature Review

Gender-based violence (GBV) is a multi-dimensional public health and human rights issue of universal concern. It operates as intimate, interpersonal, and structural violence, affecting millions of individuals, families, and communities worldwide (Aghtaie & Gangoli, 2014). GBV encompasses domestic violence, intimate partner violence, politically motivated violence, sexual harassment, and violence in the workplace (Dzinavane, 2016). The Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC), as cited in the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR, 2020), defines GBV as an umbrella term for any harmful act committed against someone's will that is motivated by socially constructed (i.e., gender-based) differences between men and women. These acts can include any psychological, emotional, physical, mental, or financial harm and can be perpetrated in public or private contexts. Notably, these acts are often deeply rooted in patriarchal, religious, and cultural institutions. Although there is compelling evidence that, to some degree, men and other minority groups do suffer from GBV, evidence suggests that the frequency, severity, and intensity of such violence is much greater for women and children (Ali, 2018). The relationship between religion and gender-based violence (GBV) has been a subject of scholarly inquiry, revealing complex intersections between religious beliefs, practices, and social norms that influence attitudes towards gender roles and violence.

Religious institutions have traditionally contributed to a wide range of humanitarian activities, such as providing physical protection, facilitating access to aid, promoting peace-building activities, combating discrimination, and addressing gender-based violence (Marshall et al., 2021). However, some scholars suggest that these institutions may also expose individuals to harmful gender norms, which may result in violence or contribute to society's tolerance of violence (Nadar, 2005; Ghafournia, 2017). Scholars such as Powell & Pepper (2021) have revealed alarming rates of GBV occurring within these sacred spaces. These scholars conducted a comprehensive study on intimate partner violence in the Anglican Church of Australia (Powell & Pepper, 2021). The research revealed that the prevalence of violence within the church was either the same or higher than that of the wider community. Moreover, the study found that women were at a significantly higher risk of being victims of such violence compared to men. When seeking help, victims were found to rely less on the church and more on external support services. Similarly, Dlamini (2022) conducted a study reflecting on the lived experiences of Christian women survivors of GBV in KwaZulu-Natal. The findings of this study demonstrate that African Christian women are subjected to abuse under the guise of religion and culture. Additionally, this study argues that patriarchal beliefs, cultural norms, and religious language and doctrines that exist in this context serve as fertile ground for GBV.

According to Swindle (2017), abuse in religious settings manifests itself in various ways, including abuse perpetrated by religious leadership. In this context, religious leaders who commit abuse may use their authority or position to manipulate and control their victims, who may be congregants or people who rely on them for spiritual guidance. Another form is the abuse perpetrated by a religious group, directed either toward an individual or towards a group of people. Lastly, abuse in which the abuse itself has a religious component to it, can manifest in different ways, such as using religious texts to justify abusive behavior or using religious practices as a means of control. In agreement, Dlamini (2022) contends that theological justifications can provide a foundation for abusive social patterns, creating a patriarchal milieu where women experience abuse, oppression, and victimization. Scholars such as (Vaughan, 2021) identify various factors within religious contexts that reinforce gendered drivers of violence, including misinterpretations of religious teachings, misquotation of bible verses, hierarchical leadership structures, and barriers to divorce for abused women. Christian women, scarred by abusive pasts, often find themselves attending church services with a façade of ideal families while grappling with trauma in private (Benyei, 2014). A comprehensive investigation is imperative to comprehend how distorted interpretations of biblical texts within the Christian faith can adversely affect the health and well-being of women and children.

Dlamini (2023), says that victims of GBV sometimes find themselves entrenched in or returning to harmful relationships, justifying their choices through the lens of their religious convictions. This phenomenon is particularly evident within the Christian faith, where longstanding patriarchal norms often place women in a marginalized position as the 'other' in relation to the holy trinity of man, God, and the Church (Gervais et al., 2018). The consequences of such gender dynamics are starkly illustrated by (Kobo, 2018) who draw parallels between the historical oppression of Black women in dungeons on Ghana's Gold Coast and the contemporary

plight of Christian women trapped in toxic marriages. The visualization of broken Black African women's bodies in dungeons serves as a metaphor for the structural oppression and commodification of Black humanity as enslaved people. This grim imagery mirrors the experiences of Christian women facing GBV condoned by the church, emphasizing the urgent need for radical modification and pastoral intervention rooted in Womanist theologies and ethics (Berman, 2015). Henry (2019) stated that the role of churches as potential facilitators of violence against women becomes apparent through hierarchical structures that deny women equal roles, perpetuating stereotypical gender norms.

This is manifested in the restriction of women from leadership positions, thereby reinforcing a perceived superiority of men. Moreover, a literal interpretation of certain biblical texts, such as the assertion that man is the 'head of the woman,' can inadvertently legitimize male superiority, particularly in patriarchal cultures (Trible, 1973; Barlas, 2019). le Roux (2022) reported that churches inadvertently facilitate violence by neglecting to address Gender-Based violence. This social problem, if left unacknowledged and unstudied within religious communities, can manifest in subtle yet damaging ways that attack human dignity. Furthermore, violence may be encouraged by 'spiritualizing' situations that require urgent help and treatment, fostering the belief that prayer alone can miraculously transform aggressors (Mullett, 2023). While recognizing the potential for divine intervention, it is crucial to emphasize the importance of seeking professional help and taking necessary measures to protect the lives and dignity of those experiencing violence. Besides patriarchy, the religious context presents religious leaders with enormous power and influence which sometimes leads to abuse. This can lead to the inherent assumption that these religious figures are trustworthy, authoritative, and deserving of their status as spiritual and moral leaders. In a context where religious figures wield such control over their members, all forms of abuse can take place and be concealed, normalized, and even perceived as God's will (Visser, 2012). Such incidents of abuse in religious institutions are exerted in many ways, such as using scriptures to manipulate and control women.

For example, one controversial scripture is 1 Timothy 2:11-12 "A woman should learn in quietness and full submission, do not permit a woman to teach or to assume authority over a man; she must be quiet." Additionally, 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 states, "Women should remain silent in the churches. They are not allowed to speak but must be in submission, as the law says. If they want to inquire about something, they should ask their husbands at home, for it is disgraceful for a woman to speak in the church." Such scriptures prohibit women from speaking out, even against abuse. In South Africa, several high-profile cases involving leaders of religious places have made headlines. Based on recent reports of abuse of church members by their church leaders is no longer a myth but rather a reality, given the number of cases before our courts where these leaders are being prosecuted. Moreover, patriarchal structures within religious institutions have been identified as key drivers of GBV, exerting control over women's bodies, behaviors, and choices. Research conducted by Dlamini (2023) revealed that patriarchal interpretations of religious teachings often prioritize male authority and dominance, relegating women to subordinate roles and perpetuating systems of oppression. Within this framework, women are subjected to various forms of violence, including domestic abuse, sexual harassment, and forced marriages, under the guise of religious obedience and adherence to traditional gender roles (Dlamini, 2023). Despite the complicity of religious institutions in perpetuating GBV, studies have also highlighted the potential role of religious leaders and organizations in addressing and mitigating this issue (Enaifoghe, 2019; Dlamini, 2023). While some religious leaders have been instrumental in challenging patriarchal norms and advocating for gender equality, others have been reluctant to acknowledge or confront the prevalence of GBV within their communities.

3. Methodology

This study's data was gathered utilizing a quantitative research approach. Quantitative research refers to data that is quantifiable. This is due to the huge sample size, which is thought to be representative of the entire population. The results are interpreted as a generic and adequately complete perspective of the whole population (Martin & Bridgmon, 2012). A simple random sampling technique was used to gather responses from the target population.

Recruitment Strategy, Data Collection and Analysis: In this study, data was collected from 11 district municipalities in South Africa's KwaZulu-Natal province from churchgoers, worshippers, and the general public

aged 18 and above. The recruitment strategy involved obtaining permission from religious authorities and gatekeepers before collecting data from individuals who agreed to participate. Data collection methods included survey questionnaires and in-person interviews, focusing on demographics and the prevalence and causes of gender-based violence (GBV) in places of worship. Additionally, a Likert scale was used to score responses on the causes of GBV in places of worship and intervention tactics. The collected data were analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) and STATA version 17, which included the utilization of the Pearson chi-square test to explore associations between categorical variables, such as demographic characteristics and GBV victims. Descriptive analyses were also conducted, incorporating graphs and tables to visually represent the data, providing a comprehensive examination of the research questions and findings.

Sampling Design and Sample Size: The sampling strategy is the act of picking appropriate individuals, entities, and events to represent a wider population for the study (Sekaran & Bougie, 2013). The population size for this study was 9 426 017 (Statistics South Africa, 2006), and the sample size was 2653, calculated using the Raosoft sample size calculator with a 99% confidence level and a 3.5% error margin. However, the study gathered information from 2885 respondents from all KZN districts. In accordance with established principles of data integrity, 2,835 responses were utilized for analysis out of 2,885 total responses due to the presence of missing variables, ensuring statistical rigor, and maintaining the integrity of the research outcomes. This approach adheres to methodological transparency and ethical standards, upholding the quality and credibility of the academic research. This, study's subjects were chosen at random. Simple random sampling is a widely used sampling technique in scientific research. For very homogeneous groups, simple random selection is used, in which research participants are chosen at random (Bhardwaj, 2019). In this method of sampling, sample members are chosen at random and entirely by chance. As a result, the sample's quality is unaffected because each member has an equal probability of being chosen for inclusion.

Reliability and Validity: In this study, a panel of experts validated the instrument (questionnaire) through content validity and cognitive interviewing. The Item - Content Validity [I-CVI] was employed in this study as a Content Validity Index (CVI). Three academic content experts were asked to rate the relevance of each issue on a four-point Likert scale: 1 = not relevant, 2 = slightly relevant, 3 = relevant, and 4 = highly relevant. The number of experts who scored 3 or 4 on each issue was then counted (3,4 - relevant; 1,2 - nonrelevant). The recommended I-CVI ranges between 0.78 and 1.00, and the score obtained for the questionnaire was 0.9.

Ethical Considerations: Ethical considerations were carried out by obtaining written and signed informed consent from the participants. The informed consent form provided a brief explanation of what the study was all about and informed the participants of their rights. This included informing them that participation was voluntary and that confidentiality and anonymity would be ensured. Moreover, ethical clearance was obtained from the research ethics committee. Additionally, victims of GBV were further referred to relevant organizations for additional support and counseling.

4. Findings and Discussion

Descriptive Analysis Results: The Pearson chi-square test was employed to check the association between GBV victimization in places of worship and socio-demographic factors in Table 1. This study revealed that approximately 55.38% of the participants were victims of GBV in places of worship, while 44.62% indicated that they were not victims. These findings are consistent with the various investigations that have highlighted the GBV issue in religious institutions. A pastor was arrested in Luvisi village, Nquthu municipality, in northern KZN, for allegedly raping 13 minors aged 5 to 17 (TimesLive, 2022). Another Pastor was accused of raping a 16-year-old virgin; the victim claimed that the Pastor asked her to have sexual relations with him at 12 a.m. in the church to wash her of her sins (Makhoba, 2019). A second victim came forward, claiming that the pastor in question sexually assaulted her after she was selected as a church leader and used his position to coerce her. The victim was then warned by the pastor's armed bodyguards not to report the incident to authorities.

A married woman joined in to report the same Pastor for making multiple sexual advances and offering her a job at the church in exchange for sexual favors (Makhoba, 2019). In another case, a pastor from his People's Church admitted to having sexual encounters with two church members (Ajam, 2003). In addition, a preacher from Jesus Dominion International is currently in jail and facing 63 counts of rape and human trafficking in the

Port Elizabeth High Court. He is alleged to have sexually groomed approximately 30 victims and began molesting them from the age of 14 (Bezuidenhout, 2023). These findings are merely the tip of the iceberg, as most GBV incidents in places of worship are usually concealed by both the perpetrator and the congregation. The results in Table 1 below show that age, race, type of religion, nationality of the church leader, and district municipality have an impact on GBV victimization in places of worship.

Table 1: Association between GBV Victimization in the Space of Worship and Socio-Economic Parameters

Variables	Measures	Non-GBV Victim (*n*=1,265) 44.62%	GBV Victim (*n*=1,570) 55.38%	X^2
Percentage (%)				
Citizenship	0= South African	43.25	56.75	0.172 n.s
	1= None- SA	46.51	53.49	
	2= Dual citizenship	51.52	48.48	
Age	0= 18-34 years	48.45	51.55	0.000***
	1=35-54 years	40.35	59.65	
	2= 55+ years	43.09	56.91	
Gender	0= Female	44.93	55.07	0.190 n.s
	1= Male	44.35	55.65	
	2= Other	0.00	100	
Race	0= Black	44.53	55.47	0.032**
	1= White	57.89	42.11	
	2= Mixed race	57.78	42.22	
	3= Indians	31.67	68.33	
	4= Other	25.00	75.00	
Religion	0= Pentecostalism	37.97	62.03	0.000***
	1= Catholicism	34.88	65.12	
	2- Christianity	36.04	63.96	
	3= Islam	30.99	69.01	
	4= Hinduism	19.44	80.56	
	5= African Initiated church	37.14	62.86	
	6= Other	88.65	11.35	
Nationality of a church leader	0= Not South African	35.37	64.63	0.000***
	1= South African	57.74	42.26	
	2= Both	38.74	61.26	
District municipality	1=Amajuba	32.94	67.06	0.000***
	2=Harry Gwala	7.10	92.90	
	3=King Cetshwayo	58.66	41.34	
	4=Ugu	49.61	50.39	
	5=Umgungundlovu	40.47	59.53	
	6=Umkhanyakude	40.00	60.00	
	7=Uthukela	32.06	67.94	
	8=Zululand	41.53	58.47	
	9=eThekwini	78.66	21.34	
	10=iLembe	65.75	34.25	
	11=uMzinyathi	43.86	56.14	

Note: *, ** and *** means statistically significant at a 10%, 5% and 1% level, respectively; n.s means not significant.

The results in Table 1 showed a statistically significant association between age and GBV victimization (P< 0.01). Individuals aged 35-54 years exhibit the highest GBV victimization, which shows that 59.65% were victims of GBV in places of worship and 40.35% were not victims, followed closely by those aged 55 years and above, indicating that 56.91% were victims and 43.09% were not victims. Furthermore, the results show that of individuals who fall under the youth category in South Africa, only about 51.55% were victims of GBV, and 48.45% were not. The findings are consistent with existing literature that identifies middle-aged and older people as at higher risk of experiencing GBV in place of worship, attributed to factors such as relationship dynamics, economic stressors, and life transitions (World Health Organization, 2012). Middle-aged and older individuals may be more susceptible to abuse in places of worship compared to younger people due to several factors.

Firstly, middle-aged, and older individuals often hold positions of authority or leadership within religious communities, making them vulnerable to abuse of power by others in positions of trust. This power dynamic can be exploited by perpetrators to manipulate and control their victims. Secondly, as individuals age, they may become more socially isolated or dependent on religious institutions for social support, increasing their vulnerability to abuse. They may be less likely to question or challenge abusive behavior due to feelings of loyalty, fear of repercussions, or a lack of alternative support networks. Additionally, middle-aged, and older individuals may be experiencing significant life transitions, such as retirement, loss of a spouse, or declining health, which can make them more susceptible to manipulation and exploitation (Dlamini, 2022). Perpetrators may target individuals who are experiencing vulnerability or emotional distress, exploiting their need for comfort and guidance. Table 1 results show a significant association between race and GBV victimization at a 5% significant level, with individuals identifying as "other" exhibiting the highest GBV victimization in places of worship with 75% who have been affected and 25% who have not been subjected to abuse in place of worship, followed by Indians respondents where 68.33% are victims of GBV and 31.67% are not.

Black participants who were victims of GBV were approximately 55.47%, and 44.53% were not. White and mixed-race respondents exhibit lower prevalence rates at approximately 42% affected and 58% not victims of GBV in place of worship in KZN. This finding underscores the intersectionality of race and GBV, highlighting the disproportionate impact of GBV on marginalized communities. Research suggests that systemic inequalities, historical injustices, and cultural factors contribute to differential rates of GBV among different racial groups (Jewkes, 2014). A significant association between religion and gender-based violence (GBV) victimization in places of worship in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) is observed at a 1% significance level. A high percentage of GBV victims within Hinduism and Islam communities, at 80% and 69.01%, respectively, suggests the presence of complex sociocultural dynamics within these religious contexts (Ghafournia, 2017; Takyi & Lamptey, 2020). These dynamics may include gender roles, patriarchal structures, and interpretations of religious teachings that contribute to heightened vulnerability to GBV among worshippers. Conversely, the lower percentage of GBV victimization observed in the "Other" category, at 11.35%, may reflect unique aspects of these religious affiliations that foster environments resistant to GBV (Barlas, 2019).

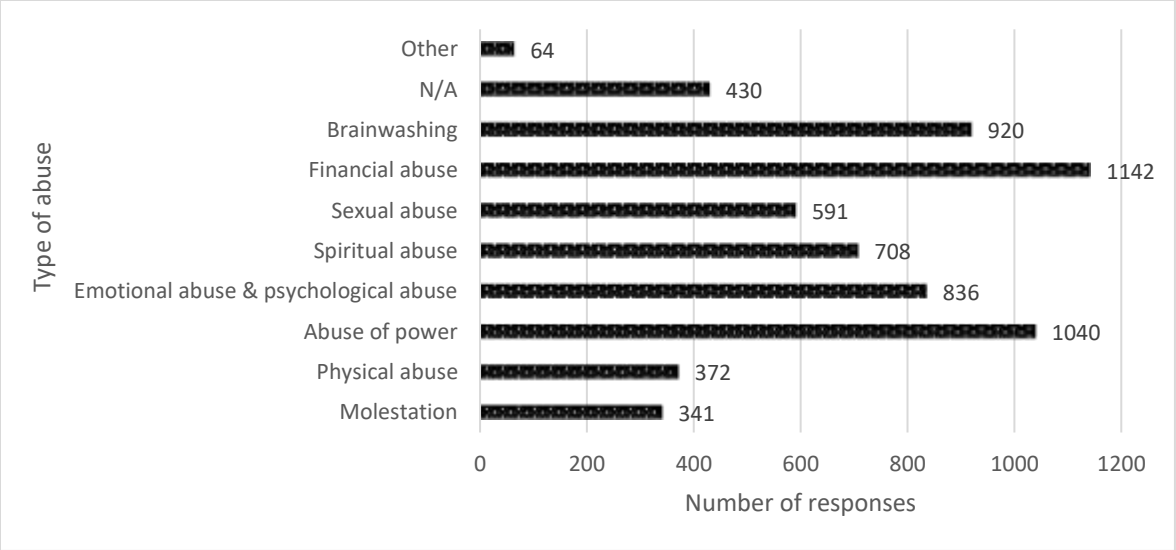
Furthermore, the intermediate prevalence rates of GBV victimization among Pentecostalism and African Initiated Church congregations underscore the nuanced relationship between religious beliefs and practices and the occurrence of GBV (Dlamini, 2023; Jewkes, 2014). The analysis reveals a statistically significant association between Gender-Based Violence (GBV) victimization within places of worship and the nationality of church leaders ($p<0.01$). Specifically, where the church leader is not South African, a substantial 64.63% of respondents are classified as GBV victims, compared to 35.37% as non-GBV victims, indicating a higher prevalence of GBV in these settings. Conversely, in places led by South African church leaders, the percentage of GBV victims drops to 42.26%, with 57.74% categorized as non-GBV victims, suggesting a relatively lower prevalence of GBV. In cases where the church leader holds dual nationality, 61.26% of respondents are identified as GBV victims, while 38.74% are non-GBV victims, implying a higher incidence of GBV in places of worship led by individuals with dual nationality. Consistent with the findings of this study, Ms Thoko Mkhwanazi-Xaluva (Chairperson of the CRL Rights Commission) indicated that the country has a proliferation of independent and charismatic churches led by both South African and foreign pastors (Memela, 2018). The district municipalities in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) significantly influence the prevalence of Gender-Based Violence (GBV) victimization within places of worship, as depicted in Table 1.

Notably, these findings are statistically significant at the 1% level. In the Harry Gwala district municipality, an alarming 92.90% of respondents report being victims of gender-based violence (GBV) within places of worship. This underscores a profound vulnerability to GBV within religious communities in this district. Similarly, in the Uthukela district municipality, a substantial 67.94% of respondents report being victims of GBV within places of worship. While not as extreme as Harry Gwala, this percentage still indicates a significant prevalence of GBV victimization within religious settings. Conversely, in the eThekwini district municipality, only 21.34% of respondents report being victims of GBV within places of worship, notably lower than the overall average of 55.38%. This suggests a comparatively lower prevalence of GBV victimization within religious communities in this district. In the King Cetshwayo district municipality, 41.34% of respondents report being victims of GBV within places of worship. Although lower than in Harry Gwala and Uthukela, this percentage still highlights a notable prevalence of GBV victimization within religious contexts. The nuanced levels of GVB in Harry Gwala, Amajuba, Uthukela, and Umkhanyakuze may be attributed to the fact that these are rural districts, and it is taboo to report GVB incidents, particularly when they are perpetrated by respected and dignified church leaders who are held at high esteemed by the community and congregation.

Types of Abuse Prevalent in Places of Worship: Figure 1 depicts the most common types of abuse that occur in houses of worship: financial abuse (1142), misuse of authority (1040), brainwashing (920), emotional and psychological abuse (836), spiritual abuse (708), and sexual abuse (591). According to Adams et al., 2008), financial abuse, also known as economic abuse, includes actions such as limiting a person's access to education (undermining empowerment), preventing a partner from working (creating dependency), and deliberately undermining their professional endeavors (sabotaging their career). In South Africa, there's been an alarming increase in the abuse of power by religious leaders. This includes incidents involving pastors coercing the congregation to embark on obscene, cult-like activities such as eating snakes, cockroaches, and grass, farting on people's faces, forcing the congregation to perform oral and penetrative sex for healing purposes, etc.

Similarly, Curtis & Curtis (1993) discovered that brainwashing and indoctrination are key recruitment methods in cults. Furthermore, experts such as (Richardson, 1979) have highlighted the complex relationship between brainwashing and religion. Independent Online (IOL, 2022) recently published an article about a pastor from the Seventh-Day Adventist Church (SDA) who reportedly sexually assaulted a 16-year-old youth member and was protected by the church. Furthermore, Slough (2010) emphasized the pastor's complex relationship with the congregation and how such power and authority frequently lead to abuse. Religious orientations and procedures institutionalized and educated church members to honor and respect their religious leaders. Along with this comes the implicit belief that these religious individuals are trustworthy, authoritative, and worthy of their position as spiritual and moral leaders. These levels of trust often make church members vulnerable to control, manipulation, and abuse.

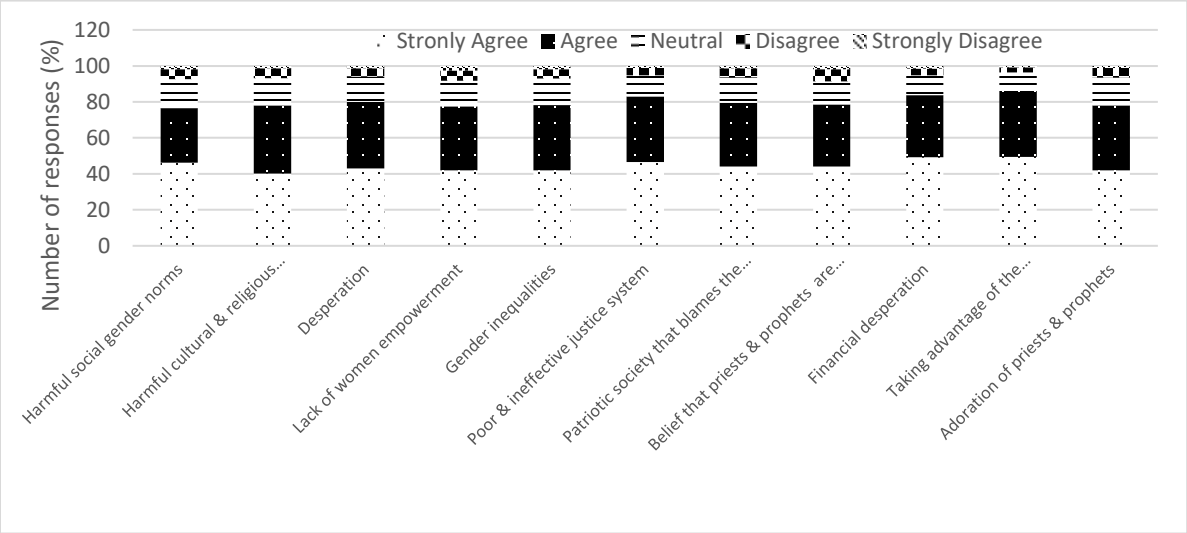
Figure 7: Type of Abuse Prevalent in Places of Worship



Causes of GBV in Places of Worship: The major causes of GBV in places of worship are pastors or priests taking advantage of the most vulnerable and impoverished members (49.4%). This is linked to financial desperation (49.3%), poor and ineffective justice system (46.5%), harmful social gender norms (46.3%) and the belief that priests and prophets are above the law (44.1%) (Figure 2). In alignment with the discoveries of this study, Curtis & Curtis (1993) argued that conditions of vulnerability, along with emotional and psychological factors, serve as catalysts prompting individuals to join cult-like places of worship. The study underscores the pressing necessity to empower women economically, particularly at the grassroots level. It advocates for the economic emancipation of women, emphasizing the importance of fostering self-sufficiency and encouraging financial independence. The study highlights that women's reliance on men for financial support can, at times, place them in vulnerable positions, leading to the toleration of abuse from their partners (Women's Aid, 2019). Moreover, it is no secret that the justice system sometimes fails GBV victims, as most of the offenders are usually released on minimal bail. Furthermore, police stations are designed in a manner that hinders reporting of sexual assaults and or sexual violence.

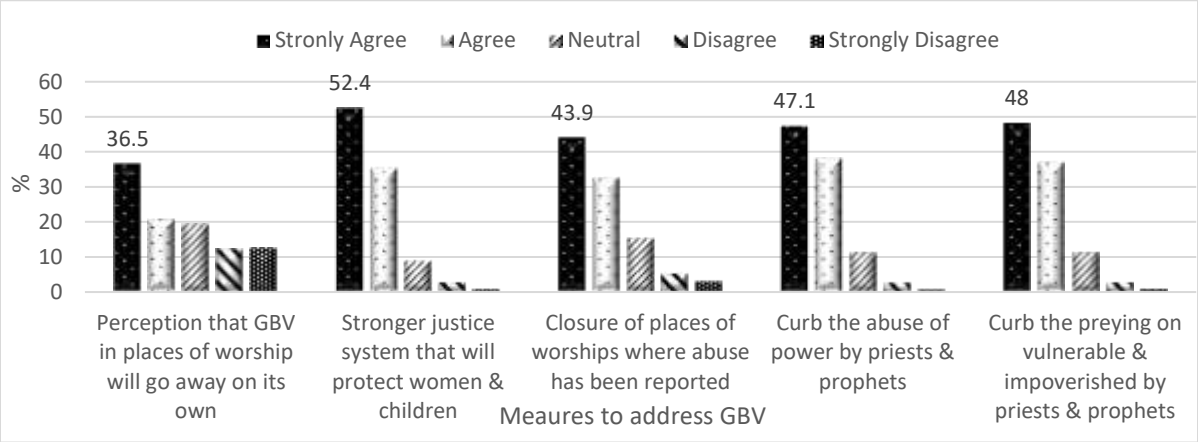
Additionally, the congregation protects leaders from places of worship, there's a poor investigation by the police, and most of the cases end up being dropped by the victim due to secondary victimization (Mgolozeli & Duma, 2020). Approximately 46% of the respondents indicated that priority should be placed on reducing oppressive gender and social norms in our communities. Similarly, (Zawaira et al., 2022) observed that internalized societal gender norms prevalent in African nations include the assumption that women must be submissive, whilst men are socialized as powerful, strong, and dominant people deserving authority and respect. These damaging attitudes and/or social gender norms encourage violence against women and children. Other contributing reasons are patriotic society, which blames the victim, encourages the culprit (44%), and desperation (43%).

Figure 8: Causes of GBV in Places of Worship



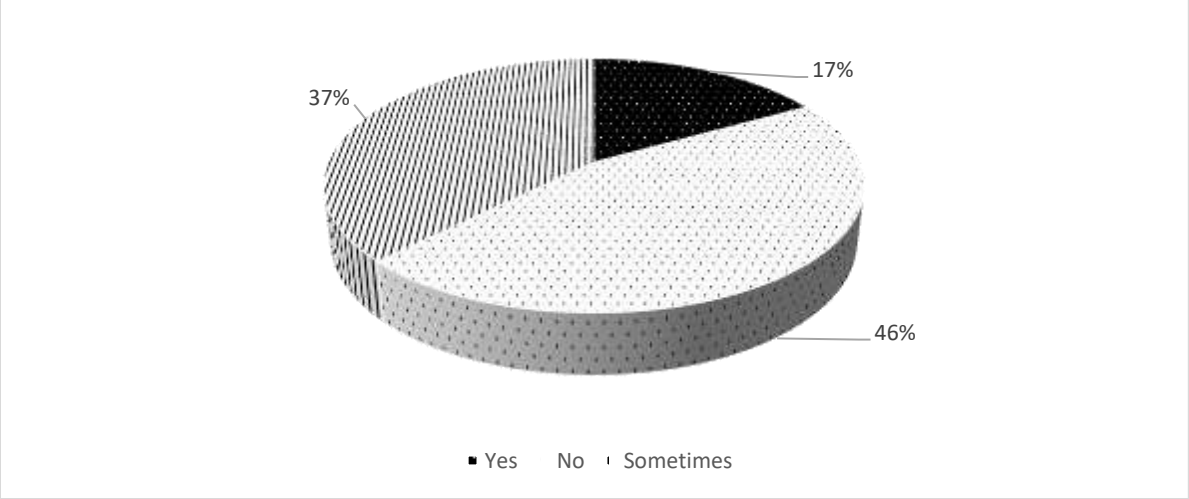
Strategies and Intervention Address the Crisis of GBV in Places of Worship: Regarding strategies to address Gender-Based Violence (GBV) in places of worship, 52.4% of respondents underscored the necessity for a more robust justice system aimed at safeguarding women and children (Figure 3). Additionally, 48% of participants emphasized the urgency to address the predation on vulnerable and impoverished individuals by priests and prophets. Nearly half of the respondents (47%) argued for punishment against priests and prophets who abuse their authority. Approximately 44% of participants believe that shutting institutions where abuse has been reported is an effective method of addressing GBV in houses of worship. While this shutdown may be an effective technique, there are no norms or regulations barring religious leaders from opening new branches in other districts or locations, which raises serious concerns. Furthermore, the uncontrolled expansion of charismatic churches is not sufficiently managed, resulting in the spread of these institutions throughout the province.

Figure 9: Strategies and Interventions Address the Crisis of GBV in Places of Worship



Official Reporting of GBV Cases in Places of Worship: The findings suggest a significant underreporting of GBV cases within religious places, indicating a prevailing concealment that hinders proper documentation as shown in Figure 4. It is noteworthy that there is limited literature on GBV in places of worship, and the existing sources are often outdated. As illustrated in Figure 4, 46% of respondents conveyed that no cases have been officially reported or opened by the church in response to incidents of abuse. Despite the prevalence of Gender-Based Violence (GBV) incidents within places of worship in South Africa, there is a notable dearth of official data on such cases. The lack of information is a result of the role that church leadership plays in covering up GBV cases. Consistent with the findings of this study, The World Council of Churches (2016) recognizes that churches in their contexts are guilty of perpetuating GBV through traditions that need to be challenged (Herstad, 2009). These traditions include blaming the victim and supporting the perpetrator (pastor or church leader). Misquoting bible verses to suit the pastor's agenda to abuse his authority and abuse women and children. The notion that women should be submissive to the church leader (men) serves to fuel GBV. Only 17% of the respondents reported that they are aware of the cases that have been opened following GBV-related incidents. These findings highlight a need for an urgent intervention to educate, liberate and empower churchgoers to stand against GBV by reporting incidents that transpire in their places of worship.

Figure 10: Official Reporting of GBV Cases in the Places of Worship



5. Conclusion and Recommendations

There is limited research that has been conducted in South Africa that addresses GBV in places of worship. The contribution of this research is immeasurable as it draws warranted attention to the crisis of GBV and the injustice that is happening in religious places. Additionally, this study proposes practical strategies and

interventions on how GBV in religious places could be circumvented by providing valuable insights into the prevalence, awareness, types of abuse, reporting of gender-based violence (GBV) and interventions to deal with GBV within the places of worship in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), South Africa. The findings reveal a concerning reality of GBV occurring within religious contexts, with varying levels across different districts. Demographic factors such as citizenship, age, race, and gender were found to influence the prevalence of GBV, highlighting the intersecting dynamics of socioeconomic disparities, cultural norms, and power dynamics within religious communities. Various forms of abuse were reported, underscoring the multifaceted nature of GBV and the urgent need for comprehensive interventions to address these diverse manifestations of violence. Additionally, the significant underreporting of GBV cases within religious places highlights the need for improved reporting mechanisms and accountability measures to ensure the protection and support of survivors.

Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations are proposed to address gender-based violence within places of worship in KZN and beyond:

- Awareness and Education: Implement educational programs and awareness campaigns within religious institutions to educate congregants about GBV, challenge harmful gender norms, and promote a culture of accountability and support for survivors.
- Training and Capacity Building: Provide training for religious leaders and community members on recognizing signs of GBV, responding to disclosures of abuse, and implementing appropriate support services and referrals.
- Reporting Mechanisms: Establish clear and accessible reporting mechanisms within religious institutions to facilitate the reporting and documentation of GBV cases, ensuring confidentiality, sensitivity, and accountability in the handling of such cases.
- Regulation of religious places: Legislation should be put in place to allow for the accountability, transparency, registration and regulation of churches and religious leaders.
- A stronger justice system that will protect the victims of abuse and punish the perpetrators. There is an urgent need for a stronger justice system that will prosecute unscrupulous church leaders and prevent them from preying on the most impoverished and vulnerable in our society.
- Policy development: Develop policy and regulatory framework in South Africa that will address GBV in places of worship. Furthermore, based on the findings of this study, it is highly recommended that religious places where GBV incidents have occurred should be permanently closed and church leaders should be prohibited from opening other similar establishments.

Limitation of the Study

The main difficulty in doing this research was the religious authorities' refusal to allow the researchers to interview the congregation. Furthermore, GBV at houses of religion is not an openly discussed topic, thus other individuals were hesitant to participate.

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Exploring the Factors Contributing to Low Women Participation in the Kwazulu-Natal Film Industry

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Abstract: Globally, there is a stark gender imbalance in the film industry, and this is true for the KwaZulu-Natal film industry. There is an underrepresentation of women in production and executive positions, suggesting barriers to entry that discourage women from pursuing a lucrative career in the film industry. A quantitative research approach and an online structured questionnaire were used as a guide to investigate the causes of the low representation of women in the KZN film industry. The target population for this study was 34 women in the film sector. This study offers valuable insight regarding the status of women's participation in the KZN film industry and the challenges they face in this sector. The results suggest that investors prefer males in the industry and the barriers to entry are favorable to those with financial muscle and connections which has limited women's participation in the industry. Common themes included lack of support, lack of long-term opportunities, lack of funding and limited resources, lack of strong women narratives in the film roles, nepotism, lack of connections, and sexual harassment. This study recommends that there is a need for the industry to foster more female-targeted local and international internship programs and the provision of mentorship programs that pair experienced female professionals with aspiring women in the film industry. Furthermore, there is an urgent need for the establishment of labor unions and policy formulation in the film industry to deal with issues of transformation, inclusivity, diversity, safety of women, and equality.

Keywords: *Women, harassment, marginalization, underpayment, discrimination, gender disparity, film*

1. Introduction

The film industry contributes significantly to the economy of South Africa through the generation of revenue, the creation of jobs, and the attraction of foreign exchange. The total estimated impact of the film industry on Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was estimated at R2.91 million in 2020/2021 (National Film & Video Foundation (NFVF, 2021). Provincially, the KwaZulu-Natal film industry contributed R327.46 million to the South African GDP, which is 9.26% of the national figure (KZN FilmCommission, 2022). Moreover, the film industry supports other industries, such as the hospitality and transport industry by stimulating hotels, catering, restaurants, and transportation businesses, thereby creating direct and indirect employment (NFVF, 2014). The estimated total employment impact was 31 444 full-time equivalent jobs in 2019/20, with an estimated 18 104 direct jobs and 3 302 indirect jobs (NFVF, 2021).

Despite the industry's economic contribution, the (KZN FilmCommission, 2022) reported the following challenges as the impediments preventing the transformation of the industry. These were a shortage of skilled production crew (including skilled producers and talented scriptwriters) and studio infrastructural facilities, a fragmented policy environment that does not support the industry cohesively, a lack of consumer support for locally produced films, and inadequate access to distribution and marketing instruments among other issues. In addition, the stagnant transformation of the industry to include women and Black individuals is a significant impediment. According to NFVF (2022b), women are less likely to break into senior roles that impact decision-making compared to their male counterparts. This is the case even though South African women filmmakers are vastly skilled, with the majority (52.15%) having gone through formal film school training and another 31% having acquired their skills through experience or being self-taught (NFVF, 2022b).

Anecdotal evidence from the KZN film suggests that female students do not join the industry in numbers post-tertiary education. In all local tertiary institutions, female students are the largest numbers (Urban-Econ Development Economists, 2020). However, very few of them take the profession of filmmaking after their tertiary qualification. This can be corroborated by the gendered trends in the study conducted by NFVF (2014)

that argued that lack of connections and knowing the right people in the industry were among the obstacles that film students in higher education identified as barriers preventing them from breaking into the industry.

The film industry does not advertise positions but instead relies on word of mouth to attract employees, so, if you do not know anyone or have any connections within the industry, chances of getting employed are limited (Erbland, 2023). A recent report by NFVF (2022b) revealed that this issue remains a concern, revealing that connections, referrals and networks are currently the most popular mode of finding work opportunities, outstripping project advertising. While this method is regarded as the most efficient and effective, there are concerns that it sets limits on transformation; for example, new entrants who are black, young women and people living with disabilities often find it difficult to enter the industry as they lack the support of viable networks (NFVF, 2022b). Lack of experience and financial challenges were also identified as significant obstacles, with 55.6% of graduates experiencing them (NFVF, 2014). In addition to these obstacles, the chairperson of the Independent Directors Association Africa (IDAA), Andile Sinqoto, dissected some of the current challenges facing the industry, arguing that many South African film industry professionals, including the youth, are leaving for better opportunities abroad. Some are leaving the film industry and transitioning to other businesses due to challenges faced within the sector (Elsesser, 2023). There has been growing awareness and discussion of the limited representation of females in the film industry and literature.

However, despite increasing awareness of this disparity, the industry has undergone a minimal transformation to address the inequalities in the film industry. Furthermore, no comprehensive studies are looking at the challenges faced by women in the film industry and the absorption trends of women in the film study within the KwaZulu-Natal context. This study provides vital insights into the status of women's participation in the KZN film industry and the issues they encounter in this sector, considering that the film industry in the province is still in its infancy. Hence, the main objective of this study was to (a) Investigate the underlying factors behind the underrepresentation of women in the film industry. (b) Identify challenges and barriers faced by women in the KZN film industry. (c) Propose and recommend measures to improve the participation of women in the KZN film industry.

2. Literature Review

The representation and participation of women continue to be a lingering question in many industries in South Africa and around the globe, the film industry is no exception. Gill (2013) asserted that across various genres (such as film, television, advertising, and news media), women, minority ethnic groups, and those from lower socioeconomic backgrounds are significantly under-represented in contrast to males, white people, and those from the middle and upper classes. A study by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Lora-Mungai & Pimenta, 2021) confirmed this by pointing out that gender disparities exist in the film and audio-visual industry throughout the African continent, with Central Africa exhibiting the most significant gap, where 98% of practitioners estimate that the ratio of women in the sector is less than 10%. In Eastern and Western Africa, 50% of practitioners believe that the proportion of women in the field is less than 10%. South Africa is no exception, from its inception, males have dominated the South African film industry.

Women's representation in the film industry has been a subject of considerable scholarly attention globally. Studies have consistently highlighted the glaring gender disparities that persist in the sector (Brannon Donoghue, 2023; Donoghue, 2022; Kangas et al., 2014). According to a study conducted by the Center for the Study of Women in Television and Film in 2022, women comprised 24% of directors, writers, producers, editors, and cinematographers working on the top 250 grossing films, down 1% from 2021. The study further revealed that women comprised just 7% of cinematographers working on the top 250 grossing films of 2022 that's up only 3% from 1998. The number of female editors hasn't improved much either, increasing from 20% in 1998 to 21% in 2022. Women didn't fare much better in other roles, comprising only 19% of writers, 25% of executive producers, and 31% of producers in 2022. For the top 100 grossing films, the numbers were similar, with women faring best as producers (28%), editors (18%), writers (17%), directors (11%), and cinematographers (8%). Only 9% of composers of the top 100 films were women (Elsesser, 2023).

In other countries, however, efforts to improve women's representation in the film industry have been evident in recent years, with some progress being made. The Cannes Film Festival, for instance, saw an increase in the

number of female-directed films showcased in 2023, reaching 26%, up from 18% in the previous year. Additionally, the British Academy of Film and Television Arts (BAFTA) reported a rise in the percentage of female nominees across various categories, reaching 35% in 2022 (Erbland, 2023). These developments demonstrate a growing awareness of the importance of gender parity in the industry, but much work remains to be done to ensure equal opportunities and visibility for women in the global film landscape. The gender pay gap affects most industries, with women earning less than their male counterparts – and Hollywood is no different. It was revealed that women stars earn around US$1.1M less than male actors with similar experience (Sanchez, 2024). The income gap shrinks a bit among higher earners but even among actors that have ten years or more of experience, the difference remains statistically significant. According to Sanchez (2024) female talent earned on average US$2.2M less per film which was 56% less than men. The difference in pay can be explained by the myriad factors that determine an actor's pay. This includes the financial success of the previous films that actors had been in, the genre of the film and the actor's popularity (based on things like social media followers). Sanchez (2024), accounting for variations in time spent shooting, evaluating the profitability and the production budget of the current film, and taking into consideration other movie and actor characteristics.

Women's representation in the film industry in South Africa has been a subject of concern for many years, with significant disparities persisting across various roles in the sector. In 2004, research by the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) reported that the industry employed more men than women and that the male: female ratio was slightly higher (61:39) among permanent employees than freelance/ temporary employees (56:44). On the contrary, the freelance/temporary worker category between the white/black ratio was 23:77 (HSRC, 2004). This trend continues to date, with a higher concentration of women in temporary work. NFVF (2014) reported that 15.78% of women were employed full-time and 37.66% freelancing due to hiring practices within the industry. In a recent study, the NFVF (2021) identified several systemic, institutional, and cultural barriers that prevent women from entering and breaking into higher-ranking positions in the film industry. These barriers were gender disparities in the sector, equal funding access, investor risk aversion, a lower share of broadcasting funds for female directors, and low representation of women on commissioning and funding panels (NFVF, 2021).

Another study conducted by the South African Screen Federation (SASFED) in 2021 revealed that women accounted for only 28% of directors, 32% of writers, and 23% of producers in locally produced films. This underrepresentation of women in key creative positions underscores the need for greater efforts to foster gender diversity and inclusivity within the industry (NFVF, 2022a). Despite these challenges, there have been notable strides towards improving women's representation in the South African film industry. Initiatives such as the Women's Film and Television Empowerment Programme (WFT EP) have played a crucial role in promoting gender equality by providing training and mentorship opportunities for aspiring female filmmakers. Moreover, the success of films directed or produced by women, such as "Rafiki" by Wanuri Kahiu and "Ayanda" by Sara Blecher, has shown the potential for powerful storytelling when diverse voices are given a platform. However, systemic barriers persist, hindering further progress.

The film industry has long been characterized by a significant gender imbalance, with women facing numerous challenges that hinder their participation and advancement (Shi, 2023). One of the primary obstacles is the pervasive gender bias that influences hiring practices, funding opportunities, and the distribution of roles (Teixeira et al., 2021; Weinbaum et al., 2019). Studies have shown that women are often underrepresented in key creative positions such as directors, producers, and writers, which subsequently affects the types of stories being told and the opportunities available for female actors (Khadilkar et al., 2022; Lee & Raesch, 2015). This underrepresentation is compounded by a culture of sexism and harassment that many women in the industry experience, discouraging their continued participation and advancement. Furthermore, the lack of mentorship and networking opportunities for women exacerbates these issues, making it difficult for them to gain the necessary support and visibility to succeed in a highly competitive environment (Brannon Donoghue, 2023).

The University of Southern California reported that, in Oscar's 95-year history, only 17% of nominees were women and less than 2% were black women. Moreover, only 9% of the directors of 2022 top 100 earning films list were women and less than 3% were women of color (Brown et al., 2023). In South Africa, women were less likely to break into senior roles in the film industry that impact decision-making compared to their male

counterparts (NFVF, 2022b). Albeit South African women filmmakers are vastly skilled, with 52.15% having gone through formal film school training and another 31% having acquired their skills through experience or being self-taught (NFVF, 2022b).

Addressing these challenges requires a multifaceted approach. One effective strategy is the implementation of diversity and inclusion policies that mandate equitable hiring practices and ensure that women have access to the same opportunities as their male counterparts (Ehrich et al., 2022) . Initiatives such as gender quotas for key creative roles and funding allocations specifically for female-led projects can help to level the playing field (Ehrich et al., 2022). Additionally, creating robust mentorship programs that connect emerging female talent with established industry professionals can provide the guidance and support needed to navigate the industry's complexities. Moreover, fostering a culture of accountability through clear anti-harassment policies and regular training can help to create a safer and more inclusive environment for women (Ehrich et al., 2022). By addressing both the structural and cultural barriers, these strategies can contribute to a more equitable and diverse film industry.

3. Methodology

This study used the exploratory design, which is conducted about a research problem when there are few or no earlier studies to refer to. There is no evidence that a study has been conducted on the low participation of women in the KZN film industry. This study used a mixed-method approach that involved collecting quantitative and qualitative data, integrating the two forms of data. Interviews and a survey were used as the research strategies and the interview guide and questionnaire respectively were used as data collection research instruments. The interview guide was used in face-to-face interviews. A panel of three (3) experts was used to validate the questionnaire through content validity and cognitive interviewing. The rating obtained for the questionnaire was 0.9.

Recruitment Strategy, Data Collection and Analysis

In this study, data was collected from women in the film industry aged 18 and up. The recruitment strategy involved obtaining permission from two production companies based in eThekwini Metropolitan (KZN) since there are no production houses outside the metropolitan. Gatekeepers' permissions were obtained before collecting data from individuals who agreed to participate. Data collection methods included survey questionnaires and in-person interviews, focusing on demographics, occupation of the women in film that participated in this study, mode of securing or landing current position, causes of gender disparity in the film industry, perception of men being afforded better opportunities than women in the film industry; gender bias in the workplace, challenges faced by women in the film industry and strategies to bridge the gender disparity gap within the film industry.

The collected data underwent a data cleaning and validation process, whereby all duplicate records and identified errors were removed and all typing errors corrected. To produce the expected outputs, descriptive statistical procedures in the form of frequencies were used to analyze the quantitative data. The frequency tables with corresponding summary charts were produced using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) and Microsoft Excel as data analysis tools. Qualitative data was analyzed using thematic analysis.

Sampling strategy and sample size

Purposive sampling was utilized for selecting the sample. Purposive sampling is one of the most common sampling strategies in which groups participate according to preselected criteria relevant to a particular research question (Palinkas et al., 2015). The population size for this study was estimated to be 40 women in the film (KZN FilmCommission, 2022), and the sample size was 37 women in film calculated using the Raosoft sample size calculator with a 90% confidence level and a 5% error margin. The low participation of women in the KZN film industry is attributed to job seekers leaving KZN for job opportunities in Johannesburg and Cape Town. Additionally, there are only two production houses based in eThekwini Metropolitan which affected the sample size of this study. Furthermore, these production houses are dominated by males.

Ethical consideration

Researchers encounter several ethical problems, including respect for privacy, confidentiality, maintaining honest and open relationships, and avoiding misrepresentations (Weinbaum et al., 2019). Informed consent has been regarded as an essential component of ethical research in a variety of domains (Yoo et al., 2021). As a result, this study obtained full consent from the participants. Ethical issues that were considered include confidentiality, transparency, accountability, safety of the participants, etc. Moreover, ethical clearance was obtained from the research ethics committee before conducting the study.

4. Findings and Discussion

Socio-demographic characteristics

Table 1 reveals the socio-demographic characteristics of women in the KZN film industry. The analysis shows no significant difference in employment status based on citizenship, with non-South Africans having a slightly higher employment rate (75%) compared to South Africans (66.22%). This indicates a level of inclusivity and equal opportunity for both local and international talent in the South African film industry. The equitable employment outcomes suggest that the industry is open to diverse talents, regardless of nationality, reflecting positively on the industry's diversity and inclusion practices (Lora-Mungai & Pimenta, 2021).

Age emerges as a significant factor influencing employment status. Younger individuals, particularly those aged 18-24, face considerable employment challenges, with only 35% employed in the industry. In contrast, individuals who participated in the study aged 35-65 have a 100% employment rate, indicating that experience and accumulated professional networks significantly enhance employability. These findings suggest that younger professionals may benefit from targeted programs that provide practical experiences, such as apprenticeships and mentorship schemes, to bridge the gap between education and employment. The industry could also benefit from initiatives aimed at retaining younger talent and providing them with growth opportunities (Jones, 2019).

Gender differences in employment status are not statistically significant, although females have a slightly higher employment rate (67.61%) compared to non-binary individuals (50%). This suggests that while the industry provides relatively similar employment opportunities for women and non-binary individuals, there may still be underlying challenges for non-binary professionals. The film industry should continue to promote gender inclusivity and address any subtle barriers that may exist for non-binary individuals, ensuring equal opportunities for all (Sanchez, 2024).

Table 6: Socio-demographic characteristics of Women

Variables	Measurements	Employed in the Film Industry		
		No (n=26) 33.33%	Yes (n=52) 66.67%	X2
		Percent (%)		
Citizenship	Non-South African	25.00	75	0.717
	South African	33.78	66.22	
Age	18-24	65.00	35.00	**0.000*** **
	25-34	37.14	62.86	
	35-44	0.00	100	
	45-54	0.00	100	
	55-65	0.00	100	
Gender	Female	32.39	67.61	0.216
	Non-binary	50	50	
Race	Black	32.76	67.24	0.747
	Colored	33.33	66.67	
	Indian	37.50	62.50	

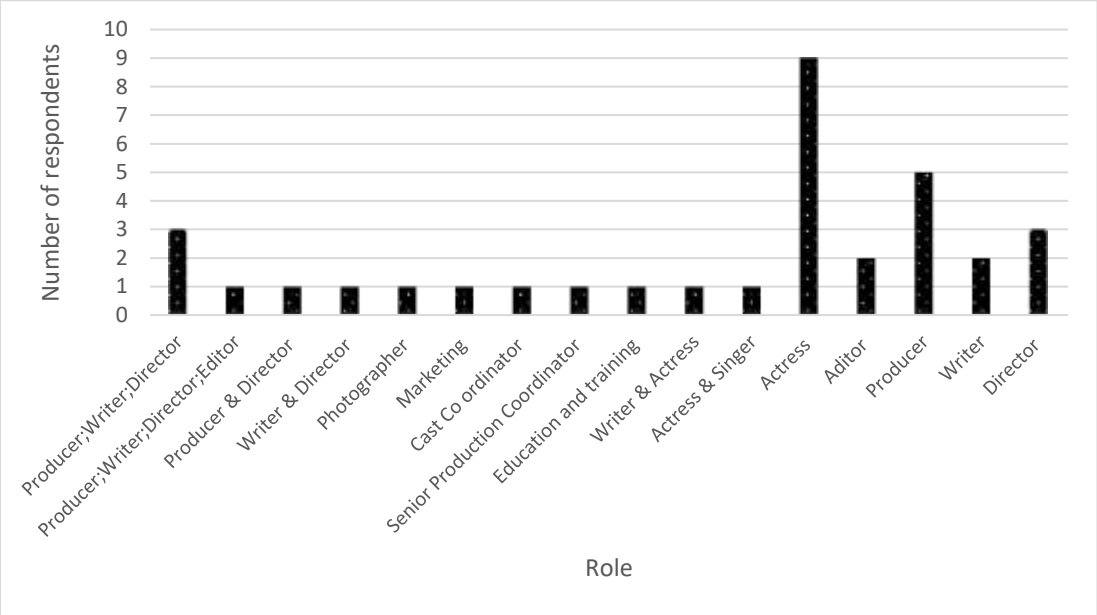
White	25	75
Other	50	50

NB: *** means significant at a 1% level

Occupation of the women in film that participated in this study

Most of the women in film that participated in the study were actors (9) followed by producers (5) directors (3), editors (2), writers (2), etc. (figure 1). Interestingly, some of the women indicated that they play different roles depending on the nature of the production, meaning they occupy more than one position, e.g., 8.8% of the women indicated that they are producers, writers, and directors, whereas one of the participants indicated that they are a producer, writer, director, editor, and enrolled as a film student. Such revelations are encouraging as they highlight the fortitude, passion, desire, and appetite that women have towards advancing in the film sector. In support of the above results, research shows that there is an underrepresentation of women as directors, producers, scriptwriters, and cinematographers (Jones, 2019; Sanchez, 2024; Yang et al., 2020). Loist & Prommer (2019) reported that, between 2009-2013, women solely directed 22% of the films, while no women were involved at all in 75% of the films. Moreover, Liddy (2020) showed that only 3% of women across the globe directed theatrical screening films, contending that there has been a percentage decline of women in all creative roles, some tripping below 30% in countries such as Australia, Germany, Portugal, New Zealand, USA, and Poland. Additionally, a study undertaken by (Smith, 2010) associating women 'on-screen' with women 'behind the camera', concluded that in films where women are 'decision-makers' such as directors, writers, and producers, the 'holy trinity' of filmmaking, more women are featured on screen as main protagonists.

Figure 1: Occupation of the women in film that participated in this study

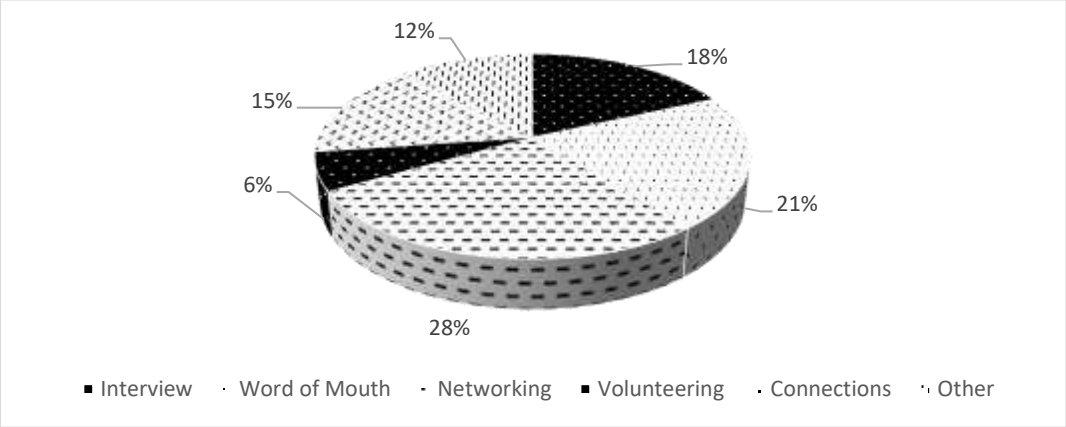


Mode of securing or landing current position

The findings of this study (figure 2) show that the most effective way to secure employment within the film industry is through networking (28%), word of mouth (21%) interviews (18%) and connections (15%). The least effective method according to the respondents is volunteering (6%). These results are consistent with the report by NFVF (2022) that revealed that the film industry does not advertise positions but instead relies on word of mouth to attract employees, so in essence, if you do not know anyone or have no connections within the industry, chances of getting employed are limited. The report further alluded that connections, referrals and networks are currently the most popular mode of finding work opportunities, outstripping that of project advertising. While this method is regarded as the most efficient and effective, there are concerns that it sets limits on transformation, for example, new entrants who are black, young, women and people living with

disabilities often find it difficult to enter the industry as they lack the support of viable networks (NFVF, 2022). Additionally, Rammal et al. (2023) affirmed that the film industry relies heavily on networks and connections which is similar to the findings of this study. These findings highlight some of the systematic barriers for women to enter the film industry.

Figure 2: Mode of securing or landing current position



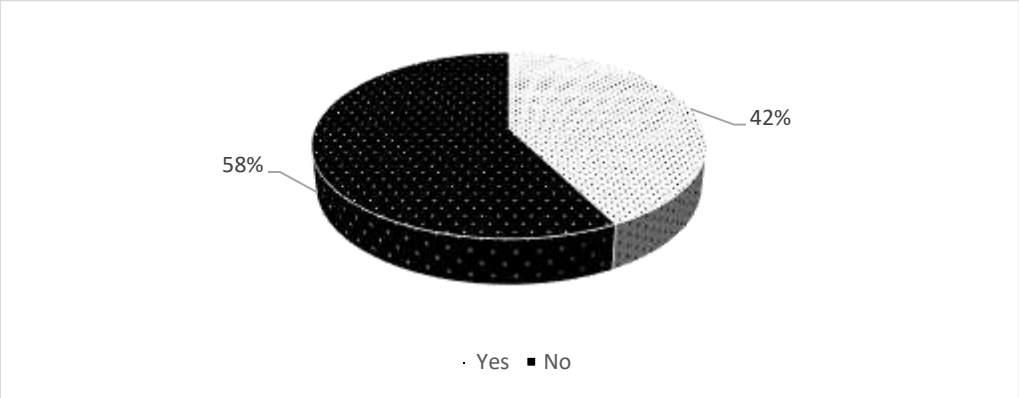
Personal experience with Gender bias in the workplace

Most of the women who participated in the study indicated that they have not been victims of gender discrimination in their workplace (58%). However, it is worth noting that 42% have been victims of gender bias (figure 3). This section unpacks in detail how the respondents have been victims of gender bias:

- Loss of opportunities due to being female.
- Being patronized by older white men, and being asked what a woman of my age is doing in the film indust
- Being paid significantly less than male co-writers and cast members, regardless of their qualifications and experience.
- Lack of structural resources and male colleagues hogging equipment.
- Being viewed as inferior, incompetent and being paid significantly less than male counterparts, regardless of the experience, and qualification.
- Being harassed and intimidated by male co-workers.
- Being overlooked and views and suggestions not being considered. Women's viewpoints and ideas are usually overlooked, and when the same ideas are presented by a male, they are supported.
- Being undermined
- Being asked for sexual favors to secure employment in the film industry.
- Being significantly underpaid and only getting freelance work.

According to Khadilkar et al. (2022), while the general portrayal of women in popular movie dialogues from both Bollywood and Hollywood has improved over time, modern films continue to demonstrate significant gender bias and have failed to attain gender equality. These findings are consistent with the findings of this study. Istead et al. (2022) discovered a widespread male bias, with more than 75% of contemporary films expressing it. However, they found that this prejudice has decreased compared to fifteen years ago. Furthermore, their study also found that the gap in box office sales between films with male and female bias is narrowing.

Figure 3: Gender bias in the workplace (film industry)



Causes of Gender disparity in the film industry

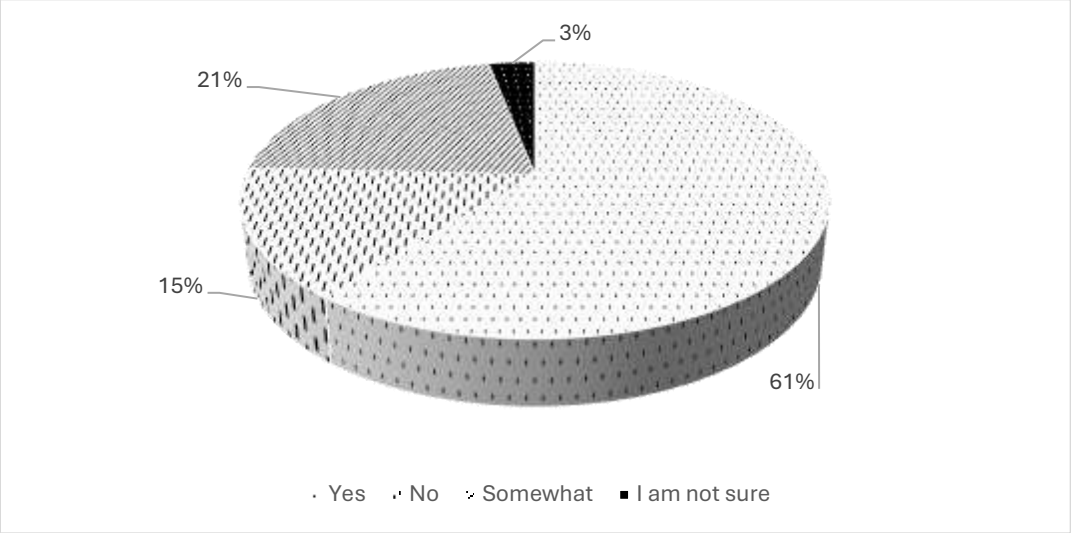
Women further requested to pinpoint the causes of gender disparity within the film industry. It is no surprise that 95% of women are of the view that there's immeasurable gender disparity in the film industry. The section below highlights some of the participant's viewpoints regarding the causes of gender disparity.

- Funders have a perception that men can do better than women, moreover, the film industry has been highly politicized.
- Industry Gatekeeping by those that have financial muscle and connections.
- Industry favors men over women, as such men occupy strategic and executive positions in the film industry.
- Patriarchal tendencies and negligence.
- If a male and a female (with similar experience and credentials) both apply for the same job in the film industry, it is most likely that the male would get the job. It could be because women are viewed as incompetent compared to men. Women are compelled to work twice as hard to be recognized as equals in the film industry.
- There is a lack of transformation within the film industry. Hence, this sector is dominated by males.
- The industry has traditionally been run by white males, women coming into the industry are victimized and discriminated against. Moreover, there is a preference for younger and aesthetically pleasing women in the industry over talent and experience.
- Women face barriers to entry into the film industry. Furthermore, due to financial constraints accessing opportunities and resources needed to succeed in the industry, including funding, mentorship, and networking is challenging.
- Instances of discrimination, sexual harassment, and a toxic work environment have deterred women from pursuing careers in film.
- Women are severely disadvantaged and marginalized in the film industry and are not offered the same opportunities as males.
- Due to the stereotypes, women are deemed to be individuals who cannot balance work and family life.
- South Africa is a country with the highest inequality; therefore, patriarchy is a significant factor.
- Women are treated as inferior and depicted as sexual objects.
- The reason could be that men are more flexible about working long hours, whereas women have more responsibilities e.g. taking care of households, and family while also trying to pursue a career.
- Women are not adequately supported nor encouraged to participate in the film industry.
- "Historically, the voice in the film industry has been typically white male. This could explain the nature of the content, narratives, characters, and style of many films that we have produced over the past hundred years. This has resulted in gender disparity. But there certainly have been changes and transformation is happening, at a slow rate. More female producers are aware of the disparity and would like to be part of the change by ensuring more females are set behind the scenes and in the pre and postproduction process.
- In the film industry it is not so much what you know, it is more about who you know in the industry (connections).

- Women must be encouraged to acquire technical skills that are necessary in sets, such as lighting, editing, cinematography, animations, etc. These positions are frequently occupied by males.

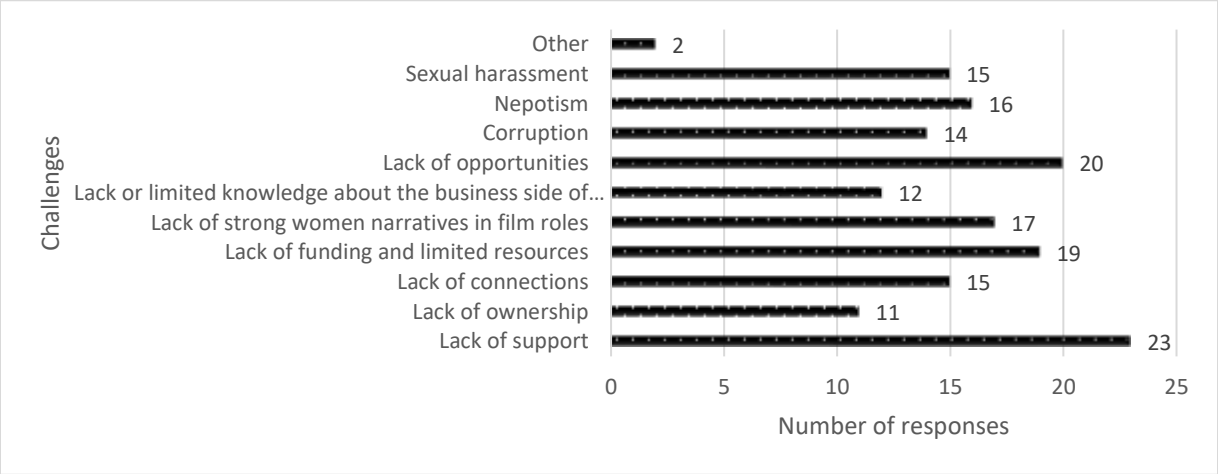
Men are afforded better opportunities than women in the film industry.
A staggering 61% of the participants affirmed that men are favored and offered better opportunities in the film industry as compared to females. Moreover, 21% pinpointed that this is somewhat a status quo in the industry. Only 15% of the respondents believed that equal opportunities are offered to both sexes (figure 4). Consistent with the findings of this study NFVF (2022), reported that in South Africa, women were less likely to break into senior roles that impact decision-making compared to their male counterparts.

Figure 4: Perception of men being afforded better opportunities than women in the film industry



Challenges faced by women in the film industry
Women in the film industry face tremendous challenges ranging from lack of support (23), lack of opportunities (20), lack of funding and limited resources (19), lack of strong women narratives in the film roles (17), nepotism (16), lack of connections (15) and sexual harassment (15), etc. This is depicted in Figure 5 below. Other scholars have asserted that women in the film industry face innumerable challenges of gender inequality and discrimination, lack of mentorships, lack of training and education, bias in funding, sexual exploitation, sexual harassment, and balancing family life and work, amongst other issues that hinder their participation and success in the industry (Ehrich et al., 2022; Sandoval, 2022; Stamarski & Son Hing, 2015). Milkman (1987), further observed that jobs available to women in film lacked the pay and the challenges that had made wartime work so satisfying, encouraging women to define themselves in terms of home and family even when they were working. Mosomi (2019) reported that although women's participation in the labor force has increased significantly, they are often employed in low-wage positions in the film sector, while men tend to be employed in higher-paying positions. Additionally, Sanchez (2024) revealed that women stars earn around US$1.1M less than male actors with similar experience.

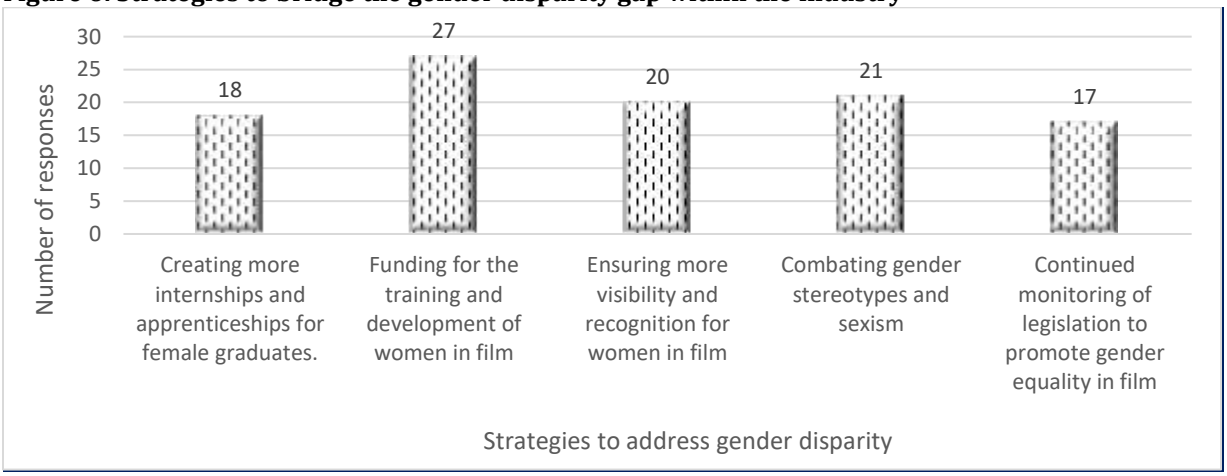
Figure 5: Challenges faced by women in the film industry



Strategies to bridge the gender disparity gap within the film industry

Several strategies have been proposed by women in film to address gender disparity and gender bias within the film industry (figure 6). These strategies include funding for the training and development of women in film (27), combating gender stereotypes and sexism (21), and ensuring more visibility and recognition for women in film (20). Similarly, according to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (Lora-Mungai & Pimenta, 2021), access to high-quality filmmaking education and training is crucial for gaining the requisite skills. However, many aspiring filmmakers face impediments to formal schooling or specialized training programs due to budgetary constraints and lack of availability in specific areas. The absence of educational and training opportunities impedes the skill development and professional advancement of women in the film sector. The implementation of the proposed strategies will transform the film industry and will enable more women to participate and contribute meaningfully to the film industry. Jessop et al. (2022) affirmed the importance of actively funding women-owned enterprises in the film industry. The authors regard this intentional conduct as an essential step that should be carried out with open transparency and a reporting and tracking system that offers up-to-date statistics on the number of women that have been supported and the value derived from such initiatives. They further postulated that there is a need to expand and develop women entrepreneurs' networks or social capital in the film industry. They believe that structured mentoring should be used to keep mentors and mentees accountable for optimizing their relationships. Stereotypical and gender-biased images foster damaging and limited perceptions of women and their skills. When women are regularly portrayed as docile, objectified, or restricted to conventional roles, a culture emerges that hinders women's and girls' desires and successes (Olorunfemi, 2018).

Figure 6: Strategies to bridge the gender disparity gap within the industry



5 Conclusion and Recommendations

The film sector, with its interconnected stages of production, distribution, exhibition, and consumption, plays a significant role in both the entertainment industry and the country's economy. Through its diverse contributions, including revenue generation, job creation, cultural preservation, and artistic expression, the film industry enriches society and provides audiences worldwide with compelling audiovisual experiences. To ensure its continued success, collaboration between policymakers and industry stakeholders is essential in addressing challenges and promoting a thriving film industry that not only entertains but also drives economic growth and cultural diversity on a provincial and national scale. In South Africa, the film industry has flourished, reflecting the nation's cultural diversity, and addressing social issues through powerful storytelling. Efforts to nurture emerging talent and foster international collaborations have bolstered the industry's growth and economic impact. However, women's representation in the film sector remains a pressing challenge. Gender inequality, limited access to education and funding, lack of role models and mentorship, bias in distribution, and family-work balance issues hinder women from fully participating in the industry. To address these challenges, promoting diversity and inclusion, providing access to education and training, supporting female filmmakers, promoting gender equality, and encouraging mentorship and networking opportunities are crucial steps toward a more inclusive and equitable film industry. By embracing these strategies, the film sector can tap into the creative potential of a diverse range of talents, enriching storytelling and driving success on both artistic and economic fronts. Additionally, this research advocates for the following:

- Policy initiative aimed at transforming the KZN film industry and increasing female participation.
- Fostering more female-targeted international internship programs.
- Provision of mentorship programs that pair experienced female professionals with aspiring women in the film industry. These programs can help build confidence, develop skills, and help aspiring creatives navigate the industry's complexities.
- Establishment of labor unions and policy formulation in the film industry to deal with issues of inclusivity, diversity, the safety of women and equality.
- Development of a whistle-blower line that will encourage women to report sexual harassment, abuse and intimidation.
- Afford women equal opportunities in technical jobs e.g. directors of production, pullers, gaffers, key grips, camera, lighting, and grips. Not all women aspire to work in makeup, hair and wardrobe.
- Providing a safe, conducive, and supportive work environment for women.
- Combating gender stereotypes and sexism within the industry and ensuring more visibility and recognition for women in film.
- Push for talent and experience when it comes to job opportunities and rely less on informal connections and networking.
- Female production team as a strategy to increase the participation of women in the Film industry i.e., female directors and producers are a key to getting more women behind the scenes.
- Promote equal pay for equal work regardless of gender.
- Women should be encouraged to write, produce and direct their own stories that consider the critical societal issues that affect women in general.

Limitations

Data collectors faced the challenge of gender identification since Gen X and Z no longer identify as binary (male and female). Most respondents, natural females, were offended by the gender options- male, female and other. They argued that “other” was not inclusive of queer identities. The study could not determine the exact population size because there are no official records to ascertain the number of women in the KZN Film industry. Furthermore, the low participation of women in the KZN film industry was due to job seekers leaving KZN for job opportunities in Johannesburg and Cape Town. Additionally, there are only two production houses based in eThekwini Metropolitan which affected the sample size of this study.

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Apprenticeship as a Work-based Learning in Addis Ababa City Administration of Ethiopia

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Abstract: This study aimed to examine apprenticeship from the standpoint of work-based learning and its function in skill development. Considering this, the study attempted to investigate historical settings as well as contemporary behaviors, including the potential and difficulties associated with apprenticeship. A qualitative method and quantitative data from documents were used to address this objective. Interviews were done to assess opportunities and difficulties throughout the apprenticeship. For analysis, the interview data were transcribed. To supplement this, documents and previous works on apprenticeship's institutional, organizational (employers) and individual (apprentices) contexts were used. The approach and materials consulted were chosen depending on policy relevance and contextual appropriateness. Accordingly, research-based documents were thematically organized and analyzed. Hence, the results showed that the development of skills and work behavior was aided by apprenticeships as a route of skill transition. Because costs were matched by companies (enterprises) in this arrangement, it gave young people a chance to support themselves. However, part of the problem emanates from the traditional nature of apprenticeship, which has a low contribution to economic development. Weak linkage was also observed between vocational institutes and apprenticeship providers. Finally, policy alternatives were suggested to fill the existing deviation in the direction of school-to-work transition.

Keywords: *Apprenticeship, vocational institutes, companies, school-to-work-transition, Work-based learning*

1. Introduction

Context and Problem Statement

Situated in the Horn of Africa, Ethiopia is a nation steeped in history. Other than an Italian short-term invasion, it is the only country in Africa that has never been colonized. Ethiopia is taken into consideration because of its location in the middle of a fragile ecosystem. The African Union and several international organizations are headquartered in the capital Addis Ababa, which also has the third-highest concentration of diplomatic missions worldwide, after only New York and Geneva. The population is estimated to be 108.4 million in the CSA's 2007 prediction of 2018 est., of which approximately half are female and 78.8% live in rural areas where agriculture is their primary source of income (2019 est.). It is also noteworthy to observe that, even though around 50% of the population is in the labor force, 19.1% of people in the nation are unemployed (2018 est.).

Although Ethiopia is the only nation in Africa to have its own written script dating back to the Axumite period (4th century), it has a low literacy rate of 51.8% (2017). Besides, despite a 66.1% gain between 2000 and 2019, the nation's Human Development Index (HDI) in 2019 was 0.485, placing it in the low HDI group. GNI per capita increased by 6.25% to 850 USD in 2019 from 2018. However, Ethiopia is spending money on education to end poverty. The government enrolls 20 million children in school, allocating nearly 20% of its budget to education.

Ethiopia is seeing a sharp increase in schooling across the board. Still, there is a long way to go before the educational system can raise the standard of instruction. There is educational inequality between boys and girls as well as between urban and rural (nomadic) populations. Furthermore, the TVET system is not strongly linked with small and medium enterprises (SMEs). Studies on the SME sector in Ethiopia have identified that skill training is not oriented to enterprise development; limited access to market information; lack of credit facilities to start or expand firms; and high prices of raw materials and low sales prices (Fitsum & Shumiye, 2000). Additionally, training facilities prioritize information acquisition over value and skill development. Besides, graduates lack employability or soft skills. Thus, this study focuses on apprenticeship as a work-based learning in Addis Ababa as a means of resolving this policy priority issue.

Background and Emergence of Apprenticeship

Informal vocational education dates to a time when people were living together and starting to provide for their fundamental necessities. To make room for hunting and food gathering, early humans cleared the

vegetation using fire, axes, sticks, and stones. Little knowledge was verbally transmitted from father to son. During this time, learning was done by skill imitation (Abramson, Tittle & Cohen, 1979; Brembeck, 1970).

According to Baliey & Stady (1973), the Babylonian Code of Hammurabi has the earliest record of informal apprenticeship: if a craftsman adopts a son and teaches him his trade, then others cannot legally sue him. The adoptive son might go back to his father's house if he doesn't educate him on how to make handicrafts. It appears from exhibits of ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome that this was one way that skills were passed down.

People eventually learned how to make tools by melting metal and using fire to cook over time. With these talents, division of labor was required, as opposed to the earlier days of doing everything possible. While some people make their income as smiths, others are employed as carpenters, masons, or weavers. Different craftspeople formed social groupings due to the new social development, and the Middle Ages' guilds developed from these social groups (Abramson, Tittle & Cohen, 1979).

During the Middle Ages, an apprenticeship program was run by the guild's association (association to safeguard members' interests). Apprenticeship was created because family legacy and intuitive learning were not sufficient means of passing down knowledge. It consists of young people studying any trade under the guidance of skilled artisans and in compliance with set guidelines. Training and production are combined in this approach to help the trainees grow into adult life (Hanson, 1977 & Brubacher, 1987).

Subsequently, the fast development of machinery and the increased demand for goods led to a greater need for mass production than apprenticeship. Thus, the primary cause of the fall of medieval apprenticeship and the rise of new formal schooling models and advanced apprenticeship was the Industrial Revolution (Abramson, Tittle & Cohen, 1979).

Although apprenticeship in its informal form is as old as mankind, its development is at an early stage in most developing countries including Ethiopia. Informal apprenticeship of the old times is related to the transmission of family heritage, unconscious learning, and the guilds of medieval apprenticeship. Nowadays, informal apprenticeship involves unstructured traditional apprenticeship in work situations. Formal and modern apprenticeships, on the other hand, are regulated through a contract between companies and apprentices.

The Trend and Development of Apprenticeship in Ethiopia

Handcrafters, artisans, and other manually skilled people faced discrimination and hatred in Ethiopia. They were viewed as lower castes to the point where parents would not permit their sons or daughters to marry in those homes while they were young. It is depressing to observe a circumstance in which many people make use of their household utensils and appliances while paradoxically displaying hostility. Names are connected to vocations in Germany. For example, the terms "blacksmith," "leather worker," and "shoemaker" are indicated by the terms Schmidt, Lederer, and Schumacher. Conversely, names of Ethiopians like Getachew, Goitom, and Bulcha are more indicative of self-glory than occupations (Teklehaimanot, 2003).

Even though modern education was introduced in the 20th century and the Ethiopian government intended for people to acquire technological skills, most courses taught in schools were intellectual, to prepare students for various administrative and clerical roles.

The information that is now available suggests that structured apprenticeship programs and vocational training were not prevalent in previous times. Nevertheless, it was mentioned that there had been a need for foreign artisans during the reign of Emperor Theodros (1855–1868). Emperor Menlik II also played a crucial role in the introduction of a few Swiss artisans to Ethiopia in 1877 (Girma et al, 1990).

Ethiopia's educational system has recently shifted to emphasize apprenticeships and vocational training—a mix of workplace training in firms and relevant technical and theoretical study in school. Before 1997, there were just 17 TVET institutes, a situation that persisted for almost ten years. With the addition of 25 skill development centers to the system in 1997, there were 42 TVET institutions in total. Dramatic reform attempts were made to the TVET system in 2001. As a result, there were 141 TVET intuitions in 2001 and 582 in 2016–17, with a total enrollment of 302,083 students under public and non-government responsibility.

TVET trainees in Addis Ababa City Administration rose from 31,186 in 2012–13 to 40,447 in 2016–17, with 50.3% female participants. The number of TVET institutes rose from 33 in 2012–13 to 90 in 2016–17. However, job searchers and employment opportunities are not aligned. Additionally, the growth of TVET institutions puts pressure on the placement of apprenticeships (MoE, 2016/17).

Proclamation No. 391/2004 states that the TVET office is responsible for determining the apprenticeship program for each occupation, after consulting with employers and considering occupational norms (FDRE, 2004b). The three alternate models listed in the apprenticeship guidelines are as follows:

- trainees are assigned for apprenticeships after finalizing training in the TVET centers at several occupations.
- possibility for trainees to conduct three of the five modules they enroll in and go for cooperative training and then pursue the remaining modules upon accomplishing apprenticeship.
- trainees can only undertake an apprenticeship after completing all training modules.

In the past, a lot of training facilities chose the first course of action. Currently, though, the final option—which has to do with cooperative training—has gained popularity. The proclamation states that organizations that will participate in the provision of apprenticeship will be chosen by a state-authorized body using standards and criteria set by the office. Despite being mentioned in the proclamation's language, the present practice of choosing apprenticeship providers does not follow the established standards. This can be attributed to the scarcity of apprenticeship providers (companies/enterprises).

2. Concepts of Apprenticeship

Meanings of Apprenticeship, Internship, and Cooperative Training

Vocational training may be situated along a continuum. At one end is secondary school-based training and at the other side of the continuum comes firm-based (apprenticeship) training. The category of apprenticeship ranges from more of the training exclusively undertaken by enterprises for unemployed school leavers to more formal secondary school vocational training with some familiarization training in enterprises. Most developing countries pursue the latter, that is, school-based vocational training with little attachment to enterprises. Conversely, developed countries prefer the former which focuses on labor market-oriented apprenticeship. Between these two extremes, German-speaking nations have a dual paradigm that combines a higher percentage of apprenticeship in companies with less part-time in-school training.

Apprenticeship involves individuals learning in companies or small firms through contractual agreements and under the guidance of master craftsmen. The term cooperative training, being the recent version of apprenticeship, was introduced to reinforce the dual nature of training at both the TVET institutes and companies or enterprises.

Apprenticeship contributes to building positive work habits involving continuous improvement, reshaping, and redevelopment of individuals. Work habits and attitudes cannot be associated with a single effect but are the result of repeated interface through learning by doing (Patton and McMahon, 1999).

Apprenticeship, internship, and cooperative training try to integrate both in-school and in-company training. These concepts could be used interchangeably or slightly differ and their application is context-based. For instance, in health sciences, an internship is mostly used, whereas in TVET apprenticeship or cooperative training is practiced. According to the Addis Ababa TVET Agency, in strict cooperative training, trainees will be assigned to companies for skill-based training under company supervisors after completing at least one module or unit of competency in TVET institutes. Regarding internship, trainees will be placed in companies upon completion of one level (minimum of two to three modules) at TVET institutes. On the other hand, an apprenticeship scheme will be commenced when the in-company training is undertaken upon completion of the total required in-school training. Thus, all these three concepts are aimed at facilitating school-to-work transitions (SWT) and strengthening the community's way of life through hands-on experience and value formation.

Traditional Apprenticeship as a Means for Informal Skill and Value Formation

Due to the increased expenses of formal apprenticeships and lack of relevance, attention is being given to traditional apprenticeships in some developing countries. In Kenya, 40% of trainees receive skill training through traditional apprenticeship. Similarly, traditional apprenticeship is responsible for 80-90% of skills development in Ghana (Abdelkarim & Haan, 2002/03). Traditional apprenticeship is very important in Senegal. According to Maldonado and et.al (2001), about 68% of the total micro and small enterprises are traditional apprentices.

The community including the apprentices, the family, and master crafts (wo)men have different attitudes towards a traditional apprenticeship. Given the relative potentials and limitations of traditional apprenticeship, Table 1 presents the following comparative perspective.

Table 1: Potentials and Limitations of Traditional Apprenticeship Training (TAT)

TAT strengths	TAT weaknesses
basic skills are covered in the training, together with instruction in a technology pertinent to the sociocultural conditions of the area	limited introduction of technological advancement theoretical issues are not given enough attention
basic business skills included in the training	typically, no pre-planned training program and no training materials
practical, hands-on training is the major focus	low-quality training tools and equipment and absence of standards
training allows for the gradual development of a business network in the informal sector.	no protections against using apprentices as cheap labor
training frequently leads to employment in the same workshop.	frequently, high apprentice/'master' ratio
training costs are low as there is no need for training centers or separate training tools and equipment	masters may lack appropriate teaching abilities resulting in passive learning and repetition, inadequate training/working environments.
training costs are minimal; the "master" and/or the apprentices' families are responsible for all training expenses & subsidies are not required	rarely linked with post-training skills testing without recognized training certificates.
although TAT is frequently utilized by young people as pre-employment training, it is available to anyone who wants to learn a trade.	there is no further training assistance or follow-up. payment of fees can be challenging for apprentices from low-income homes.
Hence, it can also be used for skill enhancement.	apprenticeship is less relevant for girls and women since it is more popular in male-dominated trades

Source: (Abdelkarim & Haan, 2002/03)

Although traditional apprenticeship as pre-employment training is related to the socio-economic situation of the community and is less costly, it has limitations in terms of technology, standards, and working conditions. However, concomitant to promoting modern practical attachments, homegrown and indigenous traditional apprenticeship approaches need to be scaled up.

Social & Economic Contributions of Apprenticeship for Work-based Learning

Apprenticeship as a social phenomenon of learning should not only rely on the traditional transmission model (apprentice-master relationship). Instead, it needs to spearhead transformative learning, which considers not only the transmission of existing knowledge but also the value of new knowledge being created within workplace communities (Guile & Young, 1998).

Work-based learning such as apprenticeship should be demand-led. Hence, there is a need for partnership among employers, training providers and apprentices. These partners should be convinced about the social and economic importance of learning in the workplace. The presence of partnership increases the value added and is ultimately responsible for shifting the focus from merely considering learning as a cost to of learning as an investment (Smith & Betts, 2000).

Based on the works of the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (Cedefop) and other partners, work-based learning (WBL) refers to:

"All forms of learning that take place in a real work environment. It provides individuals with the skills needed to obtain and keep jobs and progress in their professional development. Apprenticeships, internships/traineeships, and on-the-job training are the most common types of work-based learning" (Cedefop, et.al, 2022: 7).

UNESCO-UNEVOC outlined why work-based learning matters. To this end, Sweet (2013) specified the benefits of work-based learning hereunder.

- Work-based learning can raise firm efficiency and competitiveness,
- Work-based learning is a powerful form of pedagogy,
- Work-based learning can enhance trainees' career development,
- Work-based learning can result in decent youth transitions, and
- Work-based learning can raise the quality of vocational studies.

As discussed in the section above, work-based learning benefits both individual trainees (apprentice) and apprenticeship-offering organizations. Enterprises fulfill their social responsibilities by contributing towards the enhancement of school-to-work-transition (SWT). For apprentices, work-based learning familiarizes them with the work environment.

Contextualized learning that considers the reality of the workplace increases student motivation for vocational students with part-time apprenticeship arrangements, relative to their counterparts under a purely school-based approach. Such problem-solving and workplace-oriented methods bring better learning outcomes to vocational trainees (Grubb, 1995; Unwin & Wellington, 1995).

In apprenticeship, it is important to maintain the balance between production and learning (practice). Otherwise, the learning environment in the workplace will be adversely affected. In support of this, Brooker and Butler (1997: 487) asserted that "in a context where production is valued over learning, several effective learning processes are underdeveloped and undervalued." Moreover, some apprenticeship offering employers used to limit learning at the workplace in the interest of immediate production (Ryan, 1994). Hence, learning and production are complementary and sparing for learning to enhance productivity.

The profitability of vocational training, among other things, depends on duration and mode of delivery. To this end, social return to different modes of training is acceptably high. Conversely, World Bank studies indicated that firm-based training and short-term courses have a higher payoff than vocational training which, mainly takes place in schools at least in Kenya, Peru, India, and Israel (Metcalf, 1985 & Psacharopolous1987).

Besides, according to research in Israel, apprenticeships are found to be cheaper and equally effective than vocational schools (Lauglo, 1993). Similarly, the cost per student is nine times higher for vocational schools than for apprenticeship or firm-based training (Metcalf, 1985).

Informal Apprenticeship versus Modern Apprenticeship

Whereas formal or modern apprenticeship is a contract between firms and apprentices that is regulated by the Apprenticeship Act, traditional or informal apprenticeship involves skill training in small firms and family circles. In a traditional apprenticeship, trainees live with their master's family and receive training by working under them. It is uncommon for modern apprenticeships to follow this method. In a conventional apprenticeship, the apprentice must pay the master for the knowledge and skills they wish to acquire. However, in a modern apprenticeship, the apprentice receives compensation from the proprietors of the respective industries. Industries typically provide apprenticeships in addition to trade theory. A trade test is given after the course, and certificates are given. Employers would rather hire an apprentice than someone unfamiliar with the nature of the work if there is a vacancy in the industry.

One of the most successful and economical methods is modern apprenticeship. Because employers bear most of the costs, the government saves money on it. Less money will be spent overall on the national economy because the same resources—instructors, tools, supplies, and time—will all be pooled. Apprenticeship, in the modern sense, requires cooperation among employers, apprentices and the government. Apprentices' Assessment Form may serve as a communication document between training institutions and apprenticeship

providers. If apprenticeship is to stay competitive, employers need to be the primary decision-makers about how many apprenticeship placements to offer and what skill standards are aimed for. However, strong employers and chambers that coordinate apprenticeship do not exist in most countries except in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and some other countries (Steedman, Gospel & Ryan, 1998).

Table 2: Summary of Relationships between Modern and Traditional Apprenticeship

Modern Apprenticeship	Traditional Apprenticeship
A contract among companies, TVET institutions and apprentices that is regulated by the Apprenticeship Act	Involves skill training in family circles or small firms.
Promotes transformative learning, which considers not only the transmission of existing knowledge but also the value of new knowledge created within the workplace	Learning through the traditional transmission model (apprentice-master relationship)
Apprentices need to travel to companies or enterprises for practical training.	Apprentices are trained by working & residing with their master's or live in surrounding with their families.
Owners or managers of companies pay allowance for apprentices, and it is cost-effective for the government because employers share most of the cost.	Apprentices need to pay their masters for the skills required to learn.

Source: (Researcher's Own Construct from the Literature)

Apprenticeship, in its informal sense, is one of the oldest means of transmitting knowledge, skill and values. In the earlier periods, experiences passed from father to son verbally and through imitation. Conversely, modern apprenticeship involves youngsters learning in enterprises under the guidance of company supervisors and agreement between the apprentices and the organization. Although both traditional and modern apprenticeships are practiced in Ethiopia, their implementation lacks appropriate structure and coordination.

Objectives of the Study

- To stress the need for integrating traditional apprenticeship with modern apprenticeship after assessing its relative strengths and limitations.
- To contribute to the enhancement of working culture and school-company ties by resolving issues and utilizing the favorable environment already in place.

3. Research Methods

The research aimed at examining the apprenticeship context of Addis Ababa City Administration from the viewpoint of work-based learning and its role in skill development, which is one of the policy debates in technical and vocational education and training. To address this challenge, the study approach was qualitative with some statistical data from documents and concerned TVET agencies. An interview was employed to investigate the problems that affect the social learning process and economic returns of in-company training during apprenticeship. The interview was conducted with two officials and five experts from Addis Ababa TVET and Technology Development Bureau after getting their consent and explaining the purpose of the study. The time and venue were decided at the convenience of the interviewees.

To supplement this, the researcher used secondary sources including previous research and policy documents on apprenticeship regarding apprenticeship's legal, institutional, organizational (employers) and individual (apprentices) contexts. The approach and materials consulted were chosen depending on policy relevance and contextual appropriateness. Accordingly, research-based documents were thematically organized and analyzed. Lastly, policy recommendations were presented considering the findings to bridge the gap between the status of apprenticeship and its ideal condition.

Research Questions

- What are the major strengths and weaknesses of traditional apprenticeship? In what ways traditional apprenticeship is integrated with a modern apprenticeship?
- What are the potential and limitations of apprenticeship that promote workplace culture and school--company relations?

Ethical Considerations

The main ethical concerns in the study were informed consent and the privacy of the respondents. These were addressed by informing the participants about the objectives of the study and obtaining their informed consent. The author also states that there is no financial or non-financial conflict of interest.

4. Findings and Discussion from Existing Activities and Review of Previous Practices

The Tables and interview findings below provide information about the state of apprenticeship in Addis Ababa.

Table 3: Summary of Apprenticeship Coverage

Year	No Apprenticeship Providers (Companies)	No Trainees Enrolled	No Trainees Placed for Apprenticeship	Apprenticeship Coverage (%)	Remark
2012/2013	468	23400	20601	88	
2013/2014	1758	25521	24963	97.8	
2014/2015	1322	24406	21920	89.8	
2017/2018	2059	16, 160	13, 736	85	
2018/2019	2,173	32331	28,128	87	
2019/2020	Complete data not obtained			55	Data not obtained
2020/2021	1281	19,355	12,010	62.05	
2021/2022	1445	23,593	17,251	73.12	

Source: Addis Ababa TVET & Technology Development Bureau

Table 3 shows that there was a minor decline in apprenticeship coverage in 2014/2015 after an increase in 2013/2014. Besides, from 2017 to 2019, coverage in government TVET institutes increased concerning trainees and companies/enterprises. However, in 2020, because of the Covid-19 pandemic, coverage declined. But, as of 2021, coverage exhibited an upward tendency. Thus, encouraging participation in cooperative training or apprenticeship needs to be strengthened and supported by improving TVET–company relations.

It is anticipated that trainees will be placed in businesses to receive hands-on training. If trainees are not placed in cooperative training or apprenticeship, they will participate in project-based learning at their TVET institutions. The Addis Ababa TVET & Technology Development Bureau's annual report for 2022 states that 73.12% of training was covered in cooperative settings. Apprentices must take competency examinations, which, are referred to as the Certificate of Competencies (CoCs) after completing their apprenticeships in their firms. According to the report mentioned above, 86% of the graduates were competent, and 80% of them were able to find employment.

After obtaining permission, the researcher undertook an interview with representatives and specialists from Addis Ababa TVET. To hide the respondents, the interview participants (p) coded as p1, p2, p3, … As shown below, one of the specialists indicated the implementation of apprenticeship as:

"Despite facing challenges related to ownership problems and a weak legal environment, apprenticeship offers several opportunities. It allows apprentices to learn about work ethics, provides a chance to wage employment and self-employed jobs, helps firms find skilled workers who are already familiar with the work situation, and reduces the cost of training and recruitment. Moreover, it opens the door for firms to establish partnerships with TVET institutions through a memorandum of understanding (MoU) (Interview, p 1, Expert)."

Furthermore, the researcher was able to witness the presence of apprenticeship strategies, manuals, and recommendations. The second respondent highlighted the following challenges on apprenticeships from the perspective of the company:

"Lack of statistical data on TVET; poor communication between TVET institutions and businesses regarding the state of trainees and potential jobs in the future; and the availability of employment data that is not broken down by apprenticeship or cooperative training (i.e., does not indicate the percentage of trainees in the apprenticeship that secure employment). According to apprenticeship providers, enterprises place trainees on existing gaps that might not be appropriate for their needs; they avoid placing trainees on pricey machinery and equipment because of the risk of damage and expense; and they do not offer trainee insurance (Interview, p 2, Expert)."

Both interviews (experts) explained their concerns about the role of TVET institutions and companies in jointly undertaking apprenticeships. Whereas the first expert stressed more on the enabling factors or opportunities of apprenticeship, the second expert stated the challenges mostly from the company's side.

Mulugeta (2014) states that among the criteria used to choose apprenticeship providers were the interest in cooperative training providing companies/enterprises, as well as the availability of business supervisors and related jobs. Other opportunities that arise during the implementation of apprenticeship include the government's dedication, strategies, manuals, and the existence of prospective firms in Addis Ababa. Lack of training resources, trainers' inadequate credentials, and trainees' transportation expenses resulting from great distances traveled for apprenticeship are some of the problems negatively impacting the practice of apprenticeship.

Concerning strengthening ties between TVET institutions and companies, Vocational Guidance, and Technology Transfer and Industry Extension units play a great role in facilitating school-to-work-transitions (SWTs).

According to Fita (2014), intervention areas for the implementation of industry extension service programs are Entrepreneurship (business plan, essential bookkeeping, etc.), Technical Assistance (identification skill deviation & training), Technological assistance, and Kaizen (continuous quality improvement & workflow). About this, an official from Addis Ababa TVET and Technology Bureau has the following to say:

TVET instructors take part in industrial extension support, short-term training, and regular TVET training. Apprentice placement, being one of the components of cooperative training, links TVET institutions with businesses to offer hands-on training for the apprentices and thereby opens doors for future job possibilities in the same business firm or elsewhere. Such in-house instruction could help get students ready for independent work (Interview, p. 1, Official).

By connecting the activities of industrial extension and vocational guidance services, the second official explained the practice in the following manner:

Every TVET institution exerts effort to connect education with employment by carrying out tracer studies, offering career counseling, and disseminating labor market data. Advice and assistance will be provided to students who did not secure employment following graduation to help them create saving habits and business strategies. Following that, a relationship with SME will be established. The SMEs seek to develop young business owners and facilitate possibilities of getting workspace" (Interview, p. 2, Official).

Based on the remark by one of the experts, "Technology Transfer and Industry Extension at the TVET institutions provides support for new TVET graduates and for those already established in small and medium enterprises (SMEs) (Interview, p 3, Expert)."

Nevertheless, the other expert outlined the undermentioned factors that adversely affected the vocational guidance and industry extension services at TVET institutions.

- High turnover of trainers,
- Inadequacy of credit facility,
- Weak market opportunity,
- Weak network possibilities with employers and chambers, and
- Poor infrastructure (Interview, p 4, Expert).

Concerning the demand side of apprenticeship provision, one of the experts reacted that, "apprenticeship offering organizations did not invest in team learning or social learning for the trainees during in-company training. Conversely, some TVET institutes were not strong in communicating with apprenticeship providers about the situation of the apprentices and future job opportunities" (Interview, p 5, Expert).

As the interview findings revealed, the demand and supply side argument on apprenticeship placement and participation is vital in strengthening in-school and in-company training schemes. Failure to address the gap will adversely affect the feasibility of apprenticeship training. To this effect, guidance offices from vocational education and training intuitions and company supervisors are expected to jointly undertake and evaluate apprenticeship programs. There is also a need to involve major stakeholders including the Ministry of Education (MoE), Ministry of Labor and Skills (MoLS), Chambers of Commerce, Employers' Federation, Trade Union, etc. in designing curriculum or occupational standard (OS), supporting labor market information system, and administration of competency test upon completion of the apprenticeship training (CoC trade test). Hence, the social and economic aspects of apprenticeship need to be carefully integrated to facilitate the school-to-work transition and thereby enable young people to learn work culture and be on their own.

Regardless of the current conducive policy environment for apprenticeship, the trend and development of apprenticeship programs encountered a lot of limitations including scarcities of industries for apprenticeship placement, reluctance of apprenticeship providing organizations to collaborate, inadequate motivation, apprentices often not ready, and absence of partnership (Wondwossen, 2021).

Table 4: Summary of Opportunities & Challenges in Apprenticeship Extracted from the Findings

Opportunities	Challenges
- Enables to nurture work ethics & facilitates access to wage employment and enterprise development	- Apprentice providers not willing to accept trainees for practical training
- Assist businesses in obtaining qualified personnel who are used to the workplace, which lowers training and hiring expenses	-Apprenticeship providers did not assign apprentices to heavy appliances because of the associated expenses and fear of damage
- Prepares employers to sign memorandums of understanding (MoUs) with TVET directives	- Poor relationship between TVET colleges and employers about apprentice's situation and employment opportunities
- Presence of favorable policy & working documents	- Absence of organized TVET statistical information

Hence, the apprenticeship scheme or cooperative training program in Addis Ababa is expected to maximize opportunities in the local and international environment so that it may stay competitive to the extent some of these opportunities may not be lost or even turn into hindrances. In essence, the more TVET institutions become internally strong in the direction of training and lifelong learning, research, community service and entrepreneurial development, the more they will be equipped to make use of existing favorable environments and address challenges.

Table 5: Data on Apprenticeship Assignment and Contract in 2017/18

TVET Providers	Organizations Providing Apprenticeship							Apprenticeship Providers Signed Memorandum Agreement			
	Companies			Enterprises			Grand	Companies		Enterprises	
	New	Existing	Total	New	Existing	Total	Total	New	Existing	New	Existing
Public	442	949	1391	274	394	668	2059	203	358	179	249
Private	120	274	394	134	200	334	728	115	100	70	80
Total	562	1223	1785	408	594	1002	2787	318	458	249	329

Source: Addis Ababa City Administration TVET Bureau

As shown in Table 5, positive development is witnessed in the practice of apprenticeship. Out of the total 2787 apprenticeship-providing organizations, 1354 (48.6%) signed agreements with TVET providers. Hence, such positive development of apprenticeship placement of TVET trainees should be scaled up through the provision of capacity building and incentive schemes for companies.

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

Conclusion: Trends of development and practices of apprenticeship in Addis Ababa concerning opportunities and challenges were discussed. Although there are encouraging trends in devising strategic plans, policy documents and directives about apprenticeship, the structure, network, coordination, and resources surrounding its execution are thought to be inadequate.

Recommendations: The above findings indicated the need to focus on homegrown Indigenous practices by integrating traditional apprenticeship with modern cooperative training. The value of apprenticeship for social learning in the workplace and economic development was also underscored. Encouraging apprenticeship coverage should be supported by effort in motivating trainees. In addition to trainee efforts, apprenticeship-offering organizations and TVET providers should give financial assistance as well as a robust and ongoing follow-up. Finally, this study has policy implications in the direction of school-to-work transition and is expected to contribute to wider research on the nexus between apprenticeship and work-based learning.

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